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A

# GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

# VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

*DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.*

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ac

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

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VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

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OF THE

# TWELFTH VOLUME.


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derived to us from his person, than to go about to enquire whether his father was a merchant or a man of that nature that kept his hawks and hounds; whereas it is certain there have been of both and such in all parts, whose memory was utterly lost in a very short time among their neighbours and kindred, so as it is not known whether there ever were any such men. But I am of opinion that their nobility can add less lustre to me than the honour I receive from such a father. And since his own honourable exploits made him not stand so need of the wealth of his predecessors (who, notwithstanding their power, were not defective of virtue, but only of fortune), he ought at least, by his name and worth, to have been raised by authors above the rank of mechanics and handicrafts. Which yet, if any will affirm, grounding his assertion on what one Augustin Justiniani writes in his chronicle; I say, that I will not set myself to deny it, bringing proofs or means to prove the contrary by testimonials; for as much as Justiniani's writing it does not make that to be looked upon as an article of faith, which is [illegible] in the memory of man; so neither will it be thought undeniable, should I say I received the contrary from a thousand persons. Nor will I shew his falsehood by the histories others have writ of Christopher Colon, but by this same author's testimony, and writing, in whom is verified the proverb, that "Liars ought to have good memories," because otherwise they contradict themselves, as Justiniani did in this case; having in his comparison of the four languages, upon that expression of the psalm, *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*, these very words: "This Christopher Colon having in his tender years attained some elements of learning, when he came to manly years applied himself to the art of navigation, and went to Lisbon, in Portugal, where he learned cosmography, taught him by a brother of his who there made sea-charts; with which improvement, and discoursing with those that sailed to S. George de la Mina, in Africa, and his own reading in cosmography, he entertained thoughts of sailing to those countries he discovered." By which words it appears that he followed no mechanic employment, or handicraft; since, he says, he employed his childhood in learning, his youth in navigation and cosmography, and his riper years in discoveries. Thus Justiniani convinces himself of falsehood, and proves himself an inconsiderate, rash, and malicious countryman: for when he speaks of a renowned person who did so much honour to his country, whose historiographer Justiniani made himself, though the admiral's parents had been very mean, it had been more decent to speak of his origin as other authors in the like case do, saying he was of low parentage, or come of very poor friends, than to use injurious words, as he did in his psalter and afterwards in his chronicle, falsely calling him a mechanic. And supposing he had not contradicted himself, reason itself made it appear that a man who had been employed in art manual, or handicraft, must be born and grow old in it to become a perfect master; and that he would not from his youth have travelled so many countries, as also that he would not have attained so much learning and knowledge, as his actions demonstrate he had; especially in those four principal sciences required to perform what he did, which are astrology, cosmography, geometry and navigation. But it is no wonder that Justiniani should dare to deliver an untruth in this particular, which is hidden, since in affairs well known concerning his discovery and navigation, he has inserted above fifteen falsehoods in half a sheet of paper in his psalter, which I shall briefly hint at, without staying to give him an answer, to avoid interrupting the series of the history; for by the very course of it, and what others have writ on that subject, the falsehood of his writing will be made out. The first therefore was, that the admiral went to Lisbon to learn cosmography of a brother of his own that was there; which is quite contrary, because he lived in that city before, and taught his brother what he knew. The se-

cond falſehood is, that at his firſt coming into Caſtile, their catholic majeſties, Ferdinand and Iſabel, or Elizabeth, accepted of his propoſal, after it had been ſeven years bandied about and rejected by all men. The third, that he ſet out to diſcover with two ſhips, which is not true, for he had three caravals. The fourth, that his firſt diſcovery was Hiſpaniola, and it was Guarahani, which the admiral called S. Salvador, or S. Saviour. The fifth, that the ſaid iſland Hiſpaniola was inhabited by cannibals, that eat men's fleſh; and the truth is, the inhabitants of it were the beſt people, and moſt civilized of any in thoſe parts. The ſixth, that he took by force of arms the canoe, or Indian boat, he ſaw; whereas it appears that he had no war that firſt voyage with any Indian, and continued in peace and amity with them till the day of his departure from Hiſpaniola. The ſeventh, that he returned by way of the Canary Iſlands, which is not the proper way for thoſe veſſels to return. The eighth, that from the ſaid iſland he diſpatched a meſſenger to their majeſties aforeſaid; whereas it is certain, that he was not firſt at that iſland, as was obſerved, and he himſelf was the meſſenger. The ninth, that the ſecond voyage he returned with twelve ſhips; and it is manifeſt he had ſeventeen. The tenth, that he arrived at Hiſpaniola in twenty days, which is a very ſhort time to reach the neareſt iſlands, and he performed it not in two months, and went to others much farther diſtant. The eleventh, that he preſently made from Hiſpaniola with two ſhips, and it is known there were three he took to go from Hiſpaniola to Cuba. Juſtiniani's twelfth falſehood is, that Hiſpaniola is four hours diſtant from Spain, and the admiral reckons it above five. And farther, to add a thirteenth to the dozen, he ſays, the weſtern point of Cuba is ſix hours diſtant from Hiſpaniola, making it further from Hiſpaniola to Cuba than from Spain to Hiſpaniola. So that by his negligence and heedleſſneſs in being well informed and writing the truth of theſe particulars, which are ſo plain, we may plainly diſcern what inquiry he made into that which was ſo obſcure, wherein he contradicts himſelf, as has been made appear. But laying aſide this controverſy, wherewith I believe I have by this time tired the reader, we will only add, that conſidering the many miſtakes and falſehoods found in the ſaid Juſtiniani's hiſtory and pſalter, the ſenate of Genoa has laid a penalty upon any perſon that ſhall read or keep it; and has cauſed it to be carefully ſought out in all places it has been ſent to, that it may by public decree be deſtroyed and utterly extinguiſhed. I will return to our main deſign, concluding with this aſſertion, that the admiral was a man of learning and great experience; that he did not employ his time in handicraft or mechanic exerciſes, but in ſuch as became the grandeur and renown of his wonderful exploits; and will conclude this chapter with ſome words taken out of a letter he writ himſelf to prince John of Caſtile's nurſe, which are theſe.

"I am not the firſt admiral of my family, let them give me what name they pleaſe; for when all is done, David, that moſt prudent King, was firſt a ſhepherd, and afterwards choſen King of Jeruſalem, and I am ſervant to that ſame Lord who raiſed him to ſuch dignity."

## CHAP. III. — *Of the Admiral's Perſon, and what Sciences he learned.*

THE admiral was well ſhaped, and of a more than middling ſtature, long viſaged, his cheeks ſomewhat full, yet neither fat nor lean; he had a hawk noſe, his eyes white, his complexion white, with a lovely red; in his youth his hair was fair, but when he came to thirty years of age, it all turned grey. He was always modeſt and ſparing in his eating, drinking, and his dreſs. Among ſtrangers he was affable, and pleaſant among his domeſtics, yet with modeſty and an eaſy gravity.

He

He was ſo ſtrict in religious matters, that for faſting and ſaying all the divine office, he might be thought profeſt in ſome religious order. So great was his averſion to ſwearing and curſing, that I proteſt I never heard him ſwear any other oath but by S. Ferdinand; and when in the greateſt paſſion with any body, he would vent his ſpleen by ſaying, "God take you for doing or ſaying ſo." When he was to write, his way of trying his pen was by writing theſe words, *Jeſus cum Maria ſit nobis in via*, and that in ſuch a character, as might very well ſerve to get his bread. But paſſing by other particulars of his actions and manners, which may be mentioned at their proper time in the courſe of this hiſtory, let us proceed to give an account to what ſcience he moſt addicted himſelf. In his tender years he applied himſelf ſo much to ſtudy at Pavia, as was ſufficient to underſtand coſmography; to which ſort of reading he was much addicted, for which reaſon he alſo applied himſelf to aſtrology and geometry, becauſe theſe ſciences are ſo linked together that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other; and becauſe Ptolemy, in the beginning of his coſmography, ſays that no man can be a good coſmographer unleſs he be a painter too, therefore he learned to draw, in order to deſcribe lands, and ſet down coſmographical bodies, planes or rounds.

## CHAP. IV. — *How the Admiral employed himſelf before he came into Spain.*

THE admiral having gained ſome inſight in ſciences, began to apply himſelf to the ſea, and made ſome voyages to the eaſt and weſt; of which, and many other things of thoſe his firſt days, I have no perfect knowledge, becauſe he died at ſuch time as I, being confined by filial duty, had not the boldneſs to aſk him to give an account of things; or, to ſpeak the truth, being but young, I was at that time far from being troubled with ſuch thoughts. But in a letter writ by him, in the year 1501, to their catholic majeſties, to whom he durſt not have writ any thing but the truth, he has theſe following words:—"Moſt ſerene princes; I went to ſea very young, and have continued it to this day; and this art inclines thoſe that follow it to be deſirous to diſcover the ſecrets of this world. It is now forty years that I have been ſailing to all thoſe parts, at preſent frequented; and I have dealt and converſed with wiſe people, as well clergy as laity, Latins, Greeks, Indians, and Moors, and many others of other ſects; and our Lord has been favourable to this my inclination, and I have received of him the ſpirit of underſtanding: he has made me very ſkilful in navigation, knowing enough in aſtrology, and ſo in geometry and arithmetic. God hath given me a genius and hands apt to draw this globe, and on it the cities, rivers, iſlands and ports, all in their proper places. During this time I have ſeen, and endeavoured to ſee all books of coſmography, hiſtory, and philoſophy, and of other ſciences; ſo that our Lord has ſenſibly opened my underſtanding, to the end I may ſail from hence to the Indies, and made me moſt willing to put this in execution. Filled with this deſire, I came to your highneſſes. All that heard of my undertaking, rejected it with contempt and ſcorn. In your highneſſes alone, faith and conſtancy had their ſeat." In another letter, written from Hiſpaniola, in January 1495, to their catholic majeſties, telling them the errors and miſtakes commonly made in voyages and pilotting, he ſays this; "It happened to me that King Renee whom God has taken to himſelf, ſent to me to Tunis to take the galeaſſe called Fernandina; and being near to the iſland of St. Pietro by Sardinia, I was told there were two ſhips and a barack with the ſaid galeaſſe, which had compoſed my men, and they reſolved to go no farther, but to return to Marſeilles for another ſhip and more men; and I perceiving there was no going againſt their will, without ſome contrivance, yielded to their deſires, and changing the point of the needle,

ſet ſail when it was late, and next morning at break of day we found ourſelves near Cape Cartegna, all aboard thinking we had certainly been ſailing for Marſeilles." In the ſame manner in a memorandum, or obſervation, he made to ſhow that all the five zones are habitable, and proving it by experience in navigation, he ſays, "In February 1467, I ſailed myſelf an hundred leagues beyond Thule (Iſeland), whoſe northern part is ſeventy-three degrees diſtant from the equinoctial, and not ſixty-three degrees as ſome will have it to be; nor does it lie upon the line where Ptolemy's Weſt begins, but much more to the weſtwards; and to this iſland, which is as big as England, the Engliſh trade, eſpecially from Briſtol. At the time when I was there, the ſea was not frozen, but the tides were ſo great, that in ſome places it ſwelled twenty-ſix fathoms, and fell as much." The truth is, that the Thule Ptolemy ſpeaks of lies where he ſays, and this by the moderns is called Frizeland. And then to prove that the equinoctial, or land under it, is habitable, he ſays, "I was in the fort of St. George de la Mira, belonging to the King of Portugal, which lies under the equinoctial, and I am a witneſs that it is not uninhabitable, as ſome would have it." And in his book of his firſt voyage, he ſays he ſaw ſome mermaids on the coaſt of Menegueta, but that they are not ſo like ladies, as they are painted. And in another place he ſays, "I obſerved ſeveral times in ſailing from Liſbon to Guinea, that a degree on the earth, anſwers to fifty-ſix miles and two thirds." And farther, he adds, that in Scio, an iſland of the Archipelago, he ſaw maſtic drawn from ſome trees. In another place he ſays, "I was upon the ſea twenty-three years, without being off it any time worth the ſpeaking of; and I ſaw all the eaſt and all the weſt, and may ſay towards the north, or England, and have been at Guinea; yet I never ſaw harbours for goodneſs like thoſe of the Weſt Indies." And a little farther he ſays that he took to the ſea at fourteen years of age, and ever after followed it. And in the book of the ſecond voyage, he ſays, "I had got two ſhips, and left one of them at Porto Santo, for a certain reaſon that occurred to me, where ſhe continued one day, and the next day after I joined it at Liſbon, becauſe I light of a ſtorm and contrary winds at ſouth-weſt, and ſhe had but little wind at north-eaſt which was contrary." So that from theſe inſtances we may gather how much experience he had in ſea affairs, and how many countries and places he travelled before he undertook his diſcovery.

## CHAP. V. — *The Admiral's coming into Spain, and how he made himſelf known in Portugal, which was the Cauſe of his diſcovering the Weſt Indies.*

AS concerning the cauſe of the admiral's coming into Spain, and his being addicted to ſea affairs, the occaſion of it was a famous man of his name and family, called Colon, renowned upon the ſea, on account of the fleet he commanded againſt infidels, and even in his own country, inſomuch that they made uſe of his name to frighten the children in the cradle; whoſe perſon and fleet it is likely were very conſiderable, becauſe he at once took four Venetian galleys, whoſe bigneſs and ſtrength I ſhould not have believed had I not ſeen them fitted out. This man was called Colon the Younger, to diſtinguiſh him from another who was a great ſeaman before him. Of which Colon the Younger, Marc Antony Sabellicus, the Livy of our age, ſays in the eighth book of his tenth decade, that he lived near the time when Maximilian, ſon to the Emperor Frederic the Third, was choſen King of the Romans: Jerome Donato was ſent ambaſſador from Venice into Portugal, to return thanks in the name of the republic to

King

King John the Second, becauſe he had clothed and relieved all the crew belonging to the aforeſaid great galleys, which were coming from Flanders, relieving them in ſuch a manner, as they were enabled to return to Venice, they having been overcome by the famous corſair Colon the Younger, near Liſbon, who had ſtripped and turned them aſhore. Which authority of ſo grave an author as Sabellicus, may make us ſenſible of the afore-mentioned Juſtiniani's malice, ſince in his hiſtory he made no mention of this particular, to the end it might not appear that the family of Colon was leſs obſcure than he would make it. And if he did it through ignorance, he is nevertheleſs to blame, for undertaking to write the hiſtory of his country, and omitting ſo remarkable a victory, of which its enemies themſelves make mention. For the hiſtorian, our adverſary, makes ſo great account of his victory, that he ſays ambaſſadors were ſent on that account to the King of Portugal. Which ſame author in the afore-mentioned eighth book, ſpeaks further, as one leſs obliged to inquire into the admiral's diſcovery, makes mention of it, without adding thoſe twelve lies which Juſtiniani inſerted. But to return to the matter in hand, I ſay, that whilſt the admiral ſailed with the aforeſaid Colon the Younger, which was a long time, it fell out that underſtanding the before-mentioned four great Venetian galleys were coming from Flanders, they went out to ſeek, and found them beyond Liſbon, about Cape St. Vincent, which is in Portugal, where falling to blows, they fought furiouſly and grappled, beating one another from veſſel to veſſel with the utmoſt rage, making uſe not only of their weapons, but artificial fire-works; ſo that after they had fought from morning till evening and abundance were killed on both ſides; the admiral's ſhip took fire, as did a great Venetian galley, which being faſt grappled together with iron hooks and chains, uſed to this purpoſe by ſea-faring men, could neither of them be relieved, becauſe of the confuſion there was among them, and the fright of the fire, which in a ſhort time was ſo increaſed, that there was no other remedy but for all that could to leap into the water, ſo to die ſooner rather than bear the torture of the fire. But the admiral being an excellent ſwimmer, and ſeeing himſelf two leagues or a little further from land, laying hold of an oar, which good fortune offered him, and ſometimes reſting upon it, ſometimes ſwimming, it pleaſed God, who had preſerved him for greater ends, to give him ſtrength to get to ſhore; but ſo tired and ſpent with the water, that he had much ado to recover himſelf. And becauſe it was not far from Liſbon, where he knew there were many Genoeſe his countrymen, he went away thither as faſt as he could, where being known by them, he was ſo courteouſly received and entertained, that he ſet up houſe and married a wife in that city. And foraſmuch as he behaved himſelf honourably, and was a man of a comely preſence, and did nothing but what was juſt; it happened that a lady whoſe name was Donna Felipa Moniz, of a good family and penſioner in the monaſtery of All ſaints, whither the admiral uſed to go to maſs, was ſo taken with them, that ſhe became his wife. His father-in-law Peter Moniz Pereſtrello being dead, they went to live with the mother-in-law, where being together, and ſhe ſeeing him ſo much addicted to coſmography, told him that her huſband Pereſtrello had been a great ſea-faring man, and that he with two other captains having obtained the King of Portugal's leave, went to make diſcoveries upon condition, that dividing what they found into three parts they were to caſt lots who ſhould chuſe firſt. Being thus agreed, they ſailed away to the ſouth-weſt, and arrived at the iſland of Madeira and Porto Santo, places never before diſcovered. And becauſe the iſland of Madeira was big, they divided it into two parts; the iſland of Porto Santo, being the third, which fell to the lot of the ſaid Pereſtrello, Colon's father-in-law, who had the government of it till he died.

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The admiral being much delighted to hear ſuch voyages and relations, his mother-in-law gave him the journals and ſea charts left her by her huſband, which ſtill more inflamed the admiral; and he inquired into the other voyages the Portugueſe then made to St. George de la Mira, and along the coaſt of Guinea, being much pleaſed to diſcourſe with thoſe that had ſailed thither. To ſay the truth, I cannot certainly tell whether, whilſt this wife lived, the admiral went to Mira or Guinea, as I ſaid above, the reaſon ſeems to require it. However it was, as one thing leads to another, and one conſideration to another, ſo whilſt he was in Portugal he began to reflect, that as the Portugueſe travel ſo far ſouthward, it were no leſs proper to ſail away weſtward, and land might in reaſon be found that way. That he might be the more certain and confident in this particular he began to look over all the coſmographers again whom he had read before, and to obſerve what aſtrological reaſons would corroborate this project; and therefore he took notice of what any perſons whatſoever ſpoke to that purpoſe, and of ſailors particularly, which might any way be a help to him. Of all which things he made ſuch good uſe, that he concluded for certain, that there were many lands weſt of the Canary iſlands, and Cabo Verde; and that it was poſſible to ſail to and diſcover them. But that it may appear from what mean arguments he came to deduce, or make out ſo vaſt an undertaking, and to ſatisfy many who are deſirous to know particularly, what motives induced him to diſcover theſe countries, and expoſe himſelf in ſo dangerous an undertaking, I will here ſet down what I have found in his papers relating to this affair.

## CHAP. VI. — *The principal Motives that inclined the Admiral to believe he might diſcover the Weſt Indies.*

BEING about to deliver the motives that inclined the admiral to undertake the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, I ſay they were three, viz, natural reaſon, authority of writers, and the teſtimony of ſailors. As to the firſt, which is natural reaſon, I ſay, he concluded that all the ſea and land compoſed a ſphere or globe; which might be gone about from eaſt to weſt, travelling round it, till men came to ſtand feet to feet one againſt another in any oppoſite parts whatſoever. Secondly, he gave it for granted, and was ſatisfied by the authority of approved authors, that a great part of this globe had been already travelled over, and that there then only remained, to diſcover the whole, and make it known that ſpace which lay between the eaſtern bounds of India, known to Ptolemy and Marinus, round about eaſtward, till they came through our weſtern parts to the iſlands Azores, and of Cabo Verde the moſt weſtern parts yet diſcovered. Thirdly, he conſidered, that this ſpace lying between the eaſtern limits known to Marinus, and the aforeſaid iſland of Cabo Verde, could not be above a third part of the great circumfernce of the globe, ſince the ſaid Marinus was already gone fifteen hours, or twenty-four parts, into which the world is divided towards the eaſt; and therefore to return to the ſaid iſles of Cabo Verde, there wanted about eight parts; for the ſaid Marinus is ſaid to have begun his diſcovery towards the weſt. Fourthly, he reckoned, that ſince Marinus had in his ſaid coſmography, given an account of fifteen hours, or parts of the globe towards the eaſt, and yet was not come to the end of the eaſtern land, it followed of courſe, that the ſaid end muſt be much beyond that; and conſequently the farther it extended eaſtward, the nearer it came to the iſlands Cabo Verde, towards our weſtern parts; and that if ſuch ſpace were ſea, it might eaſily be ſailed in a few days, and if land, it would be ſooner diſcovered by the weſt, becauſe it would be nearer to the ſaid iſlands. To which reaſon

may be added, that given by Strabo in the fifteenth book of his cosmography, that no man with an army ever went so far as the eastern bounds of India, which Ctesias writes is as big as all the rest of Asia; Onesicritus affirms, it is the third part of the globe; and Nearchus, that it is four months' journey in a strait line; besides that, Pliny, in the seventeenth chapter of his sixth book, says that India is the third part of the earth; whence he argued, that being so large, it must be nearer Spain by way of west. The fifth argument that induced him to believe, that the distance that way was small, he took from the opinion of Alfragranus and his followers, who make the circumference of the globe much less than all other writers and cosmographers, allowing but fifty-six miles and two-thirds to a degree. Whence he would infer, that the whole globe being small, that extent of the third part must of necessity be small, which Marinus left as unknown; therefore that part might be sailed in less time than he assigned; for since the eastern bounds of India were not yet discovered, those bounds must lie near to us westward, and therefore the lands he should discover, might properly be called Indies. By this it plainly appears, how much one Mr. Roderick, archdeacon of Seville, was in the wrong as well as his followers, who blame the admiral; saying, he ought not to have called those parts Indies, because they are not so; whereas the admiral did not call them Indies, because they had been seen or discovered by any other person, but as being the eastern part of India beyond Ganges, to which no cosmographer ever assigned bounds, or made it border on any other country eastward, but only upon the ocean; and because these were the eastern unknown lands of India, and have no particular name of their own; therefore he gave them the name of the neareſt country, calling them West Indies, and the more because he knew all men were sensible of the riches and wealth of India; and therefore by that name he thought to tempt their catholic majesties, who were doubtful of his undertaking, telling them he went to discover the Indies by way of the west. And this moved him rather to desire to be employed by the King of Castile, than by any other Prince.

## CHAP. VII. — *The second Motive inducing the Admiral to discover the West Indies.*

THE second motive that encouraged the admiral to undertake the aforesaid enterprise, and which might reasonably give occasion to call the countries he should so discover Indies, was the great authority of learned men, who said that it was possible to sail from the western coast of Afric and Spain, westward to the eastern bounds of India, and that it was no great sea that lay between them, as Aristotle affirms, at the end of his second book of heaven and the world; where he says, That they may sail from India to Cadiz in a few days; which some think Averroes proves, writing upon that place. And Seneca in his first book of nature, looking upon the knowledge of this world as nothing in respect of what is attained in the next life, says, a ship may sail in a few days with a fair wind from the coast of Spain to that of India. And if, as some would have it, this same Seneca writ the tragedies, we may conclude it was to the same purpose, that in the chorus of his Medea, he speaks thus;

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhysque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

That is, there will come an age in latter years, when the ocean will loose the bonds

f things, and a great country be diſcovered, and another like Typhys ſhall diſcover new world, and Thule ſhall no longer be the laſt part of the earth. Which now moſt certainly has been fulfilled in the perſon of the admiral. And Strabo in the firſt book of his coſmography, ſays the ocean encompaſſes all the earth; that in the eaſt, it waſh the coaſt of India, and in the weſt, thoſe of Mauritania and Spain, and that, if ſtneſs of the Atlantic did not hinder, they might ſoon ſail from the one r upon the ſame parallel. The ſame he repeats in the ſecond book. Plin econd book of his natural hiſtory, chap. 3. adds, that the ocean ſurr he earth, and that the extent of it from eaſt to weſt, is from India to Ga ame author, book the ſixth, chap. 31, and Solinus, chap. 68. of the things in the world, ſay, that from the iſlands Gorgones, ſuppoſed to be abo Verde, was forty days ſail on the Atlantic ocean, to the iſlands Heſpe ich the admiral concluded were thoſe of the Weſt Indies. Marcus Paulus s, and John Mandiville, in their travels ſay, they went much farther eaſtward Ptolemy and Marinus mention, who perhaps do not ſpeak of the eaſtern ſea; yet he account they give of the eaſt, it may be argued, that the ſaid India is not far t from Afric and Spain. Peter Aliacus in his treatiſe, *De imagine mundi*, ch 8. *De quantitate terræ habitabilis, et Julius Capitolinus, de locis habitabilibus* nd in ſeveral other treatiſes, ſay, that Spain and India are neighbours weſtward. in the nineteenth chapter of his coſmography, he has theſe words; according to philoſophers and Pliny, the ocean that ſtretches between the weſtern borders of Sp nd Africk, and from the beginning of India eaſtward is of no great extent, and t is no doubt but it may be ſailed over in a few days, with a fair wind, and th re the beginning of India eaſtward, cannot be far diſtant from the end of Afri Theſe and the like authorities of ſuch writers, inclined the admiral he opinion he had conceived was right, and one Mr. Paul, phyſician Florence, contemporary with the admiral, much encouraged hi yage. For this Mr. Paul, being a friend to one Ferdinand M on, and they writing to one another concerning the voyages g Alphonſo of Portugal to Guinea, and concerning wh ard; the admiral who was moſt curious in theſe affairs, got n, by the means of Laurence Girardi, a Florentine reſiding s ſubject to the ſaid Mr. Paul, ſending him a ſmall ſphere, and deſign. Mr. Paul ſent his anſwer in Latin, which in Engliſh is

CHAP. VIII. — *l, a Phyſician of Florence, to the Admiral, concern- Diſcovery of the Indies.*

" Paul the phyſician wiſhes health.

" I perceive ire to ſail to thoſe parts where the ſpice is produced; and th ter of yours, I ſend you another letter, which ſome days fi , and ſervant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of he writ to me by his Highneſs's order, upon this ſame ac a-chart like that I ſent him, which will ſatisfy your dema is this."

" To Ferdinand aul the phyſician wiſhes health.

" I am very glad t have with your moſt ſerene and magnificent King, and courſed concerning the ſhort way

the

there is from hence to the Indies, where the ſpice is produced, by ſea, which I look upon to be ſhorter than that you take by the coaſt of Guinea; yet you now tell me, that his Highneſs would have me make out and demonſtrate it, ſo as it may be underſtood and put in practice. Therefore, though I could better ſhew it him with a globe in my hand, and make him ſenſible of the figure of the world; I have reſolved to render it more eaſy and intelligible, to ſhew this way upon a ſuch as are uſed in navigation; and therefore I ſend one to his majeſty, made a with my own hand, wherein is ſet down the utmoſt bounds of the weſt from the north, to the fartheſt part of Guinea, with all the iſlands that lie in th poſite to which weſtern coaſt is deſcribed the beginning of the Indies, v nds and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the to- wards the equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many l may ſail before you come to thoſe places moſt fruitful in all ſorts of ſpice, d precious ſtones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the ſpice gr ſt, that product being generally aſcribed to the eaſt, becauſe thoſe who ſhall f ſtward, will always find thoſe places in the weſt; and they that travel by land e rd, will ever find thoſe places in the eaſt. The ſtrait lines that lie lengthways the chart, ſhow the diſtance there is from weſt to eaſt, the other croſs them, ſhow e diſtance from north to ſouth. I have alſo marked down in the ſaid chart, ſeveral places in India, where ſhips might put in upon any ſtorm or contrary winds, or any other accident unforeſeen. And moreover, to give you full information of all thoſe places, which you are very deſirous to know; you muſt underſtand, that non but traders live or reſide in all thoſe iſlands, and that there is there as great a n ber of ſhips and ſea-faring people with merchandize, as in any other part of th rld, particularly in a moſt noble part called Zacton, where there are eve ndred large ſhips of pepper loaded and unloaded, beſides many other ſ ther ſpice. This country is mighty populous, and there are man doms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a Prin which name ſignifies King of Kings, who for the moſt part r athay. His predeceſſors were very deſirous to have commerc Chriſtians; and two hundred years ſince, ſent ambaſſadors to o ſend them many learned men and doctors to teach them n of ſome obſtacles the ambaſſadors met with, they returne to Rome. Beſides there came an ambaſſador to Pope Eugeni reat friend- ſhip there was between thoſe Princes, their people ſcourſed with him a long while upon the ſeveral matters of the oyal ſtructure, and of the greatneſs, length and breadth of their ri e many wonder- ful things of the multitude of towns and cities fo nks of the rivers, and that there were two hundred cities upon one marble bridges over it of a great length and breadth, and adorn nce of pillars. This country deſerves, as well as any other to be ere may not only be great profit made there, and many thi alſo gold, ſilver, all ſorts of precious ſtones, and ſpices in t brought into our parts. And it is certain, that many w rologers, and other perſons ſkilled in all arts, and ver nighty province, and command their armies. From Liſbo e in the chart twenty- ſix ſpaces, each of which contains t o the moſt noble and vaſt city of Quiſay, which is one hu is thirty-five leagues, in it there are ten marble bridges enly city, of which

wonderful

onderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of th
nd revenues. This ſpace above-mentioned is almoſt the t
This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of C
for the moſt pa rt reſides. From the iſland Antilla, which you
nd whereof you have ſome knowledge to the moſt noble iſlan
paces, which make two thouſand five hundred miles, or two h
leag , which iſland abounds in gold, pearls, and precious
nd tand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates o
for t of knowing the way, all theſe things are hidden and
be go e to with ſafety. Much more might be ſaid, but having
materia , and you being wiſe and judicious, I am ſatisfied there is
what you underſtand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus
to ſatisfy yo ur curioſity, it being as much as the ſhortneſs of time and
would permit me to ſay. So I remain moſt ready to ſatisfy and ſerve his H
the utmoſt, in all the commands he ſhall lay upon me.

" Florence, June 25, 1474."

After this le ter, he again writ to the admiral as follows:

" To Chriſto her Colon, Paul the phyſician wiſhes health.

" I receiv our letters with the things you ſent me, which I take as a great favour, an end your noble and ardent deſire of ſailing from eaſt to weſt, as it is marked rt I ſent you, which would demonſtrate itſelf better in the form of a glad it is well underſtood, and that the voyage laid down is not only , certain, honourable, very advantageous, and moſt glorious among all ou cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by expe- rience and ave had in great meaſure, and by the ſolid and true infor- mation men, who are come from thoſe parts to this court of Rome, s who have traded long in thoſe parts, and are perſons of good rep when the ſaid voyage is performed, it will be to powerful kingdoms, ble cities and provinces, rich, and abounding in all things we ſtand i ularly in all ſorts of ſpice in great quantities, and ſtore of jewels. T er be grateful to thoſe Kings and Princes, who are very deſirous to rade with Chriſtians of theſe our countries, whether it be for ſome of me Chriſtians, or elſe to have communication with the wiſe and ingeniou ſe parts, as well in point of religion, as in all ſciences, be- cauſe of the y account they have of the kingdoms and government of theſe parts. afons and many more that might be alledged, I do not at all admire, t have a great heart, and all the Portugueſe nation, which has ever had n all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage."

This letter, efore, encouraged the admiral much to go upon his diſ- covery, thou ctor there writ was falſe, as believing that the firſt land they ſhould d be Cathay, and the empire of the Great Cham, with the reſt he there s experience has made appear, the diſtance from our In- dies to that, is om hence to our Indies.

CHAP.

*d Motive and Inducement, which in ſome M Meaſure excited the Admiral to Diſcover the Weſt Indies.*

motive the admiral had to undertake the diſcovery of the Weſt
of finding, before he came to India, ſome very benefic al iſland
ence he might the better purſue his main deſign. This h hope
he authority of many wiſe men and philoſophers, who ked
that the greateſt part of this terraqueous globe was la or
rth than ſea; which if ſo, he argued, that between the c oaſt of
nds of India then known, there muſt be many iſlands, and much
perience has ſince demonſtrated, which he the more readil believed,
d upon by many fables and ſtories which he heard told by ſev eral perſons
s, who traded to the iſlands and weſtern ſea, and to Madera; which teſti-
making ſomewhat to his purpoſe, they were ſure to gain a pla ce in his me-
. Therefore I will not forbear relating them, to ſatisfy thoſe tha t take delight
ſuch curioſities. It is therefore requiſite to be underſtood, that a pi lot of the King
of Portugal, whoſe name was Martin Vicente, told him, that he being once four hun-
dred and fifty leagues weſtward of Cape St. Vincent, found and took up in the ſea, a
piece of wood ingeniouſly wrought, but not with iron; by which, and wind having
been weſt for many days, he gueſſed that piece of wood came fro iſland that
way. Next one Peter Correa, who had married the admiral told him,
that in the iſland of Porto Santo he had ſeen another piece ght by the
ſame winds, well wrought, as that above mentioned; and been canes
found ſo thick, that every joint would hold above four quar ch he ſaid
he affirmed to the King of Portugal himſelf diſcourſing wi eſe affairs,
and that they were ſhewn him; and there being no place e ſuch
canes grow, he looked upon it as certain, that the wind ha n ſome
neighbouring iſlands, or elſe from India. For Ptolemy, i his coſ-
mography, chap. 17, ſays, there are ſuch canes in the ea ndia: and
ſome of the iſlanders, particularly the Azores, told him weſt wind
blew long together, the ſea drove ſome pines upon thoſe arly upon
Gratioſa and Fayal, there being no ſuch in all thoſe parts. a caſt upon
this iſland of Flores, another of the Azores, two dead bodies broad faced,
and differing in aſpect from the Chriſtians. At Cape Ver bouts, they
ſay, they once ſaw ſome covered Almadies or boats, which were drove
that way by ſtreſs of weather, as they were going over fro to another.
Nor were theſe only the motives he then had, which yet fee e; but there
were thoſe that told him they had ſeen ſome iſlands, among thony Leme,
married in the iſland of Madera, who told him, that havin ſiderable run
in a caraval of his own weſtward, he had ſeen three iſlands did not give
credit to, becauſe he found by their own words and diſcou had not ſailed
one hundred leagues to the weſtward, and that they had be ſome rocks,
taking them for iſlands; or elſe perhaps they were ſome g iſlands that
are carried about by the water, called by the ſailors Ag Pliny makes
mention in the firſt book, chap. 97, of his natural hiſt e ſays, that in
the northern parts the ſea diſcovered ſome ſpots of land ere are trees of
deep roots, which parcels of land are carried about lik and upon the
water. Seneca undertaking to give a natural reaſon e ſuch ſorts of
iſlands,

iſlands, ſays in his third book, that it is the nature of certain ſpungy and light rocks, ſo that the iſlands made of them in India, ſwim upon the water. So that were it never ſo true, that the ſaid Anthony Leme had ſeen ſome iſland, the admiral was of opinion, it could be no other than one of them, ſuch as thoſe called of St. Brandam are ſuppoſed to be, where many wonders are reported to have been ſeen. There is alſo an account of others that lie much northward, and always burn. Juventius Fortunatus relates, that there is an account of two iſlands towards the weſt, and more ſouthward than thoſe of Cabo Verde, which ſwim along upon the water. Theſe and the like grounds might move ſeveral people of the iſlands of Ferro and la Gomera, as alſo of the Azores, to affirm that they ſaw iſlands towards the weſt every year, which they looked upon as moſt certain, and many perſons of reputation ſwore it was true. He ſays, moreover, that in the year 1484, there came into Portugal, one from the iſland of Madera to beg a caraval of the King, to go to diſcover a country, which he ſwore he ſaw every year, and always after the ſelf-ſame manner, agreeing with others, who ſaid they had ſeen it from the iſlands Azores. On which grounds in the charts and maps formerly made, they placed ſome iſlands thereabouts; and particularly becauſe Ariſtotle in his book of wonderful natural things, affirms, it was reported that ſome Carthaginian merchants had ſailed through the Atlantic ſea to a moſt fruitful iſland, as we ſhall declare more at large hereafter, which iſland ſome Portugueſe inſerted in their maps, calling it Antilla; though they did not agree in the ſituation with Ariſtotle, yet none placed it above two hundred leagues due weſt from the Canaries and Azores, which they conclude to be certainly the iſland of the ſeven cities, peopled by the Portugueſe at the time that Spain was conquered by the Moors in the year 714. At which time, they ſay, ſeven biſhops with their people embarked and ſailed to this iſland, where each of them built a city; and to the end none of their people might think of returning to Spain, they burnt the ſhips, tackle and all things neceſſary for ſailing. Some Portugueſe diſcourſing about this iſland, there were thoſe that affirmed ſeveral Portugueſe had gone to it, who could not find the way to it again. Particularly they ſay, that in the time of Henry, infant of Portugal, a Portugueſe ſhip was drove by ſtreſs of weather to this iſland Antilla, where the men went on ſhore, and were led by the iſlanders to their church, to ſee whether they were Chriſtians, and obſerved the Roman ceremonies, and perceiving they did, they deſired them not to depart till their lord came, who was then abſent, and would make very much of them, and give them many preſents, and to whom they would preſently ſend advice; but the maſter and ſeamen were afraid of being detained, ſuſpecting thoſe people had not a mind to be diſcovered, and might therefore burn their ſhip, and for that reaſon they ſailed back to Portugal, hoping to be rewarded for what they had done, by the Infante. He reproved them ſeverely, and bid them return quickly; but the maſter for fear run away from Portugal with the ſhip and men; and it is reported, that whilſt the ſeamen were at church in the ſaid iſland the boys of the ſhip gathered ſand for the cook-room, the third part whereof they found to be pure gold. Among others that ſet out to diſcover this iſland, was one James de Fiene, whoſe pilot Peter Velaſquer, of the town of Palos de Moguer, told the admiral in the monaſtery of St. Mary de la Rabida, that they ſet out from Fayal, and ſailed above one hundred and fifty leagues ſouth-weſt, and in their return diſcovered the iſland Flores, being led to it by abundance of birds they ſaw fly that way, becauſe thoſe being land and not ſea fowls, they judged they could not reſt but upon land: after which they ſailed ſo far north-eaſt, till they came to Cape Clare, in the weſt of Ireland, where they met with ſtiff weſterly winds, and yet a ſmooth ſea, which they imagined was cauſed by

ſome land that ſheltered it towards the weſt. But it being then the month of Auguſt, they would not turn towards the iſland, for fear of winter. This was above forty years before our Indies were diſcovered. This account was confirmed by the relation a mariner at Port St. Mary made, telling him that once making a voyage into Ireland, he ſaw the ſaid land, which he then thought to be part of Tartary, falling off towards the weſt, which it is like was the land we now call Bacallaos, and that they could not make up to it by reaſon of the bad weather. This he ſaid agreed with what one Peter de Velaſco of Galicia, affirmed to him, in the city of Murcia in Spain, which was, that ſailing for Ireland, they went away ſo far to north-weſt, that they diſcovered land weſt of Ireland, which land he believes to be the ſame that one Femaldolmos attempted to diſcover, after the manner as I ſhall here faithfully ſet down, as I found it in my father's writings; that it may appear how ſome men lay the foundation of great matters upon ſlight grounds. Gonſalo de Oviedo, in his hiſtory of the Indies, writes, that the admiral had a letter, wherein he found the Indies deſcribed, by one that had before diſcovered them; which was not ſo, but thus: Vincent Dear, a Portugueſe of Tavira, returning from Guinea to the Tercera iſlands, and having paſſed the iſland of Madera, which he left eaſt of him, ſaw, or imagined he ſaw, an iſland which he certainly concluded to be land. Being come to the Tercera iſland, he told it to one Luke de Cazzana, a Genoeſe merchant, who was very rich, and his friend perſuading him to fit out ſome veſſel to conquer that place; which he was very willing to do, and obtained licence for it of the King of Portugal. He writ, therefore, to his brother Francis de Cazzana, who reſided at Sevil, to fit out a ſhip with all ſpeed for the ſaid pilot. But the ſaid Francis making a jeſt of ſuch an undertaking, Luke de Cazzana ſet out a veſſel in the Tercera iſland, and the pilot went out three or four times to ſeek the ſaid iſland, ſailing from one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty leagues, but all in vain, for he found no land. Yet for all this, neither he nor his partner gave over the enterprize till death, always hoping to find it. And the brother aforeſaid told me, and affirmed it, that he knew two ſons of the captain that diſcovered the Tercera iſland, their names Michael and Jaſper Cortereal, who went ſeveral times to diſcover that land, and at laſt in the year 1502, periſhed in the attempt, one after another, without ever being heard of; and that this was well known to many.

## CHAP. X. — *Proving it to be falſe, that the Spaniards had formerly the Dominion of the Indies, as Gonzalo de Oviedo endeavours to make out in his Hiſtory.*

IF all we have ſaid above concerning ſo many imaginary iſlands and countries, appears to be a mere fable and folly, how much more reaſon have we to look upon that as a falſehood, which Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo conceits in his natural hiſtory of the Indies, looking upon his own imagination as a certain truth, and ſaying he has fully made out, that there was another diſcoverer of this navigation of the ocean, and that the Spaniards had the dominion of thoſe lands; alledging to make out his aſſertion, what Ariſtotle writes of the iſland Atlantis, and Seboſus of the Heſperides. This he affirms upon the judgment of ſome perſons, whoſe writings we have duly weighed and examined, and I would have omitted to talk on this ſubject, to avoid condemning ſome, and tiring the reader, had I not conſidered, that ſome perſons, to leſſen the admiral's honour and reputation, make great account of ſuch notions. Beſides, I thought I did not perform my duty fully, by ſetting down with all ſincerity the motives and inducements that inclined the admiral to undertake his unparalleled enterprize, if I ſhould ſuffer ſuch a falſehood, which I know to be ſo, to paſs uncenſured. Therefore,

fore, the better to diſcover his miſtake, I will, in the firſt place, ſet down what Ariſtotle, as related by one F. Theophilus de Ferrariis ſays as to this point; which F. Theophilus among Ariſtotle's problems collected by him, brings in a book called *De admirandis in natura auditis*, a chapter with theſe following words: "Beyond Hercules's pillars it is reported there was formerly found an iſland in the Atlantic ſea by certain Carthaginian merchants, which had never before been inhabited by any but brute beaſts. It was all wooded and covered with trees, had a great many navigable rivers, and abounded in all things nature uſually produces, though removed not many days ſail from the continent. It happened that ſome Carthaginian merchants coming to it, and finding it a good country, as well for the richneſs of the ſoil as temperature of the air, they began to people it; but the ſenate of Carthage being offended at it, ſoon made a public decree, that for the future no perſon upon pain of death ſhould go to that iſland, and they that went firſt were put to death; to the end that other nations ſhould not hear of it, and ſome more powerful people take poſſeſſion of it, by which means it might become an enemy to their liberty." Now I have faithfully quoted this authority, I will give the reaſons that induce me to ſay, that Oviedo has no juſt cauſe to affirm that this iſland was Hiſpaniola or Cuba, as he aſſerts. In the firſt place, becauſe Gonzalo de Oviedo not underſtanding Latin, he of neceſſity took ſuch interpretation of this place as ſomebody made him; who, by what we ſee, did not well know how to tranſlate out of one language into another, ſince he altered and changed the Latin text in ſeveral particulars, which perhaps deceived Oviedo, and inclined him to believe that this quotation ſpoke of ſome iſland in the Indies; becauſe we do not read in the Latin text that theſe people went out of the Streights of Gibraltar, as Oviedo writes; nor much leſs that the iſland was large, nor its trees great, but that it was an iſland much wooded. Nor is it found there, that the rivers were wonderful; nor does it ſpeak of its fatneſs, or ſay it was more remote from Africk than Europe, but in plain terms ſays it was remote from the continent; nor does it ſay any towns were built there, for traders who happened upon it could build but little; nor is it ſaid to be famous, but that they were afraid its fame would ſpread abroad into other nations. So that the expoſitor who interpreted this place to him being ſo ignorant, it cauſed Oviedo to imagine it to be another thing than really it was; and if he ſhould ſay that it is otherwiſe in Ariſtotle's text, and that what the friar writes is as it were a compendium of what Ariſtotle writ; I muſt aſk him who gave him authority to beſtow ſo many kingdoms on whom he pleaſes, and to rob one of his honour who has gained it ſo fairly, and tell him he ought not to have been ſatisfied with reading that authority as it lies in the friar's pamphlet, but ſhould have ſeen it in the original, that is, in Ariſtotle's works. Beſides that he was miſinformed in this caſe, for though Theophilus in all his other books following Ariſtotle, delivered the ſubſtance and ſum of what he ſays; yet he did not ſo in his book *De admirandis*, he himſelf owning in the beginning, that he does not in that his book abridge Ariſtotle, as he has done in the others, but that he there inſerts all the text word for word; and therefore it cannot be ſaid there was either more or leſs in Ariſtotle than what he ſet down. Add to this, that Anthony Beccaria of Verona, who tranſlated this book out of Greek into Latin, of which tranſlation Theophilus made uſe, did not render it ſo faithfully, but that he inſerted ſeveral matters differing from the Greek original, as will appear to any man that ſhall obſerve it.

In the ſecond place I ſay, that though Ariſtotle had writ ſo as Theophilus delivers it, yet Ariſtotle himſelf quotes no author, but as ſpeaking of a thing for which there is no good authority, ſays, *Fertur*, which implies that what he delivers concerning this iſland, he writes as doubtful and ill grounded. Beſides he writes of a thing not then new,

but which had happened long before; ſaying, It is reported that formerly an iſland was found, and therefore it may well be ſaid according to the proverb, "That in great travels there are great lies:" which proverb is now verified; for in that narration there are circumſtances no way agreeable to reaſon, foraſmuch as it ſays, that this iſland abounded in all things, but had never been inhabited, which is not conſonant nor likely, foraſmuch as fruitfulneſs in land proceeds from its being cultivated by the inhabitants; and where there are no inhabitants, the land is ſo far from producing anything of itſelf that even thoſe things which art produces grow wild and uſeleſs. Nor is it more likely that the Carthaginians ſhould be diſpleaſed becauſe their people had found ſuch an iſland, and ſhould put to death the diſcoverers; for if it was ſo remote from Carthage as the Indies are, it was a folly to fear that thoſe who ſhould come to inhabit there would conquer Carthage unleſs that, as Oviedo affirms, the Spaniards poſſeſſed thoſe iſlands before. He would farther aſſert, that the Carthaginians were prophets, and that now their jealouſy and prophecy were fulfilled, the Emperor taking Tunis or Carthage, with the money brought from the Indies; which I am ſatisfied he would have ſaid, to gain more favour by telling ſuch news than he did, but that his book was publiſhed before. So that any judicious perſon may conceive it is a folly to ſay that iſland was never more heard of, becauſe the Carthaginians quitted the dominion of it, for fear any other nation ſhould take it from them, and come afterwards to deſtroy their liberty; for they ought to have feared this much more from Sicily or Sardinia, that lay but two days ſail from their city, than from Hiſpaniola, between which and them there lay one third of the world. And if it ſhould be objected that they apprehended the wealth of that country might empower their enemies to do them harm; I anſwer, they had more cauſe to hope, that being themſelves maſters of thoſe riches they might oppoſe and ſubdue whom they pleaſed, and that if they left that iſland unpeopled, they left it in the power of another to diſcover it; whence the ſame miſchief might follow which they feared. And therefore they ought rather to fortify it and ſecure their trade to it, as we know they did another time upon the like occaſion; for having found the iſlands which they then called Caſſiterides, and now we call the Azores, they kept that voyage very private, becauſe of the tin they brought from thence, as Strabo tells us at the latter end of the third book of his Coſmography. Wherefore, granting it were true what Ariſtotle had writ in this fable, it might be ſaid he meant it of the voyage to the iſlands Azores, which either for want of better underſtanding, and the great antiquity of the teſtimony, or through affection, which blinds men, Oviedo argues ſhould be underſtood of the Indies we now poſſeſs, and not of the ſaid iſlands Azores, or any of them. If it ſhould be replied that this cannot be becauſe Strabo does not ſay they were the Carthaginians who were poſſeſſed of the iſlands Azores, but the Phœnicians, I anſwer that the Carthaginians being come from Phœnicia with their Queen Dido, therefore ſhe and they were called Phœnicians at that time, as the Chriſtians born in the iſlands are now called Spaniards. And ſhould it be again urged, that the place of Ariſtotle which ſpeaks of this iſlands, ſays it had many navigable rivers, which are not to be found in the iſlands Azores, but in Cuba and Hiſpaniola, I anſwer, that if we will take notice of this particular, they add, that there were abundance of beaſts in them, which there are not in Cuba or Hiſpaniola; and it may well be, that in a thing of ſuch antiquity there might be ſome miſtake in relating that particular, as often happens in many of theſe uncertain and ſo far diſtant antiquities. Obſerve that neither Cuba nor Hiſpaniola have any deep navigable rivers, as the place quoted intimates; and that any ſhips may enter the mouths of the biggeſt rivers of thoſe iſlands, but not conveniently ſail up them. Beſides that, as has been ſaid, how great

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foever Ariſtotle's authority may be the word might poſſibly be corrupted, and might be writ *navigandum* inſtead of *potandum*, which better agreed with what he treated of, commending it for plenty of drinking water, as well as fruitfulneſs in producing things to eat. This might well be verified of any one of the Azores, and with more reaſon, becauſe neither Cuba nor Hiſpaniola lie ſo, as that the Carthaginians could be carried to them either by reaſon of their nearneſs, or by any miſchance; for if thoſe who went purpoſely with the admiral to diſcover thought the way ſo long that they would have turned back, how much longer muſt it ſeem to them who deſigned no ſuch tedious voyage, and who, as ſoon as the time would permit, had turned back towards their country? Nor does any ſtorm laſt ſo long as to carry a ſhip from Cadiz to Hiſpaniola; nor is it likely, that becauſe they were merchants, they ſhould have any mind to run farther from Spain or Carthage than the wind obliged them, eſpecially at a time when navigation was not come to that perfection as now it is. For which reaſon very inconſiderable voyages were then looked upon as great, as appears by what we read of Jaſon's voyage to Colchos, and that of Ulyſſes through the Mediterranean, in which ſo many years were ſpent; and therefore they were ſo famous that the moſt excellent poets have given an account of them, becauſe of the little knowledge they had then of ſea affairs; whereas it has been ſo improved of late in our age, that there have been thoſe who had the boldneſs to ſail round the world, which has contradicted the proverb that ſaid, "He that goes to cape Nam will either return or not;" which cape is in Africk, not very much diſtant from the Canaries. Beſides it is a notorious miſtake to think the iſland whither thoſe merchants were carried, could be either Cuba, or Hiſpaniola; for it is well known, that with all the knowledge we have at this preſent, it is almoſt impoſſible to come at them, without meeting with any other iſlands that encompaſs them all all round. But if we would ſay that land or iſland was none of the Azores, as has been ſaid above, one lie ought to be grafted upon another, by alledging that it was the ſame iſland of which Seneca in his fourth book makes mention, where he tells us, that Thucydides ſpeaks of an iſland called Atlantica, which in the time of the Peloponneſian war was all or moſtly drowned. Whereof Plato alſo makes mention in his Timæus. But becauſe we have diſcourſed too long concerning theſe fables, I will proceed to the next point, where it is ſaid that the Spaniards had entirely the dominion of the ſaid iſlands; which opinion is grounded on what Statius and Seboſus ſay, that certain iſlands called Heſperides, lay forty days ſail weſt of the iſlands Gorgones. And hence it is argued, that ſince thoſe muſt of neceſſity be Indies, and are called Heſperides, that name came from Heſperus, who was King of Spain, who of conſequence, and the Spaniards were lords of that country. So that rightly conſidering his words, he endeavours from uncertain premiſes to deduce three infallible conſequences, contrary to Seneca's rule, who in his ſixth book of nature, ſpeaking of ſuch like things, ſays it is hard to affirm any thing as ſure and certain upon grounds that are no other than conjectures, as here Ovideo does; foraſmuch as only Seboſus is ſaid to have made mention of thoſe iſlands Heſperides, declaring towards what part they lie but not mentioning that they were the Indies, or of whom they took the name, or by whom conquered. And if Oviedo out of Beroſus affirms that Heſperus was King of Spain, I grant it to be true, but not that he gave the name to Spain or Italy; but he, like a true hiſtorian, owning that Beroſus fails him in this particular, took up with Hyginus, yet cautiouſly without mentioning in what book or chapter, and thus he conceals his authority; for in ſhort, no place is to be found where Hyginus ſpeaks of any ſuch matter, but, on the contrary, in one only book of his that is extant, intituled, *De poetica Aſtronomia*, he has not only no ſuch words, but in three ſeveral places where he ſpeaks of theſe Heſperides, he

ſays thus, Hercules is painted as killing the dragon that guarded the Heſperides. And ſomewhat farther he ſays, that Hercules being ſent by Euriſtheus for the golden apples to the Heſperides, and not knowing the way thither, he went to Prometheus on mount Caucaſus, and entreated him to ſhew him the way, whence followed the death of the dragon. Now, according to this, we ſhall have other Heſperides in the eaſt to whom alſo Oviedo may ſay, Heſperus King of Spain gave his name. Hyginus ſays farther, in the chapter of planets, that it appears by ſeveral hiſtories that the planet Venus is called Heſperus, becauſe it ſets ſoon after the ſun. From all which we may infer, that if we ought to make uſe of any teſtimonies or quotations from perſons uſed to relate poetical fables, as Hyginus does, that very ſame which Hyginus ſays rather makes againſt Oviedo than for him; and we may ſuppoſe and affirm, they were called Heſperides from a certain ſtar. And as the Greeks for the ſame reaſon called Italy Heſperia, as many write; ſo we may ſay, Seboſus called theſe iſlands Heſperides, and made uſe of the ſame conjectures, and ſome reaſons to ſhew whereabouts they lay, which we ſaid above moved the admiral to believe for certain, that there were ſuch iſlands weſtward.

Thus we may conclude, that Oviedo did not only preſume to counterfeit authorities for what he ſaid, but that either though inadvertency, or to pleaſe him who told him theſe things (for it is certain he did not underſtand them himſelf), he maintained two contradictions, the diſagreement beween which were ſufficient to diſcover his error. For if the Carthaginians who, as he ſays, arrived at Cuba or Hiſpaniola, found that country inhabited by none but brute beaſts, how could it be true that the Spaniards had been poſſeſſed of it long before, and that their King Heſperus gave it his name? Unleſs perhaps he will ſay, that ſome deluge unpeopled it; and that afterwards ſome other Noah reſtored it to that condition it was diſcovered in by the admiral. But becauſe I am quite tired with this diſpute, and methinks the reader is cloyed with it, I will not dilate any more upon this point, but follow on our hiſtory.

## CHAP. XI. — *How the Admiral was diſguſted by the King of Portugal, on account of the Diſcovery he propoſed to him.*

THE admiral now concluding that his opinion was excellently well grounded, he reſolved to put it in practice, and to ſail the weſtern ocean in queſt of thoſe countries. But being ſenſible that ſuch an undertaking was only fit for a Prince who could go through with and maintain it, he reſolved to propoſe it to the King of Portugal becauſe he lived under him. And though King John then reigning gave ear to the admiral's propoſals yet he ſeemed backward in embracing them, becauſe the great trouble and expence he was at upon acount of the diſcovery and conqueſt of the weſtern coaſt of Afric, called Guinea, without any conſiderable ſucceſs as yet, or being as yet able to weather the cape of Good Hope, which name ſome ſay was given it inſtead of Ageſingue, its proper denomination, becauſe that was the fartheſt they hoped to extend their diſcoveries and conqueſts, or as others will have it, becauſe this cape gave them hopes of better countries and navigation. Be it as it will, the aforeſaid King had but little inclination to lay out more money upon diſcoveries; and if he gave any ear to the admiral, it was becauſe of the excellent reaſons he gave to prove his opinion, which ſo far prevailed upon him, that there remained only to grant the admiral thoſe terms he demanded. For the admiral being a man of a noble and generous ſpirit, would capitulate to his great benefit and honour, that he might leave behind him ſuch a reputation, and ſo conſiderable a family, as became his great actions and merits. For this reaſon the King, by the advice of one Doctor Calzadilla, of whom he made great account, reſolved

to ſend a caraval privately to attempt that which the admiral had propoſed to him; becauſe in caſe thoſe countries were ſo diſcovered, he thought himſelf not obliged to beſtow any great reward, which might be demanded on account of the diſcovery. Having thus ſpeedily equipped a caraval, and going out, it was to carry ſupplies to the iſlands of Cabo Verde, he ſent it that way the admiral had propoſed to go. But thoſe he ſent wanted the knowledge, conſtancy, and ſpirit of the admiral. After wandering many days upon the ſea, they turned back to the iſlands of Cabo Verde, laughing at the undertaking, and ſaying it was impoſſible there ſhould be any land in thoſe ſeas. This being come to the admiral's ear, and his wife dead, he took ſuch an averſion to that city and nation, that he reſolved to go to Caſtile, with a little ſon he had left by his wife, called D. James Colon, who inherited his father's eſtate. But fearing leſt if the King of Caſtile ſhould not conſent to his undertaking, he might be forced to propoſe it to ſome other Prince, which would take up much time, he ſent a brother he had with him, called Bartholomew Colon, into England, who, though he was no Latin ſcholar, was a ſkilful and judicious man in ſea affairs, and could make ſea-charts, globes, and other inſtruments fit for that profeſſion, having been taught by the admiral his brother. Bartholomew Colon being on his way for England, it was his fortune to fall into the hands of pirates, who ſtripped him and the reſt of his company. For this reaſon, and being ſick and poor in that country, it was a long time before he could deliver his meſſage, till having got ſome ſupply by making ſea-charts, he began to make ſome propoſals to King Kenry the VIIth, then reigning, to whom he preſented a map of the world, on which were theſe verſes, which I found among his papers, and ſhall be here inſerted, rather for their antiquity than elegancy.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noſcere, cuncta decens docte pictura docebit,
Quæ Strabo, affirmat, Ptolemæus, Plinius atque
Iſidorus; non una tamen ſententia cuique.
Pingitur hic etiam nuper ſulcata carinis
Hiſpanis zona illa, prius ingonita genti,
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc eſt notiſſima multis.

Pro auctore, ſive pictore.

And a little lower,

Genoa cui patria eſt, nomen cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de terra rubra, opus edidit iſtud,
Londiniis An. Dom. 1480. atque inſuper anno,
Octava Decimaque die cum tertia menſis
Febr. Laudes Chriſto cantentur abunde.

The ſenſe of the firſt lines is to this effect. Whoſoever thou art that deſireſt to know the coaſts of countries muſt be taught by this draught, what Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Iſidorus aſſert, though not agreeing in all points. Here is alſo ſet down the formerly unknown torrid zone, now known to many. For the author or painter: the ſecond verſes implied that his name was Bartholomew Colon of the red earth, a Gonoeſe, publiſhed this work at London, anno 1480, the 21ſt of February. Praiſe to God.

And becauſe it may be obſerved that he ſays, "Colon of the red earth;" I muſt acquaint the reader, that I have ſeen ſome ſubſcriptions of the admiral's before he had that title, where he writ *Columbus de terra rubra.* But to return to the King of England: I ſay, that he having ſeen the map, and what the admiral offered him, readily accepted of it, and ordered him to be ſent for. But God having reſerved it for Caſtile, the admiral had at that time gone his voyage, and was returned with ſucceſs, as ſhall be ſhewn in its place.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XII. — *The Admiral's Departure from Portugal, and the Conferences he had with Their Catholic Majeſties, King Ferdinand and Queen Iſabel, or Elizabeth.*

I WILL now forbear relating how Bartholomew Colon proceeded in England, and will return to the admiral, who, about the end of the year 1484, ſtole away privately out of Portugal, with his ſon James, for fear of being ſtopped by the King; for he being ſenſible how faulty they were whom he had ſent with the caraval, had a mind to reſtore the admiral to his favour, and deſired he ſhould renew the diſcourſe of his enterprize; but not being ſo diligent to put this in execution as the admiral was in getting away, he loſt that good opportunity, and the admiral got into Caſtile to try his fortune, which was there to favour him. Therefore leaving his ſon in a monaſtery at Palos, called la Rabida, he preſently went away to the Catholic King's court, which was then at Cordova; where being affable and of pleaſant converſation, he contracted friendſhip with ſuch perſons as he found moſt inclinable to his undertaking, and fitteſt to perſuade the King to embrace it; among whom was Lewis de Santangel, an Arragonian gentleman, clerk of the allowances in the King's houſehold, a man of great prudence and reputation. But becauſe the matter required to be handled with learning rather than empty words and favour, their Highneſſes committed it to prior of Prado, afterwards archbiſhop of Granada, ordering him, together with ſome coſmographers, to take full information in this affair, and report their opinions therein. But there being few coſmographers at that time, thoſe that were called together were not ſo ſkilful as they ought to be; nor would the admiral ſo far explain himſelf as that he might be ſerved as he had been in Portugal, and be deprived of his reward. For this reaſon the anſwer they gave their Highneſſes was as various as were their judgments and opinions. For ſome ſaid, that ſince in ſo many thouſand years as had paſſed ſince the creation, ſo many ſkilful ſailors had got no knowledge of ſuch countries, it was not likely that the admiral ſhould know more than all that were then or had been before. Others, who inclined more to coſmographical reaſon, ſaid the world was ſo prodigious great, that it was incredible three years ſail would bring him to the end of the eaſt, whither he deſigned his voyage; and to corroborate their opinion, they brought the authority of Seneca, who in one of his works, by way of argument, ſaid that many wiſe men among them diſagreed about this queſtion, whether the ocean were infinite, and doubted whether it could be ſailed, and though it were navigable, whether habitable lands would be found on the other ſide, and whether they could be gone to. They added, that of this lower globe of earth and water, only a ſmall compaſs was inhabited, which had remained in our hemiſphere above water, and that all the reſt was ſea and not navigable, but only near the coaſts and rivers. And that wiſe men granted it was poſſible to ſail from the coaſt of Spain to the fartheſt part of the weſt. Others of them argued almoſt after the ſame manner as the Portugueſe had done about ſailing to Guinea, ſaying, that if any man ſhould ſail ſtraight away weſtward, as the admiral propoſed, he would not be able to return into Spain becauſe of the roundneſs of the globe, looking upon it as moſt certain, that whoſoever ſhould go out of the hemiſphere known to Ptolemy, would go down, and then it would be impoſſible to return, affirming it would be like climbing a hill, which ſhips could not do with the ſtiffeſt gale. Though the admiral ſufficiently ſolved all theſe objections, yet the more powerful his reaſons were, the leſs they underſtood him through their ignorance; for when a man grows old upon ill principles in mathematics, he cannot conceive the true becauſe of the falſe notions at firſt imprinted in his mind. In ſhort, all of them holding to the Spaniſh proverb, which, though it be contrary to reaſon, commonly ſays *dubitat Auguſtinus*, "St. Auguſtin queſtions it;"

becauſe the ſaid Saint in his twenty firſt book, and ninth chapter, "Of the city of God," denies and looks upon it as impoſſible that there ſhould be antipodes, or any going out of one hemiſphere into the other; and further urging againſt the admiral thoſe fables that are current about the five zones, and other untruths, which they looked upon as moſt certainly true, they reſolved to give judgment againſt the enterpriſe, as vain and impracticable; and that it became not the ſtate and dignity of ſuch great Princes, to be moved upon ſuch weak information. Therefore, after much time ſpent upon the ſubject, their highneſſes anſwered the admiral, that they were then taken up with many other wars and conqueſts, and particularly the conqueſt of Granada, which they had then in hand, and therefore could not conveniently attend that new undertaking, but that in time there would be more conveniency to examine and execute that which he propoſed. And to conclude, Their Majeſties would not give ear to the great propoſals the admiral made.

## CHAP. XIII. — *How the Admiral, not agreeing with the King of Caſtile, reſolved to go elſewhere to offer his Service.*

WHILST this was in agitation, their catholic majeſties had not been always ſettled in one place, becauſe of the war they made in Granada, for which reaſon it was a long time before they came to a reſolution and gave their anſwer. The admiral therefore went to Sevil, and finding their highneſſes no way reſolved more than at firſt, he concluded to give the Duke of Medina Sidonia an account of his project. But after many conferences, ſeeing there was no likelihood of coming to ſuch concluſion as he wiſhed for in Spain, and that the execution of his deſign was too much delayed he reſolved to apply himſelf to the King of France, to whom he had already writ; concerning this affair, deſigning, if he were not admitted there, to go into England next, to ſeek out his brother, of whom he had as yet no manner of news. Being ſo reſolved he ſet out for the monaſtery of Rabida, to ſend his ſon James, whom he had left there, to Cordova, and then proceed on his journey. But to the end what God had decreed, ſhould not be diſappointed, he put it into the heart of F. John Perez, guardian of that houſe, to contract ſuch friendſhip with the admiral, and be ſo taken with his project, that he was concerned at his reſolution, and for the loſs Spain would ſuſtain by his departure. Therefore he intreated him by no means to put his deſign in execution, for that he would go to the Queen, of whom he hoped, that he being her father confeſſor, ſhe would give credit to what he ſhould ſay to her. Though the admiral was quite out of hopes and diſguſted to ſee ſo little reſolution and judgment in their highneſſes counſellors, yet, being on the other ſide very deſirous that Spain ſhould reap the benefit of his undertakings, he complied with the father's deſires and requeſt, becauſe he now looked upon himſelf as a natural born Spaniard, becauſe he had ſo long reſided there; whilſt he was following his project, and becauſe he had got children there; which was the cauſe he rejected the offers made him by other Princes, as he declares in a letter he writ to their highneſſes in theſe words, "that I might ſerve your highneſſes, I have refuſed to take up with France, England and Portugal, the letters from which Princes your highneſſes may ſee in the hands of doctor Villalan."

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV. — *How the Admiral returned to the Camp before Granada, and took his Leave of Their Catholic Majeſties, having concluded nothing with them.*

THE admiral departing from the monaſtery of Rabida near Palos, together with F. John Perez, to the camp of S. Faith, where their catholic majeſties then were to carry on the ſiege of Granada; the ſaid father further informed the Queen, and preſſed the buſineſs ſo home, that her majeſty was pleaſed the conferences about the diſcovery ſhould be renewed. But the opinions of the prior of Prado and others of his followers varying, and on the other ſide Colon demanding to be made admiral and viceroy, beſides other matters of great conſequence; it was thought too much to grant him, becauſe if what he promiſed ſucceeded, they judged his demand too conſiderable, and in caſe it did not, they thought it a folly to give ſuch titles; which made the buſineſs come to nothing. I cannot forbear declaring that I make great account of the admiral's wiſdom, reſolution and foreſight, for he being ſo unfortunate in this affair, having ſo earneſt a deſire, as I have ſaid before, to remain in this kingdom, and being reduced to ſuch a condition, that he ought to take up with any thing, it was a greatneſs of ſpirit in him not to accept of any but great titles and honours, demanding ſuch things as if he had foreſeen and been more certainly aſſured of the ſucceſs of his project, he could not have articled better, or more honourably than he did; ſo that at laſt they were forced to grant, that he ſhould be admiral on the ocean, and enjoy all the allowances, privileges and prerogatives, that the admirals of Caſtile and Leon had in their ſeveral ſeas, all and that civil employments, as well of government as adminiſtration of juſtice, in all the iſlands and continent ſhould be wholly at his diſpoſal, and that all governments ſhould be given to one or three perſons he ſhould name; and that he ſhould appoint judges in all parts of Spain trading to the Indies, who ſhould decide all matters relating to thoſe parts. As for profit and revenue, he demanded, over and above the ſalary and perquiſites of the aforeſaid employments of admiral, viceroy and governor, the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found, or got within the bounds of his admiralſhip, abating only the charge of the conqueſt; ſo that had there been one thouſand ducats in an iſland, one hundred were to be his. And becauſe his adverſaries ſaid he ventured nothing in that undertaking, but had the command of a fleet as long as it laſted, he demanded the eighth part of what he ſhould bring home in his fleet, and he would be the eighth part of the expence. Theſe being matters of ſuch conſequence, and their highneſſes refuſing to grant them, the admiral took leave of his friends, and went away towards Cordova, to take order for his journey into France, for he was reſolved not to return to Portugal, though the King had writ to him, as ſhall be ſaid.

CHAP. XV. — *How Their Catholic Majeſties ſent after the Admiral, and granted him all he demanded.*

IT was now the month of January in the year 1492, when the admiral departed from the camp of St. Faith, and that ſame day Lewis de Santangel before mentioned, who did not approve of his going away, but very deſirous to prevent it; went to the Queen, and uſing ſuch words as his inclination ſuggeſted, to perſuade and reprove her at once, ſaid, he wondered to ſee that her highneſs, who had always a great ſoul for all matters of moment and conſequence, ſhould now want the heart to venture upon an undertaking, where ſo little was ventured, and which might redound ſo much

much to the glory of God and propagation of the faith, not without great benefit and honour to her kingdoms and dominions; and ſuch in ſhort, that if any other Prince ſhould undertake it, as the admiral offered, the damage that would accrue to her crown was very viſible, and that then ſhe would with juſt cauſe be much blamed by her friends and ſervants, and reproached by her enemies, and all people would ſay, ſhe had well deſerved that misfortune; and though ſhe herſelf ſhould never have cauſe to repent it, yet her ſucceſſors would certainly feel the ſmart of it. Therefore, ſince the matter ſeemed to be grounded upon reaſon, and the admiral who propoſed it was a man of ſenſe and wiſdom, and demanded no other reward but what he ſhould find, being willing to bear part of the charge, beſides venturing his own perſon; her highneſs ought not to look upon it as ſuch an impoſſibility as thoſe ſcholars made it, and that what they ſaid that it would be a reflection on her if the enterpriſe did not ſucceed, as the admiral propoſed, was a folly, and he was of a quite contrary opinion, rather believing they would be looked upon as generous and magnanimous Princes, for attempting to diſcover the ſecrets and wonders of the world, as other monarchs had done, and it had redounded to their honour. But though the event were never ſo uncertain, yet a conſiderable ſum of money would be well employed in clearing ſuch a doubt. Beſides that, the admiral only demanded two thouſand five hundred crowns to fit the fleet, and therefore ſhe ought not to deſpiſe that undertaking, that it might not be ſaid it was the fear of ſpending ſo ſmall a ſum that kept her back. The Queen knowing the ſincerity of Santangel's words, anſwered, thanking him for his good advice, and ſaying, ſhe was willing to admit of the propoſals, upon condition the execution were reſpited, till ſhe had a little breathing after the war. And yet if he were of another opinion, ſhe was content that as much money as was requiſite for fitting out the fleet, ſhould be borrowed upon her jewels. But Santangel ſeeing the Queen had upon his advice condeſcended to what ſhe had refuſed to all other perſons, replied, there was no need of pawning her jewels, for he would do her highneſs that ſmall ſervice as to lend his money. Upon this reſolution the Queen immediately ſent an officer poſt, to bring the admiral back, who found him upon the bridge of Pinos, two leagues from Granada; and though the admiral was much concerned at the difficulties and delays he had met within his enterpriſe, yet underſtanding the Queen's will and reſolution, he returned to the camp of St. Faith, where he was well entertained by Their Catholic Majeſties, and his diſpatch and articles committed to the ſecretary John Coloma, who by their highneſſes' command and under their hand and ſeal, granted him all the articles and clauſes we ſaid above he had demanded, without altering or diminiſhing any thing in them.

## CHAP. XVI. — *How the Admiral fitted out three Caravals to go upon his Diſcovery.*

THE aforeſaid articles being granted by Their Catholic Majeſties, he ſet out from Granada on the twelfth of May this year 1492, for Palos, the port where he was to fit out his ſhips, that town being obliged to ſerve their highneſſes three months with two caravals, which they ordered ſhould be given to the admiral. Theſe and another ſhip he fitted out with all care and diligence. The ſhip he went in was called the St. Mary, another was La Pinta, whereof Martin Alonzo Pinzon was captain, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, brother to Alonzo, both of the town of Palos, of the third which was called La Nina, and had ſquare ſails. They being furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ninety men, ſet ſail directly towards the Canaries on the third of Auguſt, and from that time forwards, the admiral was very careful to keep an exact

journal of all that happened to him during the voyage, ſpecifying what wind blew, how far he ſailed with every wind; what currents he found, and what he ſaw by the way, whether birds, or fiſhes, or other things, which he always did in four voyages he made from Spain to the Indies. I will not write all thoſe particulars; for though to give an account of his voyage, and to ſhew what impreſſions and effects anſwered the courſe and aſpects of the ſtars, and to relate what difference there is between that and our ſea and our countries, would be now very beneficial; yet I do not think all thoſe particulars would now be pleaſing to the reader, whom ſuch long and ſuperfluous relations muſt tire. Therefore I ſhall only diſcourſe of thoſe things I ſhall think neceſſary and convenient.

## CHAP. XVII. — *The Admiral arrived at the Canary Iſlands, and there furniſhed himſelf completely with all he wanted.*

THE next day after the admiral's departure for the Canary iſlands, being Saturday the fourth of Auguſt, the rudder of one of the caravals called La Pinta, broke looſe, and being therefore forced to lie by, the admiral ſoon came by her ſide; but the weather blowing hard, could give no aſſiſtance, yet commanders at ſea are obliged ſo to do, to encourage thoſe that are in diſtreſs. This he did the more readily, as miſdoubting this had happened by the contrivance of the maſter, to avoid going the voyage, as he attempted to do before they ſet out. Pinzon the captain, being an able ſeaman, ſoon repaired that fault with the help of ſome ropes, ſo that they were able to continue their voyage, till on Tueſday following, the weather being rough, the ropes broke, and they were forced again to lie by to mend what had given way. From which misfortune of breaking of the rudder twice, any body that had been ſuperſtitious, might have foreboded its future diſobedience to the admiral, when through the malice of Pinzon, it twice got away from him, as ſhall be mentioned hereafter.

To return to what we have in hand, they apply the beſt remedy they could for the preſent, that they might at leaſt reach the Canary iſlands, which all three ſhips diſcovered on Thurſday the ninth of Auguſt about break of day, but the wind being contrary, they could not come to an anchor at Gran Canaria, though very near it, that day nor the two following. Here the admiral left Pinzon, that going aſhore he might endeavour to get another ſhip; and he to the ſame purpoſe went away to the iſland Gomera, with the caraval called La Nina, that if they failed of a veſſel in one iſland, they might find it in the other. Thus he came to Gomera on the Sunday following, being the twelfth day of Auguſt, and ſent his boat aſhore, which returned in the morning, with the news that there was never a veſſel in the iſland at that time, but that they hourly expected the lady Beatrix de Bobadilla, proprietreſs of that ſame iſland, who was then at Gran Canaria, and had hired a veſſel of forty tun, belonging to one Gradenna of Sevile, which being fit for the voyage he deſigned, he might have taken. Therefore the admiral reſolved to expect him in that port, believing that if Pinzon had not been able to repair his own veſſel, he might himſelf have got another at Gomera. Having ſtayed there the two following days, and the veſſel above mentioned not appearing, he ſent a man aboard a bark that was bound from Gomera to Gran Canaria, to acquaint Pinzon where he lay, and aſſiſt him in fixing his rudder, writing to him that he did not go himſelf to aſſiſt him, becauſe that veſſel could not fail. But it being long after the departure of that bark, before the admiral received any anſwer; he reſolved on the twenty third of Auguſt to return with

with his two veſſels to Gran Canaria, and ſailing the next day, met in the way the aforementioned bark, which was not yet arrived at Gran Canaria, by reaſon of the contrary winds. Having taken out the man he had ſent aboard the bark, that night he ſailed cloſe by Tenerife, where they ſaw flames guſh out of the high rock commonly called the Peake, or rather El Pico, which his men admiring at, he told them the occaſion of that fire, proving what he ſaid by the example of Mount Ætna in Sicily, and of many others like it. Leaving that iſland they arrived at Gran Canaria upon Saturday the twenty fifth, whither Pinzon with much difficulty was got in but the day before. By him he was informed that the lady Beatrix was ſailed the Monday before, with that veſſel he took ſuch pains to get, and the others being much troubled at it, he made the beſt of whatever happened; affirming, that ſince it did not pleaſe God he ſhould meet with that veſſel, it was perhaps becauſe in finding it, he would at the ſame time have met with ſome obſtacle or oppoſition in preſſing of it, and have loſt time in ſhipping and unſhipping the goods, which would be a hindrance to his voyage; for this reaſon, fearing if he returned to ſeek it at Gomera, he might miſs of it by the way; he reſolved to repair his caraval the beſt he could at Gran Canaria, making a new rudder, ſhe having loſt hers, and to change the ſails of the other caraval called La Nina, which were ſquare, to round, that ſhe might follow the other ſhips with leſs danger and agitation.

## CHAP. XVIII. — *How the Admiral ſet ſail from the Iſland of Gran Canaria upon his Diſcovery, and what happened to him on the Ocean.*

WHEN the ſhips were refitted and in order to ſail on Friday, (this by what follows ought to be Saturday) the firſt of September; in the afternoon the admiral weighed anchor, and departed from Gran Canaria, arriving the next day at Gomera, where four days more were ſpent in laying in proviſions, wood and water; ſo that next Thurſday in the morning which was on the ſixth of September 1482, which may be accounted the firſt ſetting out upon the voyage on the ocean, the admiral departed from Gomera, and ſtood away to the weſtward, but made but little way by reaſon of the calm. On Sunday about day, he found himſelf nine leagues weſt of the iſland Ferro, where they loſt ſight of land, and many fearing it would be long before they ſhould ſee it again, ſighed and wept, but the admiral, after comforting them all with great promiſes of lands, and wealth to raiſe their hopes, and leſſen the fear they had conceived of the length of the way, though they ſailed eighteen leagues that day, he pretended by his computation it was but fifteen, reſolving all the voyage to keep ſhort in his reckoning, that his men might not think themſelves ſo far from Spain as they were, if he ſhould truly ſet down the way he made, which yet he privately marked down. Continuing thus his voyage, on Wedneſday the twelfth of September, about ſun-ſetting, being about one hundred and fifty leagues weſt of the iſland Ferro, he diſcovered a large body of the maſt of a tree of one hundred and twenty ton, which ſeemed to have been a long time upon the water. There and ſomewhat further the current ſet ſtrong towards the north-eaſt; but when he had run fifty leagues farther weſtward, on the thirteenth of September, he found that at night fall the needle varied half a point towards the north-eaſt, and at break of day, half a point more, by which he underſtood that the needle did not point at the north ſtar, but at ſome other fixed and viſible point. This variation no man had obſerved before, and therefore he had occaſion to be ſurprifed at it; but he was more amazed the third day after, when he was almoſt one hundred leagues further; for at night the needles varied about a point to the north-eaſt, and in the

morning they pointed upon the ſtar. On Saturday the fifteenth of September, being almoſt three hundred leagues weſt of Ferro, at night they ſaw a wonderful flaſh of light fall from the ſky into the ſea, about four or five leagues diſtance from the ſhips towards the ſouth-weſt, though the weather was then fair, like April, the wind favourable at north-eaſt, the ſea ſtill, and the current ſetting north-eaſt. The men aboard the caraval, called La Nina, told the admiral, they had the Friday before ſeen a heron and another ſort of bird, which the Spaniards call rabo de junco, which they were amazed at, thoſe being the firſt birds they had ſeen: but they were more ſurpriſed the next day, which was Sunday, at the great abundance of weeds between green and yellow, that appeared upon the water, which ſeemed to be newly waſhed away from ſome iſland or rock. They ſaw enough of theſe weeds the next day, which made many affirm they were already near land, eſpecially becauſe they ſaw a ſmall lobſter alive among thoſe weeds, which they ſaid ſomewhat reſembled the herb ſtar-wort, but that the ſtalk and branches were long, and it was all full of ſmall ſeeds. Afterwards they obſerved that the ſea water was but half as ſalt as before; beſides, that night abundance of tunny fiſhes followed them, running along, and ſticking ſo cloſe to them, that thoſe aboard the caraval Nina, killed one with a bearded iron. Being now three hundred and ſixty leagues weſt of Ferro, they ſaw another of thoſe birds the Spaniards call rabo de junco, becauſe of a long feather their tail conſiſts of, and in Spaniſh, rabo ſignifies a tail, as junco is a ruſh, ſo that rabo de junco imports ruſh tail. On Tueſday following, being the eighteenth of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who was gone a-head with the caraval called Pinta, which was an excellent ſailer, lay by for the admiral, and told him he had ſeen a great number of birds fly away weſtward, for which reaſon he hoped to find land that night, and he thought he ſaw the land to the northward, fifteen leagues diſtant; that day about ſun-ſetting, looking very dark and cloudy. But the admiral knowing for certain it was no land, he would not loſe time to diſcover it, as all his men would have had him; foraſmuch as he was not yet come to the place where he expected by his computation to find land, therefore they took in their top ſails at night, becauſe the wind freſhened, having for eleven days never abated one handful of ſail, going ſtill before the wind weſtward.

## CHAP. XIX. — *How all the Men carefully obſerved what Signs they diſcovered, being eager to diſcover Land.*

ALL the men aboard the ſhips being unacquainted with that voyage, and fearful of the danger becauſe far from any relief, there were ſome that began to mutter, and ſeeing nothing but ſky and water, carefully obſerved every thing that appeared, at greater diſtance from land than any had been before. For which reaſon I will relate all they made any account of, and this only in the firſt voyage; for I ſhall not mention leſſer tokens generally ſeen upon ſuch occaſions. On the 19th of September, in the morning, a fowl called Alcatraz, which is a ſort of ſea-gull, flew over the admiral's ſhip, and others in the afternoon, which made him conceive hope of land, he imagining they would not fly very far from it. Upon theſe hopes, as ſoon as the wind abated, they ſounded with two hundred fathom of line; and though they found no bottom, they perceived the current now ſet ſouth-weſt. On Thurſday, the 22d, two hours before noon, two alcatrazes came to the ſhip, and another ſome time after; beſides, they took a bird like a heron, but that it was black, and had a white tuft on the head, the feet like a duck, as commonly water-fowls have; they alſo caught a little

fiſh, and ſaw abundance of weeds; and about evening there came aboard three land-fowls ſinging, but at break of day they flew away, which was ſome comfort to them; conſidering that the other fowls being large, and uſed to the water, might better go far from land, but that theſe little ones could not come from any far diſtant country. Three hours after they ſaw another alcatraz, that came from the weſt-north-weſt, and the next day afternoon they ſaw another rabo de junco and an alcatraz, and there appeared more weeds than before, towards the north, as far as they could ſee; which things ſometimes were a comfort to them, believing they might come from ſome near land, and ſometimes they cauſed dread, becauſe they were ſo thick that in ſome meaſure they ſtayed the ſhips, and fear making things worſe than they are, they apprehended that might befall them which is fabulouſly reported of St. Amaro in the frozen ſea, who is ſaid not to ſuffer ſhips to ſtir backwards or forwards, and therefore they ſteered away from thoſe ſhoals of weeds, as much as they could. But to return to the tokens: the next day they ſaw a whale, and on Saturday following, being the 22d of September, ſome ſmall birds; and the wind thoſe days blew at ſouth-weſt, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs weſt, which, though contrary to their voyage, the admiral ſaid he looked upon as very good, and a help to them; becauſe the men continually muttering, among other things that increaſed their fear, ſaid this was one; that ſince the wind was always right a-ſtern, they ſhould never in thoſe ſeas have a gale to carry them back; and though ſometimes they found the contrary, they alleged that it was no ſettled wind, and that not being ſtrong enough to ſwell the ſea, it would never carry them back ſo far as they had to ſail. Whatſoever the admiral could ſay, telling them that the reaſon was the lands being now near, which did not ſuffer the waves to riſe, and uſing the beſt argument he could, yet he affirms he ſtood in need of God's particular aſſiſtance, as Moſes did when he led the Iſraelites out of Egypt, who forbore laying violent hands upon him, becauſe of the prodigies God wrought by his means. So, ſaid the admiral it happened to him in that voyage; for upon Sunday following, the wind ſtarted up at weſt-north-weſt, with a rolling ſea as the men wiſhed; and three hours before noon they ſaw a turtle fly over the ſhip, and about evening an alcatraz, a river fowl, and other white birds, and ſome crabs among the weeds; and the next day they ſpied another alcatraz, and ſeveral ſmall birds that came from the weſt, and ſmall fiſhes, whereof the men of the other veſſels ſtuck ſome with harping irons, becauſe they would not bite at the hook.

## CHAP. XX. — *How the Men mutinied to turn back, and ſeeing other Signs and Tokens of Land, went on well enough ſatisfied:*

THE more the aforeſaid tokens were found vain, the more they took occaſion to apprehend and mutter; caballing together, and ſaying the admiral, out of a fooliſh fancy of his own, had deſigned to make himſelf a great lord at the expence of their lives and danger; and ſince they had done their duty in trying their fortune, and had gone farther from land and any ſuccour than any others had done, they ought not to deſtroy themſelves, nor proceed in that voyage, ſince if they did, they ſhould have cauſe to repent; for proviſions would fall ſhort, and the ſhips fail, which they knew were already ſo faulty, that it would be hard to get back ſo far as they were gone, and that none would condemn them for ſo doing, but they would rather be looked upon as very brave men for going upon ſuch a deſign and venturing ſo far; and that the admiral being a foreigner, and having no favour at court, and ſo many wiſe and learned men having

having condemned his opinion, there would be nobody now to favour and defend him, and they ſhould ſooner find credit, if they accuſed him of ignorance and miſmanagement, than he, whatſoever he could ſay for himſelf. Nor did there want ſome who ſaid, that to end all diſpute, in caſe he would not acquieſce to them, they might make ſhort and throw him overboard, and give out, that as he was making his obſervations he dropped into the ſea; and no man would go about to enquire into the truth of it, which was the readieſt way for them to return home and ſecure themſelves. Thus they went on from day to day, muttering, complaining, and conſulting together: nor was the admiral without apprehenſions of their inconſtancy, and ill intentions towards him. Therefore ſometimes with good words, and ſometimes with a full reſolution to expoſe his life; putting them in mind of the puniſhment due to them if they obſtructed the voyage, he in ſome meaſure quelled their apprehenſions, and ſuppreſſed their ill deſigns. To confirm the hope he gave them, he put them in mind of the aforeſaid ſigns and tokens, aſſuring them they would ſoon find land; which ſigns they were ſo attentive to, that they thought every hour a year till they ſaw land. On Tueſday the 25th of September, about ſun-ſetting, as the admiral was diſcourſing with Pinzon, whoſe ſhip was very near, the ſaid Pinzon on a ſudden cried out, "Land, land, ſir! Let not my good news miſcarry;" and ſhewed him towards the ſouth-weſt a bulk which looked very like an iſland, about twenty-five leagues from the ſhips. This was ſo pleaſing to the men, that they returned thanks to God; and the admiral, who had given no credit to theſe words, to pleaſe the men, and that they ſhould not obſtruct his voyage, ſtood that way a great part of the night. Next morning they perceived that what they had ſeen were only clouds, which often look like land; for which reaſon, to the great diſſatisfaction of moſt of the ſailors, they turned the ſterns of their ſhips weſtward, as they had always done, except when the wind hindered. Continuing ſtill attentive to the ſigns, they ſaw an alcatraz, a rabo de junco, and other birds like thoſe above mentioned. On Thurſday the 27th of September, in the morning, they ſaw another alcatraz coming from the weſt, and ſailing eaſtward, and abundance of fiſhes with gilt backs appeared, whereof they ſtruck one with a harping-iron. A rabo de junco flew by them, and they found that the currents for thoſe laſt days were not ſo regularly fixed as they uſed to be before, but turned with the tide, and there were not ſo many weeds as before. On Friday following, all the ſhips took ſome fiſhes with gilt backs, and on Saturday they ſaw a rabo de junco, which though it be a ſea-fowl does not reſt on it, but flies always in the air, purſuing the alcatrazes, till it makes them drop their excrement for fear, which it catches in the air for its nouriſhment; and thus it maintains itſelf on the ſea; and it is reported there are many of them about the iſlands of Cabo Verde. Soon after they ſaw two other alcatrazes, and abundance of flying fiſhes, which are about a ſpan long, and have two little wings like a bat; they fly about a pike high from the water, and a muſket-ſhot in length, more or leſs, and ſometimes they drop upon the ſhips. After noon they ſaw abundance of weeds lying in length north and ſouth, as they had done before, beſides three alcatrazes and a rabo de junco that purſued them.

On Sunday morning four rabo de juncoes came to the ſhip, by reaſon of whoſe coming ſo together, it was thought the land was nearer, eſpecially becauſe ſoon after there flew by four alcatrazes, and abundance of weeds were ſeen in a line lying weſt-north-weſt and eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and alſo a great number of thoſe fiſhes they call emperadores, which have a very hard ſkin, and are not fit to eat. How much ſoever the admiral regarded theſe tokens, yet he never forgot thoſe in the heaven, and the

courſe

courſe of the ſtars. He therefore obſerved in this place, to his great admiration, that the Charles-wain at night appeared in the weſt point, and in the morning they were directly north-eaſt, by which he gathered that their whole night's courſe was but three lines, or nine hours, that is, ſo many parts of twenty-four; and this he made out every night. He alſo perceived, that at night-fall the compaſs varied a whole point to the north-weſt, and at break of day it came right with the ſtar. Theſe things confounded the pilots, till he told them the cauſe of it was the compaſs the ſtar took about the pole, which was ſome ſatisfaction to them; for this variation made them apprehend ſome danger in ſuch an unknown diſtance from home, and ſuch ſtrange regions.

CHAP. XXI. — *How they ſaw not only the aforementioned Signs and Tokens, but others better than they, which were ſome Comfort to the Men.*

ON Monday the 1ſt of October, after ſun-riſing, an alcatraz came to the ſhip, and two more about ten in the morning, and long ſtreams of weeds lay from eaſt to weſt. That day in the morning, the pilot of the admiral's ſhip ſaid they were five hundred and ſeventy-eight leagues weſt of the iſland Ferro: the admiral ſaid, by his account, they were five hundred and eighty-four leagues; but in private he concluded it was ſeven hundred and ſeven, which is one hundred and twenty-nine leagues more than the pilot reckoned. The other two ſhips differed very much in their computation, for the pilot of the caraval Ninna on Wedneſday following, afternoon, ſaid they had ſailed five hundred and forty leagues, and the other of the caraval Pinta ſaid ſix hundred and thirty-four. Adding all they had ſailed during thoſe three days, they were ſtill much ſhort of truth; for they went always before the wind, and had run much more. But the admiral, as has been ſaid, winked at this groſs miſtake, that the men might not be quite dejected, being ſo far from home. The next day, being the 2d of October, they ſaw abundance of fiſh, catched a ſmall tunny, and ſaw a white bird, and many other ſmallones, and the weeds they ſaw were withered and almoſt fallen to powder. The next day after, ſeeing no birds, but ſome fiſh, they miſtruſted they had left ſome iſlands on both hands, and were ſlipped between without diſcovering them; gueſſing that thoſe many birds they had ſeen were paſſing from one iſland to another. They were very earneſt to ſteer either one way or the other, to ſeek out thoſe lands they imagined; but the admiral would not conſent, being unwilling to loſe the fair wind that carried him away to weſtward, which he accounted his ſureſt courſe; and beſides, becauſe he thought it was leſſening the reputation of his undertaking, to run from one place to another, ſeeking that which he always affirmed he well knew where to find. For this reaſon the men were ready to mutiny, continuing to mutter and conſpire againſt him: but it pleaſed God, as was ſaid above, to aſſiſt him by the means of freſh tokens; for on Thurſday, the 4th of October, afternoon, above forty ſparrows together, and two alcatrazes, flew ſo near the ſhips that a ſeaman killed one of them with a ſtone; and before this they had ſeen another bird like a rabo de junco, and another like a ſwallow, and a great many flying-fiſhes fell into the ſhips. Next day there came a rabo de junco and an alcatraz from the weſtward, and abundance of ſparrows were ſeen. On Sunday the 7th of October, about ſun-riſing, ſome ſigns of land appeared weſtward, but being imperfect, no man would ſpeak of it, not ſo much for the ſhame that would follow of aſſerting what was not, as for fear of loſing thirty crowns a year, Their Catholic Majeſties had promiſed for life, to him that ſhould firſt diſcover land; and to prevent their crying land, land, at every turn, as they might

do without cauſe, at every turn, out of covetouſneſs of that allowance, it was ordered that whoſoever ſaid he ſaw land, if it were not made out in three days after, ſhould loſe the reward, though afterwards he ſhould prove the firſt diſcoverer. All aboard the admiral being thus forewarned, none of them durſt cry out land; but thoſe in the caraval Ninna, which was a better ſailor, and kept a-head, believing it to be certainly land, fired a gun, and put out their colours in token of land. But the farther they ſailed, the more their joys vaniſhed, till that appearance quite vaniſhed, though it pleaſed God ſoon after to give them ſome manner of comfort, for they ſaw great flights of great fowl, and others of ſmall land-birds, flying from the weſt towards the ſouth-weſt. Therefore the admiral being now ſo far from Spain, and ſure that ſuch ſmall birds would not go far from land; he altered his courſe, which till then was weſt, and ſtood to the ſouth-weſt, ſaying, that if he changed his road, it was becauſe he deviated but little from his firſt deſign, and becauſe he would follow the example of the Portugueſe, who had diſcovered moſt of their iſlands by means of ſuch birds, and the more becauſe thoſe they ſaw followed almoſt the ſame way. He had always propoſed to himſelf to find land according to the place they were then in; ſince as they well knew, he had often told them, he never expected to find land till he was ſeven hundred and fifty leagues to the weſtward of the Canaries; within which diſtance he had farther ſaid, he ſhould diſcover Hiſpaniola, which he then called Cipango; and there is no doubt but he had found it, had not he known it was reported to lie in length from north to ſouth: for which reaſon he had not inclined more to the ſouth to run upon it, and therefore that and others of the Caribbee iſlands lay now on his larboard-ſide, ſouth of him, whither thoſe birds were directing their courſe. Being ſo near to land was the reaſon they continually ſaw ſuch abundance of birds; and on Monday the 8th of October, there came to the ſhip twelve ſinging birds of ſeveral colours, and after flying a turn about the ſhip, they held on their way. They alſo ſaw from the ſhips many other birds flying towards the ſouth-weſt; and that ſame night abundance of large fowls were ſeen, and flights of ſmall birds coming from the northward, and flying after the reſt. Beſides, they ſaw a good number of tunny fiſh. In the morning they ſpied a jay, an alcatraz, ducks and ſmall birds, flying the ſame way the others had done; and they perceived the air to be freſh and odoriferous, as it is at Seville in April. But they were now ſo eager to ſee land, that they had faith in no ſigns whatſoever: ſo that though on Wedneſday the 10th of October, they ſaw abundance of birds paſs by both day and night, yet the men did not ceaſe to complain, nor the admiral to blame their want of courage: declaring to them, that right or wrong they muſt go on in diſcovering the Indies Their Catholic Majeſties had ſent them to.

## CHAP. XXII. — *How the Admiral diſcovered the firſt Land, which was an Iſland called De Los Lucayos.*

THE admiral being no longer able to withſtand ſo many as oppoſed him, it pleaſed God that on Thurſday the 11th of October, afternoon, the men took heart and rejoiced, having manifeſt tokens that they were near land, which were, that thoſe aboard the admiral ſaw a green ruſh ſwim by the ſhip, and then a great green fiſh of that ſort that goes not far from the rocks. Thoſe aboard the caraval Pinta ſaw a cane and a ſtaff, and took up another ſtaff curiouſly wrought, and a ſmall board, and abundance of weeds freſh waſhed away from the banks. Thoſe in the caraval Ninna ſaw other ſuch like tokens, and a branch of a thorn full of red berries, which ſeemed to be newly

newly broke off. By theſe tokens, and reaſon itſelf, the admiral being aſſured he was near land, at night, after prayers, he made a ſpeech to all the men in general, putting them in mind how great a mercy it was that God had brought them ſo long a voyage with ſuch fair weather, and comforting them with tokens which every day were plainer and plainer; therefore he prayed them to be very watchful that night, ſince they well knew that in the firſt article of the inſtructions he gave each ſhip at the Canary iſlands, he ordained that when they had ſailed ſeven hundred leagues to the weſtward, without diſcovering land, they ſhould lie by from midnight till day. Therefore, ſince they had not yet obtained their deſires in diſcovering land, they ſhould at leaſt expreſs their zeal in being watchful. And foraſmuch, as he had moſt aſſured hopes of finding land that night, every one ſhould watch in his place; for beſides the gratuity their highneſſes had promiſed of thirty crowns a year for life, to him that firſt ſaw land, he would give him a velvet doublet. After this, about ten at night, as the admiral was in the great cabin, he ſaw a light aſhore, but ſaid it was ſo blind he could not affirm it to be land, though he called one Peter Gutieres, and bid him obſerve whether he ſaw the ſaid light, who ſaid he did; but preſently they called one Roderick Sanchez of Segovia, to look that way, but he could not ſee it, becauſe he came not up time enough where it might be ſeen; nor did they ſee it afterwards above once or twice, which made them judge it might be a candle or torch belonging to ſome fiſherman or traveller, who lifted it up and let it fall down; or perhaps that they were people going from one houſe to another, becauſe it vaniſhed and ſuddenly appeared again; ſo that few would gueſs but that they were near land. Being now very much upon their guard, they ſtill held on their courſe, till about two in the morning the caraval Pinta, which being an excellent ſailer was far a-head, gave the ſignal of land, which was firſt diſcovered by a ſailor whoſe name was Roderick de Triana, being two leagues from ſhore. But the thirty crowns a year was not granted by their catholic majeſties to him, but to the admiral, who had ſeen the light in the midſt of darkneſs, ſignifying the ſpiritual light he was then ſpreading in thoſe dark regions. Being now near land, all the ſhips lay by, thinking it a long time till morning, that they might ſee what they had ſo long deſired.

## CHAP. XXIII. — *How the Admiral went aſhore and took poſſeſſion for Their Catholic Majeſties.*

DAY appearing, they perceived it was an iſland, fifteen leagues in length, plain, without hills, and full of green trees and delicious waters, with a great lake in the middle, inhabited by abundance of people, who ran down to the ſhore aſtoniſhed and admiring at the ſight of the ſhips, believing them to be ſome living creatures, and were impatient to know certainly what they were. Nor were the Chriſtians leſs haſty to know them, whoſe curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied, for they ſoon came to an anchor; the admiral went aſhore with his boat well armed, and the royal ſtandard diſplayed, as did the captains of the other two ſhips in their boats, with their particular colours of this enterprize, which were a green croſs with an F. on the one ſide, and on the other the names of Ferdinand and Iſabel, or Elizabeth crowned. Having all given thanks to God, kneeling on the ſhore, and kiſſed the ground with tears of joy, for the great mercy received, the admiral ſtood up, and called that iſland St. Salvador. After that he took poſſeſſion for Their Catholic Majeſties, in the uſual words, and with the ſolemnity proper in thoſe caſes; abundance of the natives that were come out being

preſent, and conſequently the Chriſtians admitted him as admiral and viceroy, and ſwore to obey him as repreſenting their Highneſſes' perſons, and with ſuch expreſſions of joy as became their mighty ſucceſs, all of them begging his pardon for all the affronts they had done him through their fear and irreſolution. Abundance of the Indians being come down to this rejoicing, and the admiral perceiving they were peaceable, quiet, and very ſimple people, he gave them ſome red caps, and ſtrings of glaſs beads, which they hung about their necks, and other things of ſmall value, which they valued as if they had been ſtone of high price.

## CHAP. XXIV. — *The Manners and Cuſtoms of thoſe People, and what the Admiral ſaw in that Iſland.*

THE admiral being gone off to his boats, the Indians followed him to them and to the ſhips ſwimming, and others in their canoes, carrying parrots, bottoms of ſpun cotton, javelins, and other ſuch trifles to barter for glaſs beads, bells, and other things of ſmall value. Like people in their original ſimplicity, they went naked as they were born, and a woman that was among them had no other clothing. Moſt of them were young, not above thirty years of age; of a good ſtature; their hair lank, thick, very black and ſhort, being cut above their ears, except ſome few who had let it grow down to their ſhoulders, and had tied it with a ſtrong thread about their head like women's treſſes. Their countenances were pleaſant, and their features good, but their too high foreheads made them look ſomewhat wild. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, plump, but of an olive colour like the people of the Canaries, or peaſants that are ſun-burnt. Some were painted with black, ſome with white and others with red; ſome only the faces, others the whole body, and others nothing but the eyes and noſe. They had no weapons like our men, nor knowledge of them; for when the Chriſtians ſhewed them a naked ſword, they took it ſimply by the edge. Nor had they any knowledge of iron, and therefore they made their javelins we mentioned of wands, with the points hardened at the fire, arming them with a fiſh bone inſtead of iron. Some of them having ſcars of wounds about them, and being aſked by ſigns how they came by them, they anſwered by ſigns that people came from other iſlands to take them away, and they received thoſe wounds in their own defence. They ſeemed ingenious and of a voluble tongue, for they eaſily repeated the words they once heard. There was no ſort of creatures there but parrots, which they carried to barter among the other things we have ſpoke of, and in this trade they continued till night. Next day, being the 13th of October, in the morning many of them came down to the ſhore and went aboard in their boats called canoes, which were made of one piece, being the body of a tree hollowed like a tray. The biggeſt of them were ſo large, they contained forty or forty-five men, and ſo leſs and leſs, till ſome would hold but one. They rowed with a paddle like a baker's peel, or thoſe they uſe in dreſſing hemp; true it is, that the oars are not fixed on the ſide with pins to turn as ours are, but they dip them in the water, and pull back as if they were digging. Theſe canoes are ſo light and ſo artificially built, that if they overſet they ſoon turn them right again, ſwimming, and empty the water by throwing the water from ſide to ſide like a weaver's ſhuttle; and when it is above half out, they lade out what remains with dried calabaſhes cut in two, which they carry for that purpoſe. That day they brought ſuch things to barter for as they had the day before, giving all they had for any ſmall things they could get. Jewels or any ſort of metal were not ſeen among them, except ſome ſmall plates of gold

gold which hung at their noſtrils; and being aſked whence they had that gold, they anſwered by ſigns towards the ſouth, where there was a King who had abundance of pieces and veſſels of gold, expreſſing that towards the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, there were many other iſlands and large countries. Being very covetous of any thing of ours, and being themſelves but poor, and having nothing to give in exchange, as ſoon as they came aboard, if they could lay their hands on any thing, though it were but a piece of a broken earthen glazed diſh or porringer, they leaped into the ſea and ſwam aſhore; and if they brought any thing aboard, they would give it for any trifling thing of ours, or bit of broken glaſs, ſo that ſome of them gave ſixteen bottoms of cotton for three ſmall pieces of Portugueſe braſs coin not worth a farthing; theſe bottoms weighed twenty-five pounds, and the cotton was very well ſpun. Thus they ſpent the day, and at night they all went aſhore. It is to be obſerved, that their liberality in dealing did not proceed from the great value they put upon thoſe things themſelves which they had of our men, but becauſe they valued them as being ours, looking upon it as moſt certain that our men were come down from heaven, and therefore they earneſtly deſired to have ſomething left them as a memorial.

## CHAP. XXV. — *How the Admiral departed from that Iſland, and went to diſcover others.*

NEXT Sunday, being the 15th of October, the admiral run along the coaſt of the iſland, towards the north-weſt, in his boats, to diſcover ſomething about it; and that way he went, he found a large bay or harbour capable of containing all the ſhips in Chriſtendom. The people ſeeing him ſcour along, ran after, along the ſhore, crying out, and promiſing to give him proviſions, calling others to come to ſee the people dropped from heaven upon earth, and lifted up their hands to heaven, as it were giving thanks for their coming. Many of them ſwimming, or in their canoes, as beſt they could, came to the boats, aſking by ſigns, whether they were come down from heaven, and praying them to land and reſt themſelves. The admiral gave them all glaſs beads, pins, and other trifles, rejoicing at their great ſimplicity, till he came to a peninſula, which made a good port, and where a good fort might be made. There he ſaw ſix houſes of the Indians with gardens about them, as pleaſant as they are in Caſtile in May. But his men being weary of rowing, and he plainly perceiving that was none of the land he looked for, nor ſo beneficial, as that he ſhould make any longer ſtay there, he took ſeven of thoſe Indians to ſerve him as interpreters; and returning to his ſhips, ſailed for other iſlands that could be diſcovered from the peninſula, and appeared to be plain, green, and very populous, as the Indians themſelves affirmed. The next day being Monday, the 16th of October, he came to one that was ſeven leagues from the other, and called it St. Mary of the Conception. That ſide of this iſland next St. Salvador extended north-weſt five leagues in length, but the admiral went to that ſide which lies eaſt and weſt, and is above ten leagues in length; and being come to an anchor towards the weſt, landed to do as he had done in the other. Here the people of the iſland ran together to ſee the Chriſtians, admiring as the others had done. The admiral perceiving this was the ſame thing as the laſt, the next day, being Tueſday, ſailed weſtward to another iſland conſiderably bigger, and anchored upon the coaſt of it, which runs north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, above twenty-eight leagues. This was like the others, plain, had a fine ſtrand, and was called Fernandina. Before they came to this iſland, and that of the Conception, they

found a man in a ſmall canoe, who had a piece of their bread, and a calabaſh of water, and a little earth like vermillion, wherewith thoſe people paint their bodies, as was ſaid above, and ſome dry leaves, which they value, as being of a ſweet ſcent and wholeſome; and in a little baſket he had a ſtring of beads of green glaſs, and two ſmall pieces of Portugueſe money, by which it was gueſſed that he was come from St. Salvador, that he had paſſed by the Conception, and was going to Fernandina to carry news of the Chriſtians: but becauſe the way was far and he weary, he came to the ſhips, was taken up with his canoe, and courteouſly treated by the admiral, deſigning as ſoon as he came to land to ſend him aſhore, which he did, that he might ſpread the news. The good account he gave cauſed the people of Fernandina to come aboard in their canoes, to exchange the ſame ſort of things the others had done before, for theſe people were like the reſt; and when the boat went aſhore for water, the Indians very readily ſhowed where it was, and carried a ſmall caſk-full on their ſhoulders to fill the hogſheads in the boat. They ſeemed to be a wiſer and diſcreeter people than the firſt, and as ſuch bargained harder for what they exchanged, had cotton cloth in their houſes, and bed-clothes; and the women covered their privities with ſhort hanging cotton cloths, and others with a ſort of ſwathe. Among other notable things they ſaw in that iſland, were ſome trees which ſeemed to be grafted, becauſe they had leaves and branches of four or five ſeveral ſorts, and yet were natural. They alſo ſaw fiſhes of ſeveral ſhapes and fine colours, but no ſort of land creatures but lizards and ſnakes. The better to diſcover the iſland, they ſailed away north-weſt, and came to an anchor at the mouth of a beautiful harbour, at the entrance whereof was a ſmall iſland, and therefore they could not get in, there being but little water; nor did they much care, becauſe they would not be far from a town that appeared at a diſtance: for in the biggeſt iſland they had yet ſeen they had not found above twelve or fifteen houſes together, built like tents, in which they ſaw no other ornaments or moveables but what they carried to the ſhips to exchange. Their beds were like a net, drawn together in the nature of a ſling tied to two poſts in their houſes, in which they lie. Here they ſaw ſome dogs like maſtiffs, and others like beagles, but none of them barked.

## CHAP. XXVI. — *How the Admiral ſailed by other Iſlands that were in ſight where he was.*

FINDING nothing of value in this iſland Fernandina, on Friday the 19th of October they ſailed away to another, called Saomotto, to which he gave the name of Iſabella, to proceed regularly in his names; for the firſt which the Indians called Guanabani he called St. Salvador, or St. Saviour, in honour of God, who had ſhewed it, and delivered him from many dangers. The ſecond, for his particular devotion, to the conception of the Virgin Mary, and becauſe ſhe is the great patroneſs of Chriſtians, he called St. Mary of the Conception; the third he called Fernandina, in honour of the Catholic King; and the fourth Iſabella, in memory of the Catholic Queen; and the next after it which was Cuba, he ſtyled Joanna, in reſpect to Prince John, heir of Caſtile, having in theſe names regard to both ſpirituals and temporals. True it is, that as to goodneſs, extent, and beauty, he ſaid this Fernandina far exceeded the others; for beſides that it abounded in delicious waters, pleaſant meadows and trees, among which were many aloes; there were in it ſome hills, which the others wanted, being very plain. The admiral enamoured with its beauty, and to perform the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion, landed upon ſome meadows as pleaſant and delightful as they are in Spain in April; and there was heard

heard the ſinging of nightingales and other birds ſo ſweet that he could ſcarce depart. Nor were they only about the trees, but flew through the air in ſuch ſwarms that they darkened he ſun, and moſt of them differed much from our birds. There being abundance of water and lakes, near to one of them they ſaw a ſort of alligator, ſeven feet long, and above afoot wide in the belly, which being diſturbed by our men threw itſelf into the lake; but it not being deep they killed it with their ſpears, not without dread and admiration, becauſe of its fierce and frightful look. Time afterwards made them look upon this as a dainty, it being the beſt food the Indians had, foraſmuch as when that horrid ſkin and the ſcales that cover it are taken off the fleſh is very white and very delicious; the Indians call them yvanas. Being very deſirous to know more of that country, and it being then late, they left that creature for the next day, when they killed another, as they had done the firſt; and travelling up the land found a town, the people whereof fled, carrying away as much of their goods as they could. The admiral would not ſuffer any thing of what they had left to be taken away, leſt they ſhould look upon the Chriſtians as thieves. Therefore their fear being ſoon over, they came of their own accord to the ſhips to barter as the others had done.

## CHAP. XXVII.—*How the Admiral diſcovered the Iſland of Cuba; and what he found there.*

THE admiral having learned the ſecrets of the iſland Iſabella, its product, and the manners of the people, would loſe no more time among thoſe iſlands, becauſe they were many and like one another, as the Indians ſaid. He therefore ſet ſail with a fair wind for a very large country much applauded by them all, called Cuba, which lay towards the ſouth, and on Sunday the 28th of October, he came up with the coaſt of it on the north ſide. This iſland at firſt ſight appeared to be better and richer than thoſe before-named, as well by reaſon of the beauty of its hills and mountains, as for the variety of trees, the large plains, and the greatneſs and extent of its coaſts and rivers. Therefore to get ſome knowledge of its people, he came to an anchor in a large river, where the trees were very thick and tall, adorned with fruit and bloſſoms, differing from ours, and where there were abundance of birds, the place moſt delicious, for the graſs was high, and nothing like ours; and though there were ſeveral ſorts of herbs known to us, yet the great variety made our men not know them. Going to two houſes that were not far off, they found the people were fled for fear, and had left their nets and all other fiſhing-tackle, and a dog that did not bark. As the admiral had ordered, nothing was touched, for it was enough for him at preſent to ſee what their food and neceſſaries were. Returning to their ſhips they held on their courſe weſtward, and came to another river, which the admiral called de Mares, or of ſeas. This much exceeded the other, becauſe a ſhip could turn it up, and the banks were much inhabited; but the people ſeeing the ſhips, fled towards the mountains, which appeared, and were high, round, and covered with trees and pleaſant plants, whither the Indians conveyed all they could carry away. The admiral being diſappointed, by the people's fear, of learning any thing of the nature of the iſland, and conſidering if he landed with many men it would increaſe their terror, he reſolved to ſend two Chriſtians, with one of the Indians he brought from St. Salvador, and with one of that country, who ventured to come aboard in his canoe. Theſe he ordered to travel up into the country, making much of the natives they met by the way; and that no time might be loſt whilſt they were going, he ordered the ſhip to be laid aſhore to careen her, where they obſerved that all the fire they made was maſtic, whereof there was plenty all the country over. This tree is in all reſpects like our maſtic-tree, but much bigger.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *How the two Chriſtians returned, and the Report they made of what they had ſeen.*

THE ſhip being repaired and ready to ſail, the Chriſtians returned with two Indians on the 5th of November, ſaying they had travelled twelve leagues up the land, and came to a town of fifty pretty large houſes, all of timber covered with ſtraw, and made after the manner of pavillions, like the others; that they contained about one thouſand people, becauſe all that were of one family lived in a houſe; that the principal men of the place came out to meet them, and led them by the arms to their town, giving them one of thoſe great houſes to lodge in, where they made them ſit down upon ſeats made of one piece, in ſtrange ſhapes, and almoſt like ſome creature that had ſhort legs, and the tail lifted up to lean againſt, which is as broad as the ſeat, for the conveniency of leaning, with a head before, and the eyes and ears of gold. Theſe ſeats they call duchi, where the Chriſtians being ſeated, all the Indians ſat about them on the ground, and then came one by one to kiſs their hands and feet, believing they came from heaven; and they gave them ſome boiled roots to eat, not unlike cheſnuts in taſte; earneſtly entreating them to ſtay there among them, or at leaſt to reſt themſelves five or ſix days, becauſe the two Indians they took with them gave thoſe people an excellent character of the Chriſtians. Soon after many women coming in to ſee them the men went out, and theſe with no leſs reſpect kiſſed their feet and hands, offering them what they brought. When their time came to return to the ſhips many Indians would go along with them, but they would admit only of the king, his ſon and one ſervant, whom the admiral did much honour to; and theſe Chriſtians told him that in their way out and return they had found ſeveral towns, where they were entertained with the ſame courteſy, but that there were not in them above five houſes together; beſides, that by the way they met many people, who always carried a lighted firebrand, to light fire and perfume themſelves with certain herbs they carried along with them, and to roaſt ſome of thoſe roots they gave them, foraſmuch as that was their principal food. They alſo ſaw very many ſorts of trees and plants, which were not to be ſeen about the ſea-coaſt; and great variety of birds far differing from ours, but that among them there were partridges and nightingales. As for four-footed creatures they had ſeen none, but dumb dogs. That there was a great deal of tilled land, ſome ſowed with thoſe roots, a ſort of beans, and a ſort of grain they call maize, which was well taſted, baked or dried, and made into flour. They ſaw vaſt quantities of cotton well ſpun, in bottoms, inſomuch that in one houſe only, they ſaw above twelve thouſand five hundred pounds of it. The plants it comes from are not ſet but grow naturally about the fields like roſes, and open of themſelves when they are ripe, but not all at the ſame time; for upon one and the ſame plant they had ſeen a little young bud, another open, and a third coming ripe. Of theſe plants the Indians afterwards carried great quantities aboard the ſhips, and gave a baſket-full for a thong of leather; yet none of them make uſe of it to clothe themſelves, but only to make nets for their beds, which they call hamacas, and in weaving aprons for women to cover their nakedneſs. Being aſked whether they had gold or pearls, or ſpice, they made ſigns that there was great plenty towards the eaſt, in a country they called Bohio, which is the iſland of Hiſpaniola, but it is not yet certainly known what place they meant.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIX. — *How the Admiral deſiſted from following the weſtern Coaſt of Cuba, and turned eaſtward towards Hiſpaniola.*

THE admiral having this account, and reſolving to ſtay no longer in that river, ordered ſome natives of that iſland to be taken, deſigning to carry ſome from all parts into Spain to give an account of his country; and accordingly twelve were ſeized, men, women and children, and this ſo peaceably, and without any diſturbance, that when they were ready to ſail with them, the huſband of one of the women, and father of two children that had been carried aboard, came to the ſhips in a canoe deſiring he might be taken along with them, and not parted from his wife and children, which extremely pleaſed the admiral, who ordered he ſhould be received, and they all well uſed and made much of. That ſame day, being the 13th of November, he came about to the eaſtward, deſigning for the iſland they called Bohio. The wind blowing hard at north, he was forced to come to an anchor again in the ſame iſland of Cuba, among ſome high iſlands lying near a large port, which he called del Principe, or the Prince's port, and the ſea Our Lady's. Theſe iſlands lay ſo thick and cloſe, there was not above a quarter of a league diſtance between them at fartheſt, and but a muſket-ſhot for the moſt part. The channels were ſo deep, and ſo well adorned with trees and greens, that it was very delightful going among them; and among the multitude of other trees there were abundance of maſtic, aloes and palm, the trunk green and ſmooth, and other plants of ſundry ſorts. And though theſe iſlands were not inhabited, yet there appeared the tokens of many fires made by fiſhermen; for as it afterwards appeared, the people of Cuba went together in great number in their canoes over to theſe iſlands, and abundance more that lie hereabouts uninhabited, and live upon the fiſh they catch, upon birds, crabs, and other things they find on the earth; foraſmuch as generally the Indians eat abundance of filthy things, ſuch as great ſpiders, worms that breed in rotten wood and other corrupt places, and abundance of fiſh almoſt raw; for as ſoon as taken, before they roaſt it, they dig out the eyes to eat, and many other ſuch things they feed on, which beſides that they are nauſeous, would kill any of us ſhould we eat them. They follow this fiſhing and birding according to the ſeaſon, ſometimes in one iſland, ſometimes in another, as one that changes his diet, being weary of the laſt. But to return to the iſlands of Our Lady's Sea: in one of them the Chriſtians, with their ſwords, killed a beaſt like a badger, and in the ſea found much mother of pearl; and caſting their nets, among many other ſorts of fiſh they caught, one was like a ſwine, all covered with a very hard ſkin, no part whereof was ſoft but the tail. They alſo obſerved that in this ſea and the iſlands the tide ſwelled and fell much lower than in other places where they had been till then, and their tides were quite contrary to ours, for it was low water when the moon was ſouth-weſt and by ſouth.

## CHAP. XXX. — *How the Admiral ſet ſail again eaſtward for Hiſpaniola, and one of the Ships forſook him.*

ON Monday the 19th of November the admiral departed from the Prince's port in Cuba, and the ſea of Our Lady, ſteering eaſtward for the iſland of Bohio and Hiſpaniola, but the wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the iſland Iſabella, which the Indians call Somoto: and the ſaid Prince's port, which lie almoſt north and ſouth, about twenty-five leagues diſtant, in which ſea he ſtill found long traces of theſe weeds he had ſeen in the ocean, and he perceived they ſwam along the

the current and never lay athwart it. During this time Martin Alonzo Pinzon, being informed by certain Indians he had concealed aboard his caraval, that in the iſland Bohio, which he ſaid was Hiſpaniola, there was great plenty of gold; covetouſly blinding him, on Wedneſday the 21ſt of November, he went away from the admiral without any ſtreſs of weather or any other occaſion, for he could have come up to him before the wind, but would not; and ſo making as much way as poſſibly he could, his veſſel being an excellent ſailer, he made forwards all Thurſday, whereas they had ſailed in ſight of one another all the day before, and night coming on he quite vaniſhed. Thus the admiral was left only with two ſhips, and the weather not being fit for his veſſels to ſail over towards Hiſpaniola he was forced to return to Cuba, to another port not far from the Prince's, which he called St. Catharine's, there to take in wood and water. In this port he accidentally ſaw ſigns of gold on ſome ſtones in the river where they were watering, and up the country there were mountains full of ſuch tall pine trees as would make maſts for the biggeſt ſhips. Nor was there any want of wood for planks to build as many ſhips as they would, and among them oaks and others like thoſe in Caſtile. But perceiving that all the Indians directed him to Hiſpaniola, he run along the coaſt ten or twelve leagues farther towards the ſouth-eaſt, meeting all the way excellent harbours and many large rivers. The admiral ſays ſo much of the delightfulneſs and beauty of that country, that I have thought fit here to ſet down his own words, ſpeaking of the mouth of the river, which makes a harbour by him called Puerto Santo, or holy harbour. Thus he ſays, "When I went with the boats before me to the mouth of the harbour towards the ſouth, I found a river up whoſe mouth a galley could eaſily row, and the way up it was ſuch, that it was not to be diſcovered but cloſe by; the beauty of it invited me to go up a boat's length, where I found from five to eight fathom water; and proceeding, I went a conſiderable way up the river in the boats; becauſe as well the beauty and delightfulneſs of the river and the clearneſs of the water, through which I could ſee the ſand at the bottom; as the abundance of palm-trees of ſeveral ſorts, the fineſt and higheſt I had yet met with; the other, infinite number of large green trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plain, tempted me to fix there for ever. This country, moſt Serene Princes, is ſo wonderfully fine, as far exceeds all other beauty and delightfulneſs, as the day in brightneſs exeeds the night. Therefore I often told my companions, that though I ſhould never ſo much endeavour to give your Highneſſes a perfect account of it, my tongue and pen would always fall ſhort of the truth. And to ſay the truth, I was aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo much beauty, and know not how to expreſs it; for I have writ of the other countries, of their trees and fruits, of the plants and ports, and of all that belonged to them, as largely as I was able, yet not as I ought, ſince all men affirmed it was impoſſible any other country could be more delicious. Now I am ſilent, wiſhing this may be ſeen by others, who will write of it, that they may prove how little credit is to be got more than I have done in writing or ſpeaking of that place, conſidering what it deſerves." The admiral going on with his boats ſaw a canoe among the trees in the port, drawn upon land under a bower, which canoe was made of the body of one tree, and as big as a twelve-oar barge, and in ſome houſes hard by they found a ball of wax and a man's ſcull in two baſkets hanging at a poſt. The ſame they afterwards found in another houſe, which made our men judge they were the ſculls of the founders of thoſe houſes. No people appeared to receive any information of, for as ſoon as ever they ſaw the Chriſtians they fled from their houſes to other parts. Afterwards they found another canoe about ſeventy feet long, that would carry fifty perſons, made like the other we ſpoke of before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI. — *How the Admiral ſailed over to Hiſpaniola, and what he ſaw there.*

THE admiral having ſailed one hundred and ſix leagues eaſtward along the coaſt of Cuba came to the eaſt point of it, which he called Alpha, and on Wedneſday the 5th of December ſtruck off to ſail over to Hiſpaniola, diſtant ſixteen leagues from Cuba eaſtward, and by reaſon of ſome currents could not reach it till the next day, when he put into Port St. Nicholas, ſo called by him in memory of that ſaint whoſe feſtival was that day. The port is large, deep, ſafe, and encompaſſed with many tall trees, but the country is more rocky, and the trees are leſs, that is, like thoſe of Caſtile, among which there were ſmall oaks, myrtle, and other ſhrubs, and a pleaſant river ran along a plain towards the port, all about which there were large canoes like fifteen-oar barges. The admiral not being able to meet with any of thoſe people, ran along the coaſt northward, till he came to a port he called the Conception, which lies almoſt due ſouth of a ſmall iſland about the bigneſs of Gran Canaria, which was afterwards called Tortuga. Perceiving that this iſland Bohio was very large, and that the land and trees were like thoſe of Spain; and that at one draught of a net they had taken ſeveral fiſhes, like thoſe of Spain, as ſoles, ſalmon, pilchards, crabs, and ſome others, therefore on Sunday the 9th of December, they gave it the name of Eſpannola, as called in Engliſh, Hiſpaniola. All of them being very deſirous to enquire into the nature of this iſland; whilſt the men were fiſhing on the ſhore, three Chriſtians travelled along the mountain, and lighted on a company of Indians, as naked as thoſe they had ſeen before, who ſeeing the Chriſtians draw near them, in a great fright ran into the thickeſt of the wood, as having no clothes to hinder them. The Chriſtians, to get ſome information, ran after them, but could only overtake a young woman, who had a plate of gold hanging at her noſe. She was carried to the ſhips, where the admiral gave her ſeveral baubles, as bells and glaſs, and then ſent her aſhore, without the leaſt diſguſt offered her, ordering three Indians of thoſe he brought from the other iſlands to go with her, and three Chriſtians, to the town where ſhe dwelt. The next day he ſent eleven men aſhore well armed, who having travelled four leagues, found a ſort of town or village of above one thouſand houſes, ſcattered about a valley, the inhabitants whereof ſeeing the Chriſtians, all fled to the woods. But the Indian guide, whom our men brought from St. Salvador, went after them, and ſaid ſuch things to them of the Chriſtians, affirming they were people come from heaven, that he perſuaded them to turn back quietly and without any fear. Afterwards full of aſtoniſhment, they would lay their hands on our men's heads by way of honour, brought them to eat, and gave them all they deſired, without aſking any return, praying them to ſtay that night in their village. The Chriſtians would not accept of the invitation, but returned to their ſhips, carrying the news that the country was very pleaſant, abounding in their proviſions: that the people were whiter and handſomer than any they had yet ſeen in the other iſlands, and that they were tractable and courteous, and told them the country where the gold was found lay farther eaſtward. The admiral hearing this account, ſet ſail immediately, though the wind was contrary, and on Sunday following, being the 15th of December, as he was plying between Hiſpaniola and Tortuga, he found one Indian alone in a little canoe, which they all wondered was not ſwallowed by the ſea, the wind and the waves were ſo high. He took him into the ſhip, carried him to Hiſpaniola and ſet him aſhore with ſeveral gifts. He told the Indians how kindly he had been uſed, and ſpoke ſo well of the Chriſtians that abundance of them came preſently aboard, but they brought nothing of value, except ſome ſmall grains of gold hanging at their ears

and noſtrils, and being aſked whence they had that gold, they made ſigns there was a great deal higher up. The next day there came a great canoe from the iſland Tortuga, which was near the place where the admiral lay at anchor, with forty men in it, at ſuch time as the Cacique or lord of that port of Hiſpaniola was upon the ſhore, bartering a plate of gold he had brought. When he and his ſaw the canoe, they all ſat themſelves down upon the ground, as a ſign they would not fight. Immediately almoſt all thoſe in the canoe landed, againſt whom the Cacique of Hiſpaniola got up alone, and with threatning words made them return to their canoe. Then he threw water after them, and taking up ſtones off the ſtrand, caſt them into the ſea towards the canoe. But when they were all in ſubmiſſive manner returned to their canoe, he took up a ſtone and delivered it to one of the admiral's officers, to throw at thoſe in the canoe, to expreſs that he took the admiral's part againſt the Indians, but the officer did not throw, ſeeing they preſently went off in their canoe. After this, diſcourſing about the affairs of that iſland, which the admiral had called Tortuga, he affirmed there was more gold in it than in Hiſpaniola, and that in Bohio there was more than in any other, which was about fifteen days journey from the place where they were.

## CHAP. XXXII. — *How the Principal King of the Iſland came aboard, and of the State he came in.*

ON Tueſday the 18th of December, the King that came the day before, where the canoe of Tortuga was, and who lived five leagues from the place where the ſhips lay, came in the morning to the town near the ſea, ſome of the Spaniards at the ſame time being there by the admiral's order, to ſee whether they brought any more gold. Theſe ſeeing the King come, went to acquaint the admiral, ſaying he brought above two hundred men along with him, and that he came not a foot, but was carried on a ſort of palanquine by four men with great reſpect, though he was very young. This King being at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhips, having reſted a little, drew near with all his men, concerning which, the admiral himſelf writes thus: "There is no doubt but your Highneſſes had been very much pleaſed to have ſeen his gravity, and the reſpect his people paid him, though all naked. When he came aboard, and underſtood I was under deck, being then at dinner, he ſurpriſed me, ſitting down by me, without giving me time to go out to receive him, or riſe from table. When he came down he made ſigns to all his followers to ſtay above, which they did with great reſpect, ſitting down upon the deck, except two ancient men that ſeemed to be his counſellors, that ſat down at his feet. They ſaid this man was a Cacique. I ordered ſuch meat as I was eating to be brought him; they juſt taſted of every thing, and ſent the reſt to their men, who all eat of it. The ſame they did as to drinking, for they only kiſſed the cup and gave it about. They were all wonderful grave, and ſpoke but few words, and thoſe they uttered, by what I could gather, were very deliberate and ſtaid. The two old men obſerved the King's mouth, and ſpoke for and to him. After eating, one of his gentlemen with great reſpect brought him a girdle, not unlike thoſe uſed in Caſtile, though differently wrought, which he took in his hand, and gave me with two pieces of wrought gold very thin. Of which gold I believe there is little here, and I gueſſed that place was near to where they took it, which produced very much. I believing he would like a carpet or counterpane that lay on my bed, gave it him, together with ſome fine amber beads I had about my neck, with a pair of red ſhoes and a bottle of orange-flower water, with which he was wonderfully pleaſed, and both he and his counſellors expreſſed much concern becauſe they did not underſtand me,

nor I them, though I made out, that if I wanted any thing, all the iſland was at my command. I preſently brought out a letter-caſe, in which I carried a gold medal weighing four ducats, on which your Highneſſes' effigies are cut, and ſhowed it him, ſaying over again, that your Highneſſes were mighty Princes, and poſſeſſed the beſt part of the world, and ſhewed him the royal ſtandard, and the other of the croſs, which he made great account of. Therefore turning to his counſellors, he ſaid, your Highneſſes were certainly mighty Princes, ſince you had ſent me ſo far as from heaven thither, without any fear. Much more paſſed between us, which I did not underſtand, but perceived they admired at every thing they ſaw; but it being then late, and he deſiring to be gone, I ſent him aſhore very honourably in my boat, and cauſed ſeveral guns to be fired, and he being aſhore got into his palanquine, attended by above two hundred men, and a ſon of his was carried on a man of note's ſhoulders. He ordered all the Spaniards that were aſhore to have meat given them, and to be very courteouſly uſed. Afterwards, a ſailor that met him on the way, told me that every one of the things I had given him, were carried before him by a man of great worth, and that his ſon went not along with him on the road, but at ſome diſtance behind him, with as many more attendance as he had, and a brother of his on foot, with near as many more, two great men leading him under the arms, to whom I had given ſome ſmall matters when he came aboard after his brother."

## CHAP. XXXIII. — *How the Admiral loſt his Ship upon the Flats through the Careleſſneſs of the Sailors, and the Aſſiſtance he received from the King of that Iſland.*

THE admiral continuing the relation as above, ſays, that on Monday the 24th of December, the weather was very calm, without any wind hardly, but ſo much as carried him from St. Thomas's ſea to Punta Santa, or the holy Cape, off which he lay by about a league, and about eleven o'clock at night he went to take his reſt, for he had not ſlept in two days and a night; and the weather being calm, the ſeaman that was at the helm, left it to a grummet, "which (ſays the admiral) I had forbid, during the whole voyage, bidding them, whether the wind blew or not, never to leave the helm to a grummet. And to ſay the truth, I thought myſelf ſafe from flats and rocks; for that Sunday I ſent my boats to the King, they went at leaſt three leagues and a half beyond the ſaid Punta Santa; and the ſeamen had viewed all the coaſt, and the ſhoals that lie three leagues eaſt-ſouth-eaſt of that Cape, and obſerved which way to ſail, which I had not done during the voyage; and it pleaſed our Lord, that at midnight, ſeeing me gone to bed, and we being in a dead calm, and the ſea as ſtill as the water in a diſh, all the men went to reſt, leaving the helm to a grummet. Thus it came to paſs, that the current eaſily carried away the ſhip upon one of thoſe ſhoals, which, though it was night, made ſuch a roaring noiſe, that they might be heard and diſcovered a league off. Then the fellow who felt the rudder ſtrike and heard the noiſe, began to cry out, and I hearing it, got up immediately; for none had yet perceived that we were aground. Preſently the maſter, whoſe watch it was, came out, and I ordered him and other ſailors to take the boat, and carry out an anchor aſtern; whereupon he and others leaped into the boat, and I believing they would have done as I ordered, they rowed away, flying with the boat to the other caraval, which was half a league off. I then perceiving they ran away with the boat, that the water ebbed, and the ſhip was in danger, cauſed the maſts to be cut down, and lightened her as much as I could to ſee to get her off; but the water ſtill ebbing, the caraval could not budge, but turning athwart the ſtreams, the ſeams opened, and all below deck was full of water. Meanwhile the

boat returned from the caraval to relieve me; for the men aboard perceiving the boat fled, would not receive it, which obliged it to return to the ſhip. No hopes of ſaving the ſhip appearing, I went away to the caraval to ſave the men; and becauſe the wind blew from the land, and great part of the night was ſpent, and yet we knew not which way to get from among thoſe flats; I lay by with the caraval till day appeared, and then I drew towards land within the ſhoals, having firſt ſent James de Arana the provoſt, and Peter Gutierres, your Highneſſes ſecretary, to acquaint the King with what had happened, telling him, that as I was going to viſit him in his own port, as he had deſired the laſt Saturday, I had loſt my ſhip oppoſite to his town, and a league and a half from it upon a flat. The King underſtanding it, with tears in his eyes, expreſſed much grief for our loſs, and immediately ſent aboard all the people in the place, with many large canoes. So they and we began to unload, and in a ſhort time carried off all that was upon deck. The aſſiſtance this King gave was great; and afterwards he himſelf, with his brothers and kindred, took all poſſible care both aboard and aſhore, that all things might be done orderly; and from time to time he ſent ſome of his kindred weeping to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all he had. I do aſſure your Highneſſes, better order could not have been taken in any part of Caſtile, to ſecure our things; for we loſt not the value of a pin, for he cauſed all our clothes to be laid together near his palace, where he kept them till the houſes were voided, which he had appointed for us. He placed armed men to keep them, who ſtood there all day and all night, and all the people lamented, as if our loſs had concerned them much; ſo loving, tractable, and free from covetouſneſs they are, that I ſwear to your Highneſſes, there are no better people, nor a better country in the world. They love their neighbour as themſelves, and their converſation is the ſweeteſt in the univerſe, being pleaſant and always ſmiling. True it is, both men and women go as naked as they were born; yet, your Highneſſes may believe me, they have very commendable cuſtoms, and the King is ſerved with great ſtate; and he is ſo ſtaid, that it is a great ſatisfaction to ſee him, as it is to think what good memories theſe people have, and how deſirous they are to know every thing, which moves them to aſk many queſtions, and to enquire into the cauſe and effects of every thing."

## CHAP. XXXIV. — *How the Admiral reſolved to plant a Colony where the King reſided, and called it the Nativity.*

ON Wedneſday the 26th of December, the chief King of that country came aboard the admiral's caraval, and expreſſing much grief and ſorrow, comforted him, offered all he would have, and ſaying he had already given the Chriſtians three houſes to lay up all they got out of the ſhip, and that he had given them many more, had they ſtood in need of them. In the meantime a canoe came with ſome Indians from another iſland, bringing ſome plates of gold to exchange for bells, which they valued above any thing. Beſides the ſeamen came from ſhore, ſaying abundance of Indians reſorted from other places to the town, who brought ſeveral things in gold and gave them for points, and other things of ſmall value, offering to bring much more if the Chriſtians would. Which the great Cacique perceiving was pleaſing to the admiral; he told him he would cauſe a great quantity to be brought from Cibao, a place that yielded much gold. Being aſhore, he invited the admiral to eat axis and cazabi, which is their principal diet, and gave him ſome vizor maſks, with the eyes, noſe and ears of gold; and other pretty things, which they hung about their necks. Then complaining of the Caribbes, who carried away his men to make ſlaves and eat them;

he

he was much comforted, when the admiral comforting him, ſhewed him our weapons, ſaying, he would defend him with them. He was much aſtoniſhed at our cannon, which ſo terrified them, that they fell down as if they were dead, when they heard the report. The admiral therefore finding ſo much kindneſs among thoſe people, and ſuch ſigns of gold, almoſt forgot the grief conceived for the loſs of his ſhip; thinking God had permitted it that he might fix a colony there, and leave Chriſtians to trade, and get farther knowledge of the people and country, learning the language, and converſing with the natives, that when he returned from Spain with ſuccours, he might have ſome body to direct him in his affairs, for peopling and ſubduing that country. To this he was the more inclined, becauſe many voluntarily offered themſelves to ſtay and inhabit there. For this reaſon he reſolved to build a tower with the timber of the ſhip that was wrecked, whereof he loſt no part, but made uſe of it all. To forward his deſign, the next day being Thurſday, the 27th of December, news was brought, that the caraval Pinta was in a river towards the eaſt point of the iſland. To be aſſured of it, the Cacique, whoſe name was Guacanagari, ſent a canoe with ſome Indians, who carried a Chriſtian thither: he having gone twenty leagues along the coaſt, returned without any news of it; which was the reaſon that no credit was given to another Indian, who ſaid he had ſeen her ſome days before. Nevertheleſs the admiral did not alter his reſolution of leaving ſome Chriſtians in that place, who were all ſtill more ſenſible of the goodneſs and wealth of the country, the Indians bringing maſks and other things of gold to give them, and telling them of ſeveral provinces in the iſland where it was found. The admiral now being ready to depart, and diſcourſing with the King concerning the Caribbes, or Canibals, of whom they complained and were in great dread, therefore to pleaſe him with leaving ſome Chriſtians there, and at the ſame time make him afraid of our arms, he cauſed a gun to be fired againſt the ſide of the ſhip, which ſhot quite through it, and the bullet fell into the water, which not a little terrified the Cacique. Beſides, he ſhewed him all our other weapons, and how they offended with them, and defended themſelves, telling him, that ſince ſuch weapons were left to defend him, he needed not to fear the Caribbes, for the Chriſtians would deſtroy them all, and he would leave them for his guard, and return himſelf to Caſtile for jewels and other things to give him. Then he particularly recommended to him James de Arana, ſon to Roderic de Arana of Cordova, of whom mention has been made above. To him, and Peter Gutierres and Roderic de Eſkovedo, he left the government of the fort, and command of thirty-ſix men, with abundance of commodities, proviſion, arms and cannon, and the boat that belonged to the ſhip, with carpenters, caulkers, and all other neceſſaries for ſettling there, alſo a ſurgeon, gunner, and ſuch like perſons. This done he prepared with all poſſible ſpeed to return directly to Caſtile, without making any more diſcoveries, fearing, ſince he had but one ſhip left, leſt ſome other misfortune might befal him, which might hinder their Catholic Majeſties from coming to the knowledge of thoſe kingdoms he had newly acquired for them.

## CHAP. XXXV. — *How the Admiral ſet out to return to Spain, and found the other Caraval commanded by Pinzon.*

ON Friday the 4th of January, at ſun-riſing, the admiral ſet ſail, with the boats a-head, ſtanding north-weſt, to get out of ſhoal water, that was about the port where he left the Chriſtians, by him called the port of the Nativity, becauſe on Chriſtmas day he had landed, eſcaping the danger of the ſea, and begun to build that colony.

Thoſe

Thoſe flats reach from Cape Santo to Cape Serpe, which is ſix leagues, and run out above three leagues to ſea, and all the coaſt north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt is an open ſtrand, and plain for four leagues up the country, where there are then high mountains, and abundance of large villages, in compariſon of what is in the other iſlands. Then he ſailed towards a high mountain, which he called Monte Chriſto, and lies eighteen leagues eaſt of Cape Santo. So that whoſoever would come to the city of the Nativity, when he diſcovers Monte Chriſto, which is round like a pavillion, and looks almoſt like a rock, muſt keep out at ſea two leagues from it, and ſail weſt till he comes to Cape Santo, when the city of the Nativity will be five leagues from him; and he muſt paſs through certain channels among the flats, which lie before it. The admiral thought fit to mention theſe marks, that it might be known where the firſt habitation of Chriſtians was in thoſe weſtern parts. Having ſailed eaſt of Monte Chriſto with contrary winds, on Sunday the 6th of January, in the morning, a ſailor from the round top diſcovered the caraval Pinta that was ſailing weſtward, right before the wind. As ſoon as it came up with the admiral, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the captain, coming aboard the admiral's caraval, began to ſhew ſome reaſons, and give excuſes for his leaving of him, ſaying it had happened againſt his will. The admiral, though he very well knew the contrary, and was ſatisfied of the man's evil inclination, remembering his bold manner of proceeding before in the voyage, yet connived at him, and bore with all, for fear of ruining his undertaking, which might eaſily have been done, becauſe moſt of his crew were Martin Alonzo's countrymen, and ſeveral of them his relations. And the truth is, that when he forſook the admiral, which was at Cuba, he went away with a deſign to ſail to the iſland Bohio, becauſe the Indians aboard his caraval told him, there was abundance of gold there. When he was there and found nothing of what had been told him, he was returning towards Hiſpaniola, where other Indians had told him there was much gold, and thus he had ſpent twenty days in ſailing not above fifteen leagues eaſt of the Nativity, to a river which the admiral called of Grace, and there Martin Alonzo had lain ſixteen days, and had got gold enough, as the admiral had done at the Nativity, giving things of ſmall value for it. Of this gold he diſtributed one half among his crew, to gain and pleaſe them, that he as captain might keep the reſt, and afterwards he would perſuade the admiral that he knew nothing of all this. He now following on his way to come to an anchor at Monte Chriſto; the weather not permitting him to proceed farther, he went in his boat up a river ſouth-weſt of the mount, where in the ſand he diſcovered ſigns of gold duſt, and therefore called it the River of Gold. This river lies ſeventeen leagues eaſt of the Nativity, and is not much leſs than the river Guadalquivar that runs by Cordova.

## CHAP. XXXVI. — *Of the firſt Skirmiſh between the Chriſtians and Indians, which happened about the Gulf of Samana in Hiſpaniola.*

ON Sunday the 13th of January, being near the cape called Enamorado, or the Lover's Cape, the admiral ſent the boat aſhore, where our men found ſome Indians with fierce countenances on the ſhore, with bows and arrows, who ſeemed to be ready to engage; but at the ſame time were in a conſternation. However, having ſome conference with them, they bought two of their bows and ſome arrows, and with much difficulty prevailed to have one of them go aboard the admiral. Their ſpeech was ſuitable to their fierceneſs, which appeared greater than any people they had yet met with had ſhown; for their faces were all daubed over with charcoal, it being the cuſtom

cuſtom of all thoſe people to paint themſelves, ſome black, ſome red, and ſome white, ſome one way, and ſome another; their hair was very long, and hung in a bag made of parrots' feathers. One of them ſtanding before the admiral, as naked as he was born, as all the others there till then diſcovered were, he ſaid in a lofty tone, they all went ſo in thoſe parts. The admiral thinking this was one of the Caribbes, and that the bay parted them from Hiſpaniola, he aſked of him where the Caribbes dwelt who pointed with his finger, in another iſland eaſtward, and that there were pieces of Guanin, as big as half the ſtern of the caraval; and that the iſland Matinino was all inhabited by women, with whom the Caribbes went and lay at a certain time of the year; and if afterwards they brought forth ſons, they gave them to the fathers to carry away. Having anſwered to all the queſtions put to them, partly by ſigns, and partly by that little the Indians of St. Salvador could underſtand of their language, the admiral gave them to eat, and ſome baubles, as glaſs beads, and green and red cloth, which done, he ſent them aſhore, that they ſhould cauſe gold to be brought if the others had any. The boat being aſhore, they found on the ſhore among the trees fifty-five of them, all naked with long hair, as the women in Spain wear it, and behind on the crown of the head, they had plumes of parrots or other birds feathers, and all of them armed with bows and arrows. When our men landed, the Indian that had been aboard made the others lay down their bows and arrows, and a great cudgel they carry inſtead of a ſword; for, as has been ſaid, they have no iron at all; when they came to the boat, the Chriſtians ſtept aſhore, and having begun to trade for bows and arrows by order of the admiral, the Indians who had already ſold two, not only refuſed to ſell any more, but with ſcorn, made as if they would ſeize the Chriſtians, and run to their bows and arrows where they had left them, taking up with them ropes to bind our men; they being upon their guard ſeeing them come in that fury, though they were but ſeven, fell courageouſly upon them, and cut one with a ſword on the buttock, and ſhot another with an arrow in the breaſt. The Indians aſtoniſhed at the reſolution of our men, and the wounds our weapons made, fled moſt of them leaving their bows and arrows; and many of them had been killed, had not the pilot of the caraval, who commanded the boat, protected them. The admiral was not at all diſpleaſed at this ſkirmiſh, imagining theſe were the Caribbes all the other Indians ſo much dreaded, or that at leaſt they bordered on them, they being a bold and reſolute people, as appeared by their aſpect, arms, and actions, and he hoped that the iſlanders hearing how ſeven Chriſtians had behaved themſelves againſt fifty-five fierce Indians of that country, they would the more reſpect and honour our men that were left behind at the Nativity, and would not dare to offend them. Afterwards, about evening, they made a ſmoke at land to ſhow their courage; wherefore the boat went again to ſee what they would have, but they could never be brought to venture themſelves, and ſo the boat returned. The bows were of yew, almoſt as big as thoſe in France and England, the arrows of ſmall twigs growing out of the ends of the canes, which are maſſive and very ſtrait, about the length of a man's arm and a half; the head is made of a ſmall ſtick hardened at the fire, about a quarter of a yard and half long, at the end whereof they fix a fiſh's tooth, or bone, and poiſon it. For this reaſon the admiral gave that gulph the name of Golpho de Flechas, that is, Gulph of Arrows, whereas the Indians called it Samana. There appeared a great deal of fine cotton and axi, which is the pepper they uſe, and is very hot, ſome of it long and ſome round. Near land, where there was little water, grew abundance of thoſe weeds our men ſaw in long ſtrings upon the ocean, whence they concluded it all grew near land, and when ripe, broke looſe, and was carried out to ſea by the current.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXVII. — *How the Admiral ſet out for Spain, and the Caraval Pinta was parted from him in a great Storm.*

ON Wedneſday, the 16th of January 1493, the admiral ſet forward with a fair wind from the aforeſaid Gulf of Arrows, now called Samana, towards Spain, becauſe now both the caravals were very leaky, and they took much pains to keep them up: Cape Santelmo being the laſt land they ſaw; twenty leagues north-eaſt of it there appeared abundance of weeds, and twenty leagues ſtill farther they found all the ſea covered with ſmall tunny fiſhes, whereof they ſaw great numbers the two following days, which were the 19th and 20th of January, and after them abundance of ſea fowls, and all the way the weeds ran with the current in long ropes, lying eaſt and weſt; for they had already found, that the current takes thoſe weeds a great way off, and that they keep not on long in the ſame way; for ſometimes they go one way, and ſometimes another; and this they ſaw almoſt every day, till they were almoſt half ſeas over. Holding on their courſe with a fair wind, they made ſo much way, that in the opinion of the pilots, on the 9th of February, they were ſouth of the iſlands Azores, but the admiral ſaid they were one hundred and fifty leagues ſhort, and this was the truth, for they ſtill found abundance of weeds, which as they went towards the Indies, they did not ſee till they were two hundred and ſixty-three leagues weſt of the iſland of Ferro. As they ſailed on thus with fair weather, the wind began to riſe more and more every day, and the ſea to run ſo high, that they could ſcarce live upon it. For which reaſon, on Thurſday the 14th of February, they drove which way ſoever the wind would carry them; and the caraval Pinta, commanded by Pinzon, not being able to lie athwart the ſea, run away due north, before the ſouth wind, the admiral ſteering north-eaſt to draw nearer to Spain, which the caraval Pinta could not do, by reaſon of the darkneſs, though the admiral had always his light out. Thus when day appeared, they had quite loſt ſight of one another, each looking upon it as moſt certain that the other was loſt; therefore betaking themſelves to prayers and religious acts, thoſe aboard the admiral caſt lots, which of them ſhould go in pilgrimage for the whole crew to our lady of Guadalupe, which fell to the admiral. Afterwards they drew for another to go to Loretto, and the lot fell upon one Peter de Villa, a ſeaman of Port St. Mary. Then they caſt lots for a third, who was to watch a night at St. Olive of Moguer, and the ſtorm ſtill increaſing, they all made a vow to go barefoot and in their ſhirts at the firſt land they came to, to ſome church of our Lady. Beſides theſe general vows, ſeveral others were made by private men, becauſe the tempeſt was now vehement, and the admiral's veſſel could ſcarce withſtand it for want of ballaſt, which was fallen ſhort, the proviſions being ſpent. To ſupply which want, they thought convenient to fill all the veſſels in the ſhip with ſea-water, which was ſome help, and made the ſhip bear more upright, and be in leſs danger of overſetting. Of this violent ſtorm, the admiral has theſe words. "I had been leſs concerned for the tempeſt, had I alone been in danger; for I know I owe my life to the Supreme Creator, and becauſe I have been other times ſo near death, that only the leaſt part was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely grieved and troubled me was the conſideration, that as it had pleaſed our lord to give me faith and aſſurance to go upon this undertaking, wherein I had now been ſucceſsful; ſo now that thoſe who oppoſed it were to be convinced, and Your Highneſſes ſerved by me with honour and increaſe of your mighty ſtate, his Divine Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to obſtruct all this by my death, which had yet been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loſs of all thoſe men I had carried with me, upon promiſe of happy

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*View of the Island of St. Thomas,*

*taken from Havensicht.*

happy ſucceſs. They ſeeing themſelves in that affliction did not only curſe their ſetting out, but the fear and awe my perſuaſions infuſed into them, to diſſuade their return when outward bound, as they had ſeveral times reſolved to do. But above all my ſorrow was double, when I remembered two ſons I had left at ſchool at Cordova, deſtitute of friends, in a ſtrange country, before I had done, or at leaſt could be known to have done any ſervice, which might be believed to incline Your Highneſſes to remember them. And though on the one ſide I comforted myſelf with the faith, that our Lord would not permit a thing which was ſo much for the exaltation of his church, to be left imperfect, when I had, with ſo much oppoſition and trouble, almoſt brought it to perfection: yet on the other ſide I conſidered, it was his will, that becauſe of my demerits he would not permit me to obtain ſuch honour in this world, but ſnatched it from me. Being in this inward confuſion, I remembred Your Highneſſes good fortune, which though I were dead, and the ſhip loſt, might find ſome means that a conqueſt ſo near atchieved ſhould not be loſt, and that it was poſſible the ſucceſs of my voyage ſhould by ſome means or other come to your knowledge. For this reaſon, as briefly as the time would permit, I writ upon parchment, that I had diſcovered thoſe lands, I had promiſed, as alſo in how many days, and what way I had done it, the goodneſs of thoſe lands the nature of the inhabitants and how Your Highneſſes ſubjects were left in poſſeſſion of all I had diſcovered; which writing folded and ſealed, I ſuperſcribed to Your Highneſſes, promiſing in writing upon it one thouſand ducats to him, that ſhould deliver it ſealed to you; to the end, that if any foreigners found it, the promiſed reward might prevail with them, not to give that intelligence to another. Then I cauſed a great caſk to be brought to me, and having wrapped the writing in an oiled cloth and then put it into a cake of wax, I dropped it into the caſk, and having ſtopped the bung cloſe, caſt it into the ſea, all the men fancying it was ſome act of devotion. And apprehending that might perhaps never be taken up, and the ſhip ſtill ſailing nearer to Spain, I made another pacquet like the firſt, and placed it at the top of the poop, to the end that when the ſhip ſunk, the caſk might take its chance, remaining ſtill above water."

## CHAP. XXXVIII. — *How the Admiral arrived at the Iſlands Azores, and the People of the Iſland of St. Mary took away his Boat and the Men in it.*

SAILING on in ſuch mighty danger, and ſo great a ſtorm, on Friday the 15th of February, at break of day, one Ruy Carcia, from the round top, ſaw land bear eaſt-north-eaſt from them. The pilot and ſeamen judged it was the rock of Liſbon, but the admiral concluded it was one of the iſlands Azores, and though they were at no great diſtance from it, yet they could not come to an anchor that day becauſe of the weather. Thus plying about becauſe the wind was eaſt, they loſt ſight of the iſland and diſcovered another, about which they ran ſtruggling againſt wind and weather, with continual labour and no reſpite, not being able to get to land. Wherefore the admiral in his journal ſays, "On Saturday the 16th of February I arrived at one of thoſe iſlands at night, and by reaſon of the bad weather, could not tell which of them it was. That night I took a little reſt, becauſe from Wedneſday till then, I had never ſlept, and was lame of both my legs, having been continually in the open air and wet; nor was it little that I ſuffered by proviſions. Upon Monday morning, being at an anchor, I underſtood from ſome of the inhabitants, that it was the iſland of St. Mary, one of the Azores, and all of them admired I had eſcaped, conſidering the terrible ſtorm, which had held for fifteen days without intermiſſion in thoſe parts."

Theſe people underſtanding what the admiral had diſcovered, ſeemed to rejoice, giving praiſe to God, and three of them came aboard with ſome freſh proviſions and many compliments from the commander of the iſland, who was far from thence at the town; for about this place there was nothing to be ſeen but a hermitage, which, as they ſaid, was dedicated to the bleſſed virgin. Thereupon the admiral and all his crew remembering they had made a vow the Thurſday before, to go barefoot and in their ſhirts, the firſt land they came at, to ſome church of our lady; they were all of opinion they ought here to perform it, eſpecially it being a place where the people and governor expreſſed ſo much affection and tenderneſs for our men, and belonging to a King who was ſo great a friend to him of Caſtile. Therefore the admiral deſired thoſe three men to repair to the town, and cauſe the chaplain to come that had the keys of the hermitage, that he might ſay maſs there. Theſe men conſenting, they went into the caraval's boat, with half the ſhip's crew, that they might begin to perform their vow, and being come back, the reſt might go to do their part. Being landed barefooted and in their ſhirts, as they vowed to do, the governor, with abundance of people from the town, who lay in ambuſh, on a ſudden ruſhed out upon them and made them priſoners, taking their boat, without which he thought the admiral could never get away from him.

## CHAP. XXXIX. — *How the Admiral weathered another Storm, and at laſt recovered his Boat and Men.*

THE admiral thinking they ſtayed too long, who were gone aſhore in the boat, it being then noon, whereas they went off by break of day, he ſuſpected ſome misfortune had befallen them, either at land or at ſea. Therefore, not being able from the place where he lay to diſcover the hermitage they were gone to, he reſolved with his ſhip to ſail about a point, whence the church could be ſeen. Being come near, he ſaw abundance of people a horſeback, who diſmounting, went into the boat to attack the caraval. The admiral therefore, miſtruſting what might happen, ordered his men to be in readineſs, and armed, but make no ſhew of reſiſtance, that the Portugueſe might come the nearer. When they were near the admiral, the captain of them ſtood up, demanding to parley, which the admiral granted, thinking he would come aboard, and might be ſecured without breach of faith, ſince he had ſeized his men without provocation. But the Portugueſe durſt not come nearer than to be heard, when the admiral told him, he admired at his irregular manner of proceeding, and that none of his men came in the boat, ſince they were gone aſhore upon a ſafe conduct, and offers of relief, eſpecially ſince the governor himſelf had ſent to welcome him. He therefore deſired him to conſider, that beſides his doing an action which enemies would not be guilty of, and againſt the laws of honour, the King of Portugal would be highly offended at it, whoſe ſubjects were, when they landed in the dominions of Their Catholic Majeſties, or reſided there, made much of, and treated with all manner of civility, and were ſafe without any ſafe conduct, as if they were in Liſbon, beſides that Their Highneſſes had given him letters of recommendation to all Princes, potentaries, and other perſons in the world, which he ſhould ſhew if he drew near. Therefore ſince ſuch letters were received with reſpect in all parts, and he and the King's ſubjects well treated on their account, much more they ought to be ſo in Portugal, their Princes being ſo near neighbours and allies; eſpecially he being their great admiral of the ocean and vice-roy of the Indies he had diſcovered; all which he was ready to ſhew him under Their Highneſſes hands and ſeals. Accordingly at that

diſtance

diſtance he ſhewed his commiſſions, and told him he might draw near without any apprehenſion; foraſmuch as in regard to the peace and amity betwixt Their Catholic Majeſties and the King of Portugal, they had commanded him to pay the utmoſt civility to ſuch Portugueſe ſhips as he met; adding, that though he ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in keeping his men, yet that would not prevent his returning to Spain, he having ſtill men enough to ſail to Sevil, and to do him harm, if need were, whereof he himſelf would be the occaſion, and ſuch puniſhment would be adjudged well deſerved of him; beſides that his King would puniſh him, as giving cauſe for a war between him and Their Catholic Majeſties. The captain and his men anſwered, that they neither knew Their Catholic Majeſties, nor their letters, nor did they fear them, and would make him know what Portugal was. By this anſwer the admiral ſuſpected, there had ſome breach happened between the two crowns ſince his departure, and therefore gave him ſuch an anſwer as his folly deſerved. At laſt, when they were parting, the captain ſtood up, and at a great diſtance ſaid, he might go to the harbour with his caraval, for that all he did was by order of the King his maſter. The admiral hearing it, called all that were aboard to bear witneſs, and calling to the captain and Portugueſe, ſwore he would never go off the caraval, till he had taken an hundred Portugueſe, to carry them into Caſtile, and to deſtroy all that iſland. This ſaid, he again came to an anchor in the port, where he was at firſt, the weather obliging him to it. But the next day the wind ſtill increaſing, and the place where he lay being unſafe, he loſt his anchors, and was forced to ſtand out to ſea, towards the iſland of St. Michael, where, in caſe he could not come to an anchor, he had reſolved to run it out at ſea, not without much danger, as well becauſe the ſea ran high, as by reaſon he had but three able ſeamen left, and ſome grummets, all the reſt being landmen, and Indians, who underſtood nothing of ſea affairs. But ſupplying the want of the abſent in his own perſon, he paſſed that night with much labour and danger, till day appearing, perceiving he had loſt ſight of the iſland of St. Michael, and that the weather was calmer, he reſolved to return to the iſland of St. Mary, to endeavour to recover his men, anchors, and boat. He came up with it on Thurſday the 21ſt of January, afternoon, and ſoon after the boat came off with five men and a notary, who all, upon ſecurity given them, went aboard and lay there that night, it being late. The next day they ſaid they came from the captain to know for certain whence the ſhip came, and whether it had the King of Spain's commiſſion, which being made out, they were ready to ſhow them all manner of friendſhip, which they did becauſe they could not ſeize the ſhip nor the admiral, and that they might ſuffer for what they had done. The admiral ſuppreſſing his reſentment ſaid, he thanked them for their civil offers, and ſince they proceeded according to the maritime laws and cuſtoms, he was ready to ſatisfy them; and accordingly ſhowed them the King of Spain's general letter of recommendation, directed to all his ſubjects and thoſe of other Princes, as alſo his commiſſion for that voyage; which the Portugueſes having ſeen, they went aſhore ſatisfied, and ſoon diſmiſſed the ſeamen, with their boat, of whom they underſtood it was reported in the iſland, that the King had ſent orders to all his ſubjects to ſecure the perſon of the admiral by any means whatſoever.

## CHAP. XL. — *How the Admiral ſailed from the Iſlands Azores, and was forced into Liſbon by a Storm.*

ON Sunday the 24th of February, the admiral ſailed from the iſland of St. Mary for Spain, being in great want of wood and ballaſt, which he could not take in,

becauſe of the bad weather, though the wind was fair for his voyage. Being an hundred leagues from the neareſt land, a ſwallow came into the ſhip, which, as was believed the ſtorm had drove out to ſea, which appeared more plainly, becauſe the next day being the 28th of February, a great many more ſwallows and land fowl came aboard, and they ſaw a whale. On the 3d of March the tempeſt was ſo great, that after midnight it ſplit their ſails; wherefore being in great danger of their lives, they made a vow to ſend one in pilgrimage to our lady de Cinta at Guelva, whither he was to go barefoot, and in his ſhirt. The lot fell again upon the admiral, God ſhowing thereby, that his offering were more acceptable than thoſe of others; beſides which, other private vows were made. Thus running on without a rag of cloth, but bare maſts, a mighty ſea, high winds and frightful thunder, each of which ſeemed enough to deſtroy the caraval, it pleaſed God to give them ſight of land, about midnight, which offered no leſs danger than the reſt; for to avoid being beaten to pieces, and running into ſome place where they knew not how to get off, they were forced to make ſome ſail, to bear up againſt the ſtorm till day, which appearing, they found they were upon the rock of Liſbon. The admiral was forced to put in there, to the great aſtoniſhment of the people of that country, and their ſeamen, who ran from all parts to behold as it were ſome wonder, a ſhip that had eſcaped ſo terrible a ſtorm; having received news of many ſhips that had periſhed about Flanders, and in other countries of late days. He came to an anchor in the river of Liſbon upon Monday the 4th of March, and preſently ſent away an expreſs to Their Catholic Majeſties with the news of his arrival, and another to the King of Portugal, aſking leave to go up to anchor before the city, the place where he was not being ſafe againſt any that ſhould deſign to do him harm, upon pretence, it was done by the King's order, as believing by his ruin they might obſtruct the King of Spain's ſucceſs.

## CHAP. XLI. — *How the People of Liſbon came to ſee the Admiral, as a Prodigy; and he went to viſit the King of Portugal.*

ON Tueſday the 5th of March, the maſter of a great guard ſhip that lay in the harbour, came with his boat full of armed men to the admiral's caraval, requiring him to come along to give an account of himſelf to the King's officers, as was practiſed by all ſhips that came into the harbour. He anſwered, that the King of Spain's admirals, as he was, were not obliged to obey any ſuch ſummons, nor to quit their ſhips, to give any account of themſelves, and he was reſolved to do his duty. The maſter bid him at leaſt to ſend his boatſwain. The admiral replied, it was ſtill the ſame thing, whether he ſent a grummet, or went himſelf, and therefore it was in vain to deſire him to ſend any body. The maſter being ſenſible he was in the right, deſired him at leaſt to ſhow him the King of Spain's letter, that might ſatisfy his captain: this being but reaſonable, the admiral ſhowed him Their Catholic Majeſties letter, with which he was ſatisfied, and went back to his ſhip to give an account of what had happened to Alvaro de Acunna his captain, who came immediately with trumpets, fifes, drums, and great ſtate aboard the admiral, expreſſing much kindneſs, and offering his ſervice. The next day, it being known at Liſbon that the ſhip came from the Indies, ſuch throngs of people went aboard to ſee the Indians, and hear news, that the caraval could not contain them, and the water was covered with boats, ſome of them praiſing God for ſo great a happineſs, and others ſtorming that they had loſt that diſcovery, through their King's incredulity; ſo that day was ſpent with great concourſe of people. The next day the King ordered his officers to preſent the admiral

with all ſorts of refreſhment, and all things he ſtood in need of either for himſelf, or his men, without aſking any pay. At the ſame time he writ to the admiral, congratulating his happy arrival, and deſiring, ſince he was in his dominions, he would come to ſee him. The admiral was doubtful what to do in this caſe, but he conſidered the King was in amity with Their Catholic Majeſties, and had treated him courteouſly; and beſides, to take off all ſuſpicion that he came from his conqueſts, he conſented to go to Valparaiſo, nine leagues from Liſbon, where the King was, whither he came on Saturday night, being the ninth of March. The King ordered all the nobility of his court to go out to meet him, and being come into his preſence, did him great honour, commanding him to put on his cap, and ſit down, and having with a cheerful countenance heard the particulars of his proſperous voyage, offered him all he ſtood in need of, for the ſervice of Their Catholic Majeſties, though he thought, that foraſmuch as he had been a captain in Portugal, that conqueſt belonged to him. To which the admiral anſwered, that he knew of no ſuch agreement, and that he had ſtrictly obſerved his orders, which were not to go to the mines of Portugal, nor to Guinea. The King ſaid, all was well, and he doubted not but juſtice would be done. Having ſpent a long time in this ſort of diſcourſe, the King commanded the prior of Crato, the greateſt man then about him, to entertain the admiral, and ſhew him all civility and reſpect, which was done accordingly. Having ſtaid there all Sunday and all Monday, till after maſs, the admiral took leave of the King, who expreſſed great kindneſs, and made him great proffers, ordering D. Martin de Noronha to go along with him, and many other gentlemen went for company to honour him, and hear an account of his voyage. As he was thus on his way to Liſbon, he paſſed by a monaſtery, where the prior was, who ſent earneſtly to intreat him he would not paſs by without ſeeing him. He was much pleaſed to ſee him, and did him all the favour and honour that was due to the greateſt lord. That night a gentleman came from the King, to the admiral, to let him know that if he pleaſed to go by land into Spain, he would attend him, provide lodgings all the way, and furniſh him all neceſſaries, as far as the borders of Portugal.

## CHAP. XLII. — *How the Admiral left Liſbon to return to Caſtile by Sea.*

ON Wedneſday the 13th of March, two hours after day, the admiral ſet ſail for Seville, and on Friday following at noon arrived at Saltes, and came to an anchor in in the port of Palos, whence he had ſet out on the 3d of Auguſt the foregoing year 1492, ſeven months and eleven days before his return. He was there received by all the people in proceſſion, giving thanks to God for his proſperous ſucceſs, which, it was hoped, would redound ſo much to the propagation of Chriſtianity, and increaſe of Their Catholic Majeſties dominions; all the inhabitants of that place looking upon it as a great matter that the admiral ſet out from thence, and that moſt of the men he had with him belonged to it, though many of them, through Pinzon's fault, had been mutinous and diſobedient. It happened that when the admiral came to Palos, Pinzon was arrived in Galicia, and deſigned to go by himſelf to Barcelona, to carry the news to Their Catholic Majeſties, who ſent him orders not to go thither without the admiral, with whom he had been ſent to diſcover, at which he was ſo concerned and offended, that he returned indiſpoſed, to his native country, where within a few days he died for grief: but before he got to Palos, the admiral ſet out for Seville, deſigning thence for Barcelona, where Their Catholic Majeſties were; and he was forced to ſtay a little by the way, though but never ſo little, to the ſo great admiration of the people

people whereſoever he went, that they ran from all the neighbouring towns, down to the roads to ſee him, the Indians, and other things he brought. Thus holding on his way he got to Barcelona about the middle of April, having before ſent Their Highneſſes an account of the happy ſucceſs of his voyage, which was extraordinary pleaſing to them, and they ordered him a moſt ſolemn reception, as to a man that had done them ſuch ſingular ſervice. All the court and city went out to meet him; and Their Catholic Majeſties ſat in public with great ſtate, on rich chairs under a canopy of cloth of gold; and when he went to kiſs their hands, they ſtood up to him as to a great lord, made a difficulty to give him their hands, and cauſed him to ſit down. Having given a brief account of his voyage, they gave him leave to retire to his apartment, whither he was attended by all the court; and he was ſo highly honoured and favoured by their Highneſſes, that when the King rode about Barcelona, the admiral was on one ſide of him, and the Infante Fortuna on the other; whereas before, none went by his majeſty but the ſaid Infante, who was his near kinſman.

CHAP. XLIII. — *How it was reſolved that the Admiral ſhould return with a powerful Fleet to people the Iſland Hiſpaniola, and His Holineſs's Approbation of the Conqueſt was obtained.*

ORDERS were given at Barcelona, with great care and expedition for the admiral's return to Hiſpaniola, as well to relieve thoſe that were left there, as to enlarge the colony and ſubdue the iſland, with the reſt that were and ſhould be diſcovered. To make their title to them the ſtronger, Their Catholic Majeſties by the advice of the admiral, procured the Pope's approbation and conſent for the conqueſt of the ſaid Indies, which Pope Alexander the Sixth, who then governed the church, readily granted; not only for what was already, but for all that ſhould be diſcovered weſtward, till it ſhould come to the eaſt, where any Chriſtian Prince then actually in poſſeſſion, forbidding all perſons in general to intrude within their bounds. The ſame his holineſs confirmed the next year, in very ſignificant terms. And Their Catholic Majeſties being ſenſible that the admiral had been the cauſe of all this favour granted by the Pope, and that his diſcovery had entitled them to the poſſeſſion of all thoſe parts, they were pleaſed he ſhould be immediately gratified at Barcelona, on the 28th of May, and therefore granted him a new privilege, or rather an expoſition, and explanation of what he had before, confirming to him all they had granted before, and in plain terms declared how far the bounds of his admiralſhip and viceroyſhip extended, being over all that which His Holineſs had granted them, thus ratifying what they had given him before, which privileges and prerogatives are as follows.

CHAP. XLIV.—*Privileges and Prerogatives granted by Their Catholic Majeſties to the Admiral.*

"FERDINAND and Elizabeth, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Caſtile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Minorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algezira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Iſlands, count and counteſs of Barcelona, lord and lady of Biſcay and Molina, duke and ducheſs of Athens and Neopatria, count and counteſs of Rouſſillion and Cerdaigne, marqueſs and marchioneſs of Oriſtan, and Gociano, &c.: Foraſmuch as you, Chriſtopher Colon, are going by our command, with ſome of our veſſels and men, to diſcover and ſubdue ſome iſlands and continent in the

ocean, and it is hoped that by God's aſſiſtance, ſome of the ſaid iſlands and continent in the ocean will be diſcovered and conquered by your means and conduct, therefore it is but juſt and reaſonable, that ſince you expoſe yourſelf to ſuch danger to ſerve us, you ſhould be rewarded for it: And we being willing to honour and favour you for the reaſons aforeſaid, our will is, that you Chriſtopher Colon, after diſcovering and conquering the ſaid iſlands and continent in the ſaid ocean, or any of them, ſhall be our admiral of the ſaid iſlands and continent you ſhall ſo diſcover and conquer; and that you be our admiral, viceroy and governor in them, and that for the future you may call and ſtyle yourſelf, D. Chriſtopher Colon, and that your ſons and ſucceſſors in the ſaid employment may call themſelves dons, admirals, viceroys and governors of them; and that you may exerciſe the office of admiral, with the charge of viceroy and governor of the ſaid iſlands and continent, which you and your lieutenants ſhall conquer, and freely decide all cauſes civil and criminal, appertaining to the ſaid employment of admiral, viceroy and governor, as you ſhall think fit in juſtice, and as the admirals of our kingdoms uſe to do; and that you have power to puniſh offenders; and you and your lieutenants exerciſe the employments of admiral, viceroy and governor in all things belonging to the ſaid offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the perquiſites and ſalaries belonging to the ſaid employments, and to each of them, in the ſame manner as the high admiral of our kingdoms does. And by this our letter, or a copy of it ſigned by a public notary, we command Prince John, our moſt dearly beloved ſon, infantes, dukes, prelates, marqueſſes, great maſters and military orders, priors, commendaries, our counſellors, judges, and other officers of juſtice whatſoever, belonging to our houſehold, courts and chancery, and conſtables of caſtles, ſtrong-houſes and others; and all corporations, bailiffs, governors, judges, commanders, ſea-officers; and the aldermen, common-council, officers and good people of all cities, lands and places in our kingdoms and dominions, and in thoſe you ſhall conquer and ſubdue, and the captains, maſters, mates and other officers and ſailors, our natural ſubjects now being, or that ſhall be for the time to come, and any of them, that when you ſhall have diſcovered the ſaid iſlands and continent in the ocean; and you, or any that ſhall have your commiſſion, ſhall have taken the uſual oath in ſuch caſes, that they for the future look upon you as long as you live, and after you your ſon and heir, and ſo from one heir to another for ever, as our admiral on our ſaid ocean, and as viceroy and governor of the ſaid iſlands and continent, by you Chriſtopher Colon diſcovered and conquered; and that they treat you and your lieutenants, by you appointed, for executing the employments of admiral, viceroy and governor, as ſuch in all reſpects, and give you all the perquiſites and other things belonging and appertaining to the ſaid offices; and allow, and cauſe to be allowed you, all the honours, graces, conceſſions, pre-eminences, prerogatives, immunities and other things, or any of them, which are due to you, by virtue of your commands of admiral, viceroy and governor, and to be obſerved compleatly, ſo that nothing be diminiſhed, and that they make no objection to this, or any part of it, nor ſuffer it to be made; foraſmuch as we from this time forward, by this our letter, beſtow on you the employments of admiral, viceroy and perpetual governor for ever; and we put you into poſſeſſion of the ſaid offices, and of every of them, and full power to uſe and exerciſe them, and to receive the perquiſites and ſalaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was ſaid above. Concerning all which things, if it be requiſite, and you ſhall deſire it, we command our chancellor, notaries and other officers to paſs, ſeal and deliver to you our letter of privilege, in ſuch firm and legal manner as you ſhall require or ſtand in need of. And that none of them preſume

ſume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our diſpleaſure, and forfeiture of thirty ducats for each offence. And we command him who ſhall ſhew them this our letter, that he ſummon them to appear before us at our court, where we ſhall then be, within fifteen days after ſuch ſummons, under the ſaid penalty. Under which ſame we alſo command any public notary whatſoever, that he give to him that ſhows it him, a certificate under his ſeal, that we may know how our command is obeyed.

" Given at Granada, on the 30th of April, in the year of our Lord 1492. I the King, I the Queen.

" By Their Majeſties' command,

JOHN COLOMA, Secretary to the King and Queen.

" Entered according to order, RODERIC DOCTOR.

" Regiſtered, SEBASTIAN DOLANA, FRANCIS DE MADRID, } Chancellors."

" And now, foraſmuch as it has pleaſed our Lord, that you have diſcovered ſeveral of the ſaid iſlands, as we ſtill hope you will by his grace diſcover and find others, and the continent in the ſaid ocean, and thoſe parts of the Indies, and have deſired and requeſted of us, that we would confirm to you our ſaid grant here ſet down, and all the contents of it, to the end that you and your children, heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, and after your days, may have and enjoy the ſaid employments of admiral, viceroy and governor of the ſaid ocean, iſlands and continent, as well of thoſe you have already found and diſcovered, as of thoſe you ſhall for the future find and diſcover, with all the power, pre-eminence and prerogative, as the admirals, viceroys and governors in our kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon do enjoy; and that all the perquiſites and ſalaries appertaining and belonging to the ſaid office, and granted and allowed to our admirals, viceroys and governors, may be made good to you; or that we made ſuch proviſion in this caſe, as in our goodneſs we ſhall think fit. And we having regard to the hazard and danger you have expoſed yourſelf to in our ſervice, in going to diſcover and find out the ſaid iſlands, and that which you now run in attempting to find out the other iſlands and continent, wherein we have been, and hope to be by you well ſerved: to requite and reward you, do, by theſe preſents, confirm to you and your children, heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, now and for ever, the ſaid employments of admiral of the ſaid ocean, and viceroy and governor of the ſaid iſlands and continent by you diſcovered and found out, and of the other iſlands and continent, that ſhall be by you or your induſtry found or diſcovered for the future in thoſe parts of the Indies. And it is our will, that you, and after you your children, heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, enjoy the ſaid employment of our admiral of the ſaid ocean, which is ours, and commences at a line, we have cauſed to be drawn from the iſlands Azores to thoſe of Cabo Verde, and ſo from pole to pole north and ſouth; ſo that all beyond the ſaid line weſtward is ours, and belongs to us. And accordingly we conſtitute you admiral, and your ſons and ſucceſſors, one after another, of all that part for ever. And we alſo appoint you our viceroy and governor, and after you, your ſons, heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, of the ſaid iſlands and continent diſcovered and to be diſcovered, in the ſaid ocean in thoſe parts of the Indies, as has been ſaid; and we grant you the poſſeſſion of all the ſaid employments of admiral, viceroy and governor for ever, with full commiſſion and authority to uſe and exerciſe in the ſaid ſea the office of admiral in all thoſe things, and in the ſame manner and form, and with the rights and privileges, perquiſites and ſalaries, as our admirals of Caſtile and Leon have and do uſe, have enjoyed or enjoy, as well in the ſaid iſlands and continent already diſcovered, as in thoſe that ſhall hereafter

be

be diſcovered in the ſaid ocean and ſaid parts of the Indies, that the planters of them all may be better governed. And we grant you ſuch power and authority, that you may, as our viceroy and governor, and your lieutenants, judges, commanders and officers by you created, exerciſe the civil and criminal juriſdiction, the ſupreme and mean authority, and the abſolute and mixed command. And in thoſe places you may remove, turn out, and put in others in their places, as often as you pleaſe, and ſhall think convenient for our ſervice. And that they have power to hear, judge, and determine all ſuits or cauſes, civil or criminal, that ſhall occur or ariſe in the ſaid iſlands or continent; and that they have and receive the fees and ſalaries uſually annexed, and appertaining to thoſe employments in our kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon. And you our ſaid viceroy and governor may hear and determine all the ſaid cauſes, and any of them, whenſoever you ſhall pleaſe, upon the firſt motion by way of appeal or complaint, and examine, determine and decide them, as our viceroy and governor; and you and your children may do all that is reaſonable in ſuch caſes, and all other things appertaining to the office of viceroy and governor, and that you and your lieutenants and officers appointed to this purpoſe, may take ſuch cognizance, and uſe ſuch methods as you ſhall think proper for our ſervice, and the execution of our juſtice. All which you and they may do and perform lawfully and effectually, as they might and ought to do, had the ſaid officers been appointed by us. But our will and pleaſure is, that ſuch letters patent as you ſhall grant, be drawn and granted in our name, with theſe words, 'Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Caſtile and Leon,' &c. and be ſealed with our ſeal, which we will cauſe to be given you for the ſaid iſlands and continent. And we command all the people, inhabitants, and other perſons in the ſaid iſlands and continent, to obey you, as our viceroy and governor of the ſame; and thoſe that ſail on the ſaid ſeas to obey you as our admiral of the ſaid ocean; and that all of them execute your letters and orders, and take part with you and your officers, for the execution of our juſtice; and give, and cauſe to be given you, all the aid and aſſiſtance you ſhall require and ſtand in need of, upon ſuch penalties as you ſhall impoſe on them, which we by theſe preſents do impoſe on them, and do look upon them as impoſed; and do grant you authority to execute them on their perſons and goods. And it is alſo our will, that if you ſhall find it for our ſervice and the execution of juſtice, that any perſons who ſhall be in the ſaid iſlands or continent, depart from them, and do not return nor ſtay in them, and that they come and appear before us, you may in our name command, and make them depart the ſaid iſlands. All whom by theſe preſents we command, that they preſently perform, execute, and put in practice all that has been ſaid, without looking farther, or aſking advice upon it, nor expecting any other letter or command from us, notwithſtanding any appeal or petition they ſhall make or preſent againſt your ſaid order. For all which things, and any other due or belonging to the ſaid offices of our admiral, viceroy, and governor, we give you ſufficient authority, with all incidents, dependencies, and emergencies to them annexed or inherent. Concerning all which things, if it ſhall be your will, we do command our chancellor, notaries, and other officers belonging to our ſeals, that they give, paſs, diſpatch, and ſeal you our letter of privilege, made as effective, firm, and ſtrong, as you ſhall require of them, and ſtand in need of; and that none of them preſume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our diſpleaſure, and of thirty ducats to be paid to our treaſury by every one that ſhall be guilty of the contrary. And beſides, we command him that ſhall ſhew them this our letter to ſummon them to appear before us at our court, whereſoever we are, within

fifteen days, upon the ſaid penalty. Under which we command any public notary, that ſhall be called for ſuch purpoſe, that he give to him that ſhall ſhew it him, a certificate ſigned under his hand, that we may know how our commands are obeyed.

" Given in the city of Barcelona, the 28th of May in the year of our Lord 1493.

" I the King, I the Queen.

" By Their Majeſties' order,

" FERDINAND ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, Secretary to the King and Queen, our Lord and Lady.

" PETER GUTIERRES, Chancellor, without fees for ſeal or entry.

" Delivered, RODERICK DOCTOR.

" Entered, ALONZO PEREZ."

## CHAP. XLV.—*How the Admiral went from Barcelona to Seville, and ſet out thence for Hiſpaniola.*

ALL things neceſſary for the peopling of thoſe countries being provided, the admiral departed from Barcelona for Seville in June; and being come thither, ſo diligently ſolicited the fitting out of the fleet Their Catholic Majeſties had ordered him to provide, that in a ſhort time ſeventeen ſhips, great and ſmall, were made ready, well ſtored with proviſions, and with all things thought neceſſary for peopling of thoſe countries; as handicrafts of all ſorts, labourers, countrymen to till the land; beſides, the fame of gold and other rarities in thoſe countries, had drawn together ſo many gentlemen, and other perſons of worth, that it was neceſſary to leſſen the number, and not to allow ſo many to go aboard, at leaſt till it appeared in ſome meaſure how things would ſucceed in thoſe parts, and till things were a little ſettled. Yet was it impoſſible ſo much to confine the number of people that went aboard, but that it amounted to fifteen hundred of all ſorts; among whom ſome carried horſes, aſſes, and other beaſts, which were afterwards of great uſe and advantage to the planters in thoſe countries. Being thus furniſhed, the admiral weighed anchor in the road of Cadiz, where the fleet had been fitted, upon Wedneſday the 25th of September, 1493, an hour before ſun-riſing, my brother and I being there, and ſtood ſouth-weſt for the Canary Iſlands, deſigning there to take in ſome neceſſary refreſhment. On the 28th of September, being one hundred leagues from Spain, there came aboard the admiral's ſhip abundance of land fowl, turtle-doves, and other ſorts of ſmall birds, which ſeemed to be paſſing over to winter in Africk, and to come from the Iſlands Azores. He holding on his courſe, on Wedneſday the 2d of October arrived at Gran Canaria, and came to an anchor; at midnight ſailed again for Gomera, where he arrived on the fifth of October; and orders were given for taking up with all ſpeed whatſoever the fleet ſtood in need of.

## CHAP. XLVI.—*How the Admiral, departing from Gomera, croſſed the Ocean and diſcovered the Caribbee Iſlands.*

ON Monday, the 7th of October, the admiral continued his voyage towards the Indies, having firſt delivered a commiſſion ſhut up and ſealed, to every ſhip, commanding them not to open it, unleſs they were ſeparated from him by ſtreſs of weather; for he in thoſe letters giving an account of the courſe they were to ſteer, to come to the town of the Nativity in Hiſpaniola, would not have that courſe known to any without great

great need. Thus ſailing with a fair gale till Thurſday the 24th of October, when being four hundred leagues weſt of Gomera, he yet met with none of the weeds he had ſeen the firſt voyage, when he was out about two hundred and fifty leagues, to the great aſtoniſhment of them all. That day and the next a ſwallow flew about the fleet. On Saturday at night the body of St. Elmo was ſeen, with ſeven lighted candles on the round top, and there followed mighty rains, and frightful thunder. I mean, the lights were ſeen, which the ſeamen affirm to be the body of St Elmo, and they ſing litanies and prayers to him; looking upon it as moſt certain, that in thoſe ſtorms where he appears, there can be no danger. Whatſoever this is, I leave to them; for if we will believe Pliny, when ſuch lights appeared in thoſe times to the Roman ſailors in a ſtorm, they ſaid they were Caſtor and Pollux, whereof Seneca makes mention alſo at the beginning of his firſt book of nature. But to return to our hiſtory; on Saturday the 2d of November, at night, the admiral perceiving a great alteration in the ſky and winds, and taking notice of the mighty rains, he concluded for certain that he was near ſome land, and for this reaſon cauſed moſt of the ſails to be furled, and ordered all to be upon the watch; nor without cauſe; for that ſame night, as day began to break, they ſpied land ſeven leagues to the weſtward, which was a high mountainous iſland; and he called it Dominica, becauſe diſcovered upon Sunday morning. A while after he ſaw another iſland north-eaſt of Dominica, and then another, and another after that, more northward. For which mercy, God had been pleaſed to beſtow on them, all the men aſſembling in the poop, ſung the Salve regina, and other prayers and hymns very devoutly, giving thanks to God, for that in twenty days after departing from Gomera, they had made that land, judging the diſtance between them to be between ſeven hundred and fifty and eight hundred leagues. And finding no convenient place to come to an anchor on the eaſt ſide of the iſland Dominica, they ſtood over to another iſland, which the admiral called Marigalante, that being his ſhip's name. Here landing, he with all neceſſary ſolemnity again confirmed the poſſeſſion he had in his firſt voyage taken of all the iſlands and continent of the Weſt Indies for Their Catholic Majeſties.

## CHAP. XLVII. — *How the Admiral diſcovered the Iſland of Guadalupe, and what he ſaw there.*

ON Monday the 4th day of November, the admiral ſailed from the Iſland Marigalante northwards, by another great iſland, which he called St Mary of Guadalupe, for his own devotion, and at the requeſt of the friars of the houſe of that name, to whom he had made promiſe to call ſome iſland by the name of their monaſtery. Before he came to it, at two leagues diſtance, they diſcovered a very high rock, ending in a point, whence guſhed out a ſtream of water, as thick as a large barrel, which falling made ſuch a noiſe, that it was heard aboard the ſhips, though many affirmed it was only a white vein in the rock, the water was ſo white and frothy by reaſon of its ſteep fall. Going aſhore in the boat to view a ſort of town they ſaw from the ſhore, they found no body there, the people being fled to the woods, except ſome children, to whoſe arms they tied ſome baubles to allure their fathers when they returned. In the houſes they found geeſe like ours, and abundance of parrots, with red, green, blue, and white feathers, as big as common cocks. They alſo found pompions, and a ſort of fruit which looked like our green pine-apples, but much bigger, and within full of a ſolid meat, like a melon, and much ſweeter both in taſte and ſmell, which grow on long ſtalks, like lilies or aloes, wild about the fields, and are better than thoſe that are brought

up by art, as afterwards appeared. They alſo ſaw other ſorts of fruits and herbs differing from ours; beds of cotton nets, that is, hammocks, bows, and arrows, and other ſuch things, of which our men took none, that the Indians might be the leſs afraid of the Chriſtians. But what they moſt admired was, that they found an iron pan; though I believe that the rocks and fire-ſtones in that country being of the colour of bright iron, a perſon of but indifferent judgment that found it, without looking farther, took it for iron, though in truth it was not ſo; for as much as from that day to this, there was never any thing of iron found among thoſe people, nor did I hear the admiral ſpeak of this. And therefore I am of opinion, that he uſing daily to write down whatſoever happened, and was told him, that he might among other things ſet down what was told him concerning this particular, by thoſe that were aſhore. And though it were of iron, it was not to be admired, becauſe the Indians of the iſland of Guadalupe, being Caribbees, and making their excurſions to rob as far as Hiſpaniola, perhaps they had that pan of the Chriſtians, or of the other Indians of Hiſpaniola; and it is poſſible they might carry the body of the ſhip the admiral loſt, to make uſe of the iron; and though it were not the hulk of that ſhip, it muſt be the remainder of ſome other wreck, carried thither by the wind and current from our parts. But be it what it will, they that day took neither the pan nor any thing elſe, but returned to their ſhips. The next day, which was Tueſday the 5th of November, the admiral again ſent two boats aſhore, to endeavour to take ſome body that might give him an account of the country, and inform him how far off, and which way Hiſpaniola lay. Each of the boats brought back a youth, who agreed in ſaying they were not of that iſland, but of another called Borriquen (now St. John), and that the inhabitants of that iſland of Guadalupe were Caribbees or Canibals, and had taken them priſoners from their own iſland. Soon after the boats returning to ſhore, to take up ſome Chriſtians they had left there, found ſix women with them, who had fled to them from the Caribbees, and came of their own accord aboard the ſhips. The admiral to allure the iſlanders, would not keep them aboard, but gave them ſome glaſs beads and bells, and made them be ſet aſhore againſt their wills. This was not done unadviſedly, for as ſoon as they landed, the Caribbees in the ſight of the Chriſtians, took away all the admiral had given them. Therefore either through the hatred they bore the Caribbees, or for the fear they had conceived of thoſe people, awhile after, when the boats returned for wood and water, the ſaid women got into them, begging of the ſeamen to carry them aboard the ſhips, and giving them to underſtand by ſigns, that thoſe people did eat men, and make ſlaves of them, and therefore they would not ſtay with them. So that the men yielding to their entreaties, carried them back to the ſhips, with two children and a young man that had made his eſcape from the Caribbees, thinking it ſafer to put themſelves into the hands of people they never ſaw, and ſuch ſtrangers to their nation, than to remain among thoſe they knew to be wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their huſbands and children; and they ſay they do not kill and eat the women, but keep them as ſlaves. One of the women told them, that towards the ſouth there were many iſlands, ſome inhabited, others not, which both ſhe and the other women, ſeverally called Giamachi, Cairvaco, Huino, Buriari, Arubeira, Sixibei. But the continent, which they ſaid was very great, both they and the people of Hiſpaniola called Zuanta, becauſe in former times canoes had come from that land to barter, with abundance of lads, of whom they ſaid there were two-thirds in an iſland not far diſtant; and they alſo ſaid, that a king of that country whither they fled, was gone with ten great canoes, and three hundred men, to make incurſions into the neighbouring iſlands, and take people to eat. The ſame women gave information where the iſland Hiſpa-

hiola lay; for though the admiral had inſerted it in his ſea-chart; yet for his farther information, he would hear what the people of that country ſaid of it. He would immediately have ſailed that way, had he not been told, that one Captain Mark was gone aſhore with eight men, without his leave, before day, and was not yet returned. He was therefore forced to ſend out to look for him, though in vain; for by reaſon of the great thickneſs of the trees, there could be no diſcovering of them. Therefore the admiral, that they might not be loſt, or be obliged to leave a ſhip behind to take them in, which might afterwards miſs her way to Hiſpaniola, reſolved to ſtay there till the next day; and becauſe the country, as has been ſaid, was full of great woods, he ordered them to be ſought after again, and that they ſhould carry trumpets and muſkets to bring them to the noiſe. Theſe people having ſtrayed all that day, returned to their ſhips without finding or hearing any news of them. The admiral therefore ſeeing it was now Thurſday morning, and no news had been heard of them ſince Tueſday, and that they went without leave, reſolved to continue his voyage, or at leaſt make ſhew of ſo doing, that it might be a puniſhment to others, but at the intreaty of ſome of their kindred and friends, he ſtayed, and ordered the ſhips ſhould in the mean while take in wood and water, and the men waſh their linen; and ſent Captain Hojeda, with forty men, to look for thoſe that were ſtrayed, and pry into the nature of the country, where he found maſtick, aloes, ſandal, ginger, frankincenſe, and ſome trees in taſte and ſmell like cinnamon, abundance of cotton, and many falcons, and ſaw two of them purſuing the other birds; they alſo ſaw kites, herons, daws, turtles, partridges, geeſe, and nightingales, and affirmed that in travelling ſix leagues, they croſſed twenty-ſix rivers, ſeveral whereof were vaſt deep, which makes me believe, that the country being uncouth, they often croſſed the ſame river. Whilſt theſe were admiring at what they ſaw, and other companies went about the iſland, ſeeking the ſtragglers, they returned to the ſhips without being met by any that looked for them, on Friday the 8th of November, ſaying the thickneſs of the woods was the cauſe they had loſt themſelves. The admiral to puniſh their preſumption, commanded the captain to be caſt into irons, and the reſt to ſuffer by retrenching their allowance of proviſions. Then he landed and went to ſome houſes, where he ſaw all the things above-mentioned, eſpecially a great deal of cotton ſpun and unſpun, looms to weave, abundance of men's ſkulls hung up, and baſkets full of mens' bones. Theſe houſes they ſaw were the beſt, and more plentifully ſtored with proviſions and other things neceſſary for the uſe of the Indians, than any others the admiral ſaw in the iſlands at his firſt voyage.

## CHAP. XLVIII. — *How the Admiral departed from the Iſland Guadalupe, and of ſome Iſlands he found in his Way.*

ON Sunday the 10th of November the admiral weighed anchor, and ſailed with the whole fleet along the coaſt of the iſland Guadalupe, towards the north-weſt for Hiſpaniola, and came to the iſland Monſeratte, calling it by that name, becauſe of its height, and underſtood by the Indians he had with him, that the Caribbees had unpeopled it, devouring the inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to St. Mary Redonda, ſo called becauſe it is ſo round and upright, that there ſeems to be no getting into it without ladders, which the Indians called ocamaniro. Next he came to St. Maria la Antigua, which is above twenty-eight leagues in extent. Still holding on his courſe north-weſt, there appeared ſeveral other iſlands towards the north, and lying north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, all very high and full of woods, in one of which they caſt anchor, and called it St. Martin, where they took up pieces of coral, ſticking to the anchor flooks, which

which made them hope they ſhould find other uſeful things in thoſe countries. Though the admiral was very deſirous to know every thing, yet he reſolved to hold on his courſe towards Hiſpaniola to relieve thoſe he had left there; but the weather being bad, he came to an anchor on Thurſday the 13th of November in an iſland, where he ordered ſome Indians to be taken, to know whereabouts he was. As the boat was returning to the fleet with four women and three children the men had taken, it met a canoe, in which there were four men and one woman, who perceiving they could not make their eſcape, ſtood upon their guard, and hit two of the Chriſtians with their arrows, which they let fly with ſuch force and dexterity, that the woman ſhot a target quite through; but the boat furiouſly boarding, the canoe overſet, ſo that they took them all ſwimming in the water, and one of them ſwimming, ſhot ſeveral arrows, as if he had been upon dry land. Theſe had their members cut off, for they are taken by the Caribbees in other iſlands and gelt, as we do to fat capons, that they may be more pleaſing to the taſte. The admiral departing hence, continued his voyage weſt-north-weſt, where he found above fifty iſlands, which he left to the northward; the biggeſt of them he called St. Urſula, and the others the Eleven thouſand Virgins. Next he came to the iſland which he called St. John Baptiſt, but the Indians, Borriquen, and the fleet anchored in a bay on the weſt ſide of it, where they took ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, as ſkate, olaves, pilchards, and ſhads, and ſaw falcons, and buſhes like wild vines. More to the eaſtward, ſome Chriſtians went to certain houſes well built after their faſhion, with a ſquare before them, and a broad road down to the ſea, with towers made of cane on both ſides, and the top of them curiouſly interwoven with greens, as is ſeen in the gardens of Valencia. At the end of it next the ſea, was a raiſed gallery or balcony that could hold ten or twelve people, lofty and well built.

## CHAP. XLIX.—*How the Admiral arrived at Hiſpaniola, where he underſtood the Spaniards were dead.*

ON Friday the 12th of November the admiral came up with the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, and preſently ſent aſhore at Samana one of the Indians born in that part, whom he brought out of Spain, being then converted to our holy faith, who offered to reduce all the Indians to ſubmit to the Chriſtians. The admiral continuing his voyage towards the town of Natal, or the Nativity, when he came to cape Angel, ſome Indians went aboard to barter their commodities with the Chriſtians. Coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Chriſto, a boat that went aſhore found near a river two dead men, one of them ſeemed to be young, the other old, who had a rope made of a certain ſort of broom, or ſuch like furze that grows in Spain, called eſparto, about his neck, his arms extended, and his hands tied to a piece of wood, in the form of a croſs; but they could not diſcern whether they were Chriſtians or Indians, but looked upon it as an ill omen. The next day, being the 26th of November, the admiral ſent aſhore in ſeveral places; the Indians came very friendly and boldly to talk with the Chriſtians, and touching our men's ſhirts and doublets, ſaid, ſhirt, doublet, in Spaniſh, to ſhew they knew how thoſe things were called; which delivered the admiral from the jealouſy he had conceived on account of the dead men; judging that if thoſe people had wronged the Chriſtians left there, they had not come ſo boldly aboard the ſhips. But the next day, when he came to an anchor near the town of Navidad, or the Nativity, after midnight, a canoe came to the fleet, and aſked for the admiral, and being bid to come aboard, for he was there, they would not do it, ſaying they were reſolved not to go aboard till they ſaw and knew him. The admiral therefore was forced to come to the ſhip's ſide

to

to hear them, and then preſently two went up with two maſks, which they gave to the admiral, from the Cacique Guacanagari, ſaying, he ſent many commendations. They being aſked by the admiral concerning the Chriſtians left there, anſwered, that ſome of them died of diſtempers, ſome parted from their company, and ſome were gone into other countries; but that all of them had four or five wives, though it appeared by their way of ſpeaking that all or moſt of them were dead; yet the admiral not thinking fit to take any notice at that time, ſent back the Indians, with a preſent of ſome things made of latten, and other baubles for Guacanagari and themſelves, and ſo they went away that ſame night, with the gifts for the Cacique.

CHAP. L. — *How the Admiral went to the Town of Navidad, or the Nativity; found it forſaken and burnt, and had an Interview with King Guacanagari.*

ON Thurſday the 28th of November, about evening, the admiral with all his fleet came into the port, before the town of Navidad or the Nativity, found it all burnt, and that day nobody was ſeen all about there: next day in the morning, the admiral landed very much concerned to ſee the houſes and fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Chriſtians, but only ragged cloaths and ſuch like things, as is uſual in a place plundered and deſtroyed; and ſeeing nobody to inquire of, the admiral went with ſome boats up a river that was hard by. Whilſt he was going up it, he ordered the well he had made in the fort to be cleanſed, thinking to find gold in it; becauſe at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded thoſe he left behind to throw all the gold they could get into that well, but nothing was found in it; and the admiral that way he went up with his boats could lay hold of no Indian, becauſe they all fled from their houſes to the woods. Having therefore found nothing but ſome of the Chriſtians' cloaths, he returned to Navidad, where he ſaw eight of the Chriſtians, and three others, in the fields near the town, whom they knew to be Chriſtians by their cloaths, and they ſeemed to have been dead about a month. The Chriſtians going about to ſeek ſome other tokens or writings of the dead, a brother of the Cacique Guacanagari, came with ſome Indians to talk with the admiral. Theſe could ſpeak ſome words of Spaniſh, and knew the names of all the Chriſtians that had been left there, and ſaid that thoſe Spaniards ſoon began to fall at variance among themſelves, and to take every one what gold and as many women as they could; whereupon Peter Gutierres and Eſcovedo killed one James, and then they and nine others went away with their women to a cacique, whoſe name was Caunabo, who was lord of the mines, and killed them all; then many days after came with a great many men to Navidad, where there was only James de Arana, with ten men who had remained with him to guard the fort, all the reſt being diſperſed about the iſland. The Cacique Caunabo coming up by night, fired the houſes where the Chriſtians lived with their women, for fear whereof they fled to the ſea, where eight of them were drowned, and three died aſhore, whom they ſhewed. That Guacanagari himſelf, fighting with Caunabo in defence of the Chriſtians, was wounded and fled. This account agreed with that given by other Chriſtians, ſent by the admiral to learn more of the country, who went to a town where Guacanagari lay ill of a wound, which he ſaid had hindered him from waiting on the admiral, and giving him an account of what was become of the Chriſtians; among whom he ſaid, ſoon after the admiral returned for Spain, there began to be diſſenſion, and every one would barter gold for himſelf, and take what women he thought fit; and not ſatisfied with what Guacanagari gave and allowed to be given them, they divided into ſeveral parcels, and diſperſed ſome one way and ſome another, and that ſome Biſcainers join-

ing together, went where they were all killed; and this was the truth of what had happened, which they might tell the admiral, desiring him by those same Christians, that he would go see him, because he was in such a condition that he could not leave his house. The admiral did so, going the next day to visit him, and he with great signs of sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above, and that he and his men had been all wounded in defence of the Christians, as appeared by their wounds, which were not given by Christian arms, but with aragayas, or wooden swords, and arrows pointed with fish-bones. This discourse being over, he presented the admiral with eight strings of small beads, made of white, green, and red stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of gold, and three little calabashes full of gold sand; all which might be about four marks weight in gold, each mark being half a pound. The admiral in return, gave him abundance of our baubles, which might be worth three royals, (or 1s. 6d.) and were valued by him above a thousand. Though he was very ill, he would needs go with the amiral to see the fleet, where he was courteously entertained and much pleased to see the horses, of which the Christians had before given him an account. And because some of those that were dead had misinformed him concerning our holy faith, the admiral was forced to instruct him in it, and afterwards would have him wear an image of the Virgin Mary about his neck, which at first he had refused to receive.

## CHAP. LI. — *How the Admiral left the Colony of Navidad, and went to found the City which he called Isabella.*

THE admiral reflecting on the disaster of those Christians, and his own misfortune at sea, having lost the men and fort ashore, and his ship upon the water, and that not far off there were better and more commodious places to plant a colony; on Saturday the 7th of December he sailed with the whole fleet eastward, and about evening cast anchor not far from the islands of Monte Christo, and the next day at Monte Christo, among those seven low little islands, whereof mention has been made already, which, though they are without trees, are nevertheless pleasant; for in that winter season, they there found flowers, and nests with eggs, others with young birds, and all other things that are seen in summer. Thence he went to anchor before a town of Indians, where, resolved to plant a colony, he landed with all the men, provisions and utensils he brought aboard the fleet, in a plain near a rock, on which a fort might conveniently be built, where he built a town and called it Isabella, in honour of Queen Isabel or Elizabeth. This place was judged very convenient, forasmuch as the port was very large, though exposed to the north-west, and had a most delicate river a bow-shot from it, from which canals of water might be drawn to run through the middle of the town, and beyond was a mighty open plain, from which the Indians said the mines of Cibao were not very remote. For these reasons the admiral was so eager upon settling the said colony, that what with the fatigue endured at sea, and what he here went through, he not only wanted time to write day by day what happened, according to his custom, but it happened he fell sick, which interrupted his writing from the 11th of December till the 12th of March in the year 1494. During which time, having ordered the affairs of the town the best he could, for affairs abroad he sent one Alonzo de Hojeda, with fifteen men, to seek out the mines of Cibao. Afterwards on the 2d February, twelve ships of the fleet returned to Castille, under the command of one Captain Anthony de Torres, brother to Prince John's nurse, a man of great judgment and honour, and in whom Their Catholic Majesties and the admiral much confided. He had all in writing at large that had happened, as also the nature of the country, and what it required. Not long

long after Hodeja returned, and giving an account of his journey, ſaid, that the ſecond day, after he ſet out for Iſabella, he lay at the paſs of a mountain, which was very difficult of acceſs, that afterwards, at every league's diſtance he found caciques, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his journey the ſixth day after he ſet out, he came to the mines of Cibao, where the Indians immediately before him, took up gold in a ſmall river, as they had done in many others of the ſame province, where he affirmed there was great plenty of gold. This news much rejoiced the admiral, who was then recovered of his ſickneſs, and he reſolved to go aſhore, to obſerve the diſpoſition of the country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly on Wedneſday the 12th of March 1494, he ſet out from Iſabella for Cibao, to ſee the mines, with all the people that were in health, both a foot and a horſeback, leaving a good guard in the two ſhips and three caravals that remained of the fleet, and cauſing all the ammunition and tackle belonging to the other ſhips to be put aboard his own, that none might rebel with them, as they had attempted to do whilſt he was ſick. Becauſe many having gone that voyage, upon the belief that as ſoon as they landed they might load themſelves with gold, and ſo return rich home (which gold whereſoever it is found requires time, trouble, and labour to gather it); the thing not falling out as they expected, being therefore diſſatisfied and offended, as alſo becauſe of the building of the new town, and weary of the diſeaſes, the climate, and change of diet cauſed among them, they had privately conſpired to revolt from the admiral, and taking the ſhips that remained by force to return in them to Spain. One Bernard de Piſa, who had been an officer of juſtice at court, and went that voyage in the quality of their Catholic Majeſties' comptroller, was the ring-leader and head of theſe mutineers; therefore the admiral, when informed of it, would not puniſh him any otherwiſe than by ſecuring him aboard a ſhip, with a deſign to ſend him afterwards into Spain, with his proceſs drawn up, as well for mutinying as for having writ a falſe information againſt the admiral, which he had hid in the ſhip. Having therefore ordered all theſe affairs, and having left ſome perſons both at ſea and aſhore, together with his brother D. James Colon, to look to and ſecure the fleet, he ſet forwards towards Cibao, carrying along with him all the tools and neceſſaries to build a fort, to keep that province under, and ſecure the Chriſtians left there to gather gold againſt any attempts or deſigns of the Indians. And the more to terrify them, and take away all hopes that they might do in the admiral's preſence as they had done in his abſence with Arana and the thirty-eight Chriſtians left among them, he then carried along with him all the men he could, that they might in their own towns ſee and be ſenſible of the power of the Chriſtians, and be ſenſible that whenſoever any wrong was done to one ſingle man of ours travelling through the country, there was a force of men to chaſtiſe it. And to appear the more formidable, when he ſet out for Iſabella and other towns, he made his men march with their arms in rank and file as is uſual in time of war, and with trumpets ſounding and colours flying. In his way, he marched along that river which lay about a muſket-ſhot from Iſabella; and a league beyond, he croſſed another leſs river, and went to lie that night three leagues off, in a plain divided into pleaſant fields, reaching to the foot of a craggy hill, and about two bow-ſhots high. This he called Puerto de los Hidalgos, or the Gentleman's Port (the Spaniards call paſſes on mountains dry ports), becauſe ſome gentlemen went before to order the road to be made; and this was the firſt road made in the Indies, for the Indians make their ways broad enough but for one man to paſs at a time. Beyond this paſs he came into a large plain, over which he travelled five leagues the next day, and went to lie near a great river, which the men paſſed upon floats and in canoes. This river, which he called of Canes,

fell into the ſea at Monte Chriſto. In his journey he paſſed by many Indian towns, the houſes whereof were round, thatched, and with ſuch a little door, that he who goes in muſt ſtoop very low. Here, as ſoon as ſome of the Indians brought from Iſabella went into the houſes, they took what they liked beſt, and yet the owners were not at all diſpleaſed; as if all things were in common. In the like manner, the people of the country coming near to any Chriſtian, would take from him what they thought fit, thinking our things had been as common as theirs. But they were ſoon undeceived, being told the contrary. In their way they paſſed over mountains moſt pleaſantly wooded, where there were wild vines, aloes, and cinnamon trees, and another ſort that produces a fruit like a fig, and were vaſtly thick at the foot, but the leaves were like thoſe of the apple tree. Of this ſort of tree the ſcammony is ſaid to come.

## CHAP. LII. — *How the Admiral came to the Province of Cibao, where he found the Gold Mines; and built the Caſtle of St. Thomas.*

ON Friday the 14th of March, the admiral ſet forward from the river of Canes, and a league and a half from it found a great river, which he called the River of Gold, becauſe in paſſing it they gathered ſome grains of gold. Having paſſed it with ſome difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where many of the people fled to the mountains, but moſt of them fortified their houſes, barring their doors with ſome canes, as if that were a great defence to hinder any body from coming in; for according to their cuſtom, no man dares break in at the door he finds ſo barred, foraſmuch as they have no wooden doors, or other means to ſhut themſelves in, and it ſeems theſe bars are ſufficient. Hence the admiral went to another fine river, which he called the Green River, the banks whereof were covered with bright round ſtones, and there he reſted that night. Holding on his journey the next day, he paſſed by ſome great towns, where the people had put ſticks acroſs their doors, like the others above-mentioned, and the admiral and his men being tired, they ſtayed that night at the foot of a rugged mountain, which he called Port Cibao, foraſmuch as the province of Cibao begins beyond the mountain. From this the firſt mountain they paſſed was eleven leagues diſtant, all which diſtance is a plain, and the way directly ſouth. Setting out the next day, he travelled along a path, where they were forced, with much difficulty, to lead the horſes; and thence he ſent back ſome mules to Iſabella to bring bread and wine; for they began to want proviſions, and the journey was long, and they ſuffered the more becauſe they were not yet uſed to the Indian diet, as they are now who live and travel in thoſe parts, who find the food of that country more eaſy of digeſtion and more agreeable to that country than what is carried from Europe, though it is not of ſo great nouriſhment. Thoſe that went for proviſions being returned, the admiral paſſing over the mountain on Sunday the 16th of March, entered the country of Cibao, which is rough and ſtony, full of gravel, plentiful of graſs, and watered by ſeveral rivers, in which gold is found. The further they went into this country, the more uncouth they found it, and encumbered with mountains, on the tops whereof there appeared grains of gold ſand; for as the admiral ſaid, the great rains carry it down from the tops of the mountains to the rivers in ſmall ſand. This province is as big as Portugal, and there are in it abundance of mines, and gold in the brooks; but for the moſt part there are very few trees, and thoſe along the banks of rivers, and are moſt of them pines and palms of ſeveral ſorts. Now Hojeda having, as was ſaid, travelled that country, the Indians had ſome knowledge of the Chriſtians; ſo it happened, that what way ſoever the admiral went, the ſaid Indians came out to

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the road to meet him, with preſents of proviſions, and ſome ſmall quantity of gold duſt they had gathered, after they underſtood they came for it. The admiral perceiving he was now eighteen leagues from Iſabella, and the country he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a fort to be built in a very pleaſant and ſtrong place, which he called the caſtle of St. Thomas, to command the country about the mines, and to be a place of ſafety for the Chriſtians that went thither. The command of this new fort he gave to D. Peter Margarite, a perſon of account, with fifty-ſix men, among whom were workmen of all ſorts to build the caſtle, which was built with clay and timber, that being a ſufficient ſtrength to keep out any number of Indians that ſhould come againſt it. Here breaking ground to lay the foundation, and cutting a rock to make the ditches, when they were got two fathoms below the ſtone, they found neſts made of hay and ſtraw, and inſtead of eggs, three or four round ſtones as big as oranges, as artificially made as if they had been cannon-balls; and in the river that runs at the foot of that hill the caſtle now ſtands upon, they found ſtones of ſeveral colours, ſome of them large, of pure marble, and others of jaſper.

## CHAP. LIII. — *How the Admiral returned to Iſabella, and found that Soil was very fruitful.*

THE admiral having given orders for the finiſhing and fortifying of the caſtle, ſet out for Iſabella on Friday the 21ſt of March, and near the Green River met the mules going with proviſions, and not being able to ſtay there, becauſe of the great rains, he ſtayed there, ſending the proviſions to the fort. Afterwards endeavouring to find the ford of that river and of the river del Oro, which is bigger than Ebro, he ſtayed ſome days in thoſe Indian towns, eating their bread and garlic, which they gave for a ſmall matter. On Sunday the 29th of March he came to Iſabella, where melons were already grown fit to eat, though it was not above two months ſince the ſeed was put into the ground. So cucumbers came up in twenty days, and a wild vine of that country being pruned, had produced grapes which were good and large. The next day, being the 30th of March, a countryman gathered ears of wheat he had ſown at the latter end of January. There were alſo vetches, but much bigger than thoſe they ſowed; and all they ſowed ſprung up above ground in three days, and the twenty-fifth day they eat of it. The ſtones of fruit ſet in the ground ſprouted out in ſeven days, and the vine branches ſhot out in the ſame time, and in twenty-five days after they gathered green grapes. The ſugar-canes budded in ſeven days, which proceeded from the temperature of the climate, not unlike to that of our country, for it was rather cold than hot; beſides, that the waters there are very cold, thin, and wholeſome. The admiral was well enough pleaſed with the air, the ſoil, and the people of the country. On Tueſday the 1ſt of April there came a meſſenger from fort St. Thomas, who brought news that the Indians of that country fled, and that a cacique, whoſe name was Caunabo, was preparing to come and attack the fort. The admiral knowing how inconſiderable the people of that country were, made little account of that report, eſpecially confiding in the horſes, by whom the Indians were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were ſo much afraid that they durſt not go into any houſe where a horſe ſtood. However the admiral thought fit to ſend more men and proviſions, conſidering that ſince he deſigned to go and diſcover the continent with three caravals he had left him, it was fit all things ſhould remain quiet behind. Therefore on Wedneſday the 2d of April he ſent ſeventy men, with proviſions and ammunition to the fort, twenty-five of which were to keep guard, and the others help to make another road, the firſt being very troubleſome,

troubleſome, as were the fords of the rivers. Theſe being gone, whilſt the ſhips were fitted to go upon the new diſcovery, he attended to order all things neceſſary for the town he was building, dividing it into ſtreets, with a convenient market-place, and endeavouring to bring the river to it along a large cut canal; for which reaſon he alſo made a dam that might ſerve the mills, becauſe the town being almoſt a cannon-ſhot from the river, the people would have been troubled to fetch water ſo far, eſpecially then when moſt of them were very weak and indiſpoſed, by reaſon of the ſharpneſs of the air, which did not agree with them; ſo that ſome were ſick, and had no other Spaniſh proviſions but biſcuit and wine, by reaſon of the ill management of the captains of the ſhips, as alſo becauſe in that country nothing keeps ſo well as in Spain. And though they had plenty of the country proviſions, yet not being uſed to that food it did not agree with them. Therefore the admiral had reſolved to leave but three hundred men in the iſland and to ſend the reſt into Spain, which number, conſidering the nature of the iſland, and of the Indies, he knew was ſufficient to keep that country in ſubjection to Their Catholic Majeſties. In the mean while, becauſe the biſcuit grew towards an end, and they had no flour but wheat, he reſolved to make ſome mills, though there was no fall of water fit for that purpoſe within a league of the town; at which work, and all others, he was forced to ſtand over the workmen, they all endeavouring to ſave themſelves from any labour. After that, he reſolved to ſend out all the people that were in health, except handicraft-men and artificers, to the royal plain, that travelling about the country they might pacify it, ſtrike a terror into the Indians, and by degrees be uſed to their food, ſince they daily felt more want of that of Spain. Hojeda was ſent to command theſe men till they came to St. Thomas's, there to deliver them to D. Peter Margarite, who was to lead them about the iſland, and Hojeda himſelf to command in the fort; he having taken the pains the winter before to diſcover that province of Cibao, which in the Indian language ſignifies ſtony. Hojeda ſet out from Iſabella on Wedneſday the 29th of April, towards St. Thomas's with all the aforeſaid men, being above four hundred, and having paſſed the river del Oro, apprehended the cacique that lived there, and a brother and nephew of his, ſending them in irons to the admiral, and cut off the ears of one of his ſubjects, in the great place of his town, becauſe three Chriſtians coming from St. Thomas to Iſabella, this cacique gave them five Indians to carry their cloaths over the river at the ford, and they being come to the middle of the river, returned to their town with them, and the cacique inſtead of puniſhing them, took the cloaths for himſelf, refuſing to reſtore them. Another cacique who dwelt beyond the river, relying on the ſervice he had done the Chriſtians, reſolved to go with the priſoners to Iſabella, and intercede with the admiral for them, who entertained him courteouſly, and ordered that the other Indians, with their hands bound, ſhould be publicly ſentenced to die in the market-place; which the honeſt cacique ſeeing, he with many tears obtained their lives, promiſing they ſhould never be guilty of any other offence. The admiral having diſcharged them all, a man a horſeback came from St. Thomas's, and gave an account, that he had found in that ſame cacique who had been priſoner in his town, five Chriſtians taken by his ſubjects as they were coming for Iſabella, and that he frightening the Indians with his horſe had releaſed them, above four hundred men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the purſuit; and that when he had paſſed the river, he ſaw they turned upon the ſaid Chriſtians, whereupon he made as if he would go back againſt them, but they for fear of his horſe all ran away, leſt the horſe ſhould fly over the river.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LIV. — *How the Admiral ſettled the Affairs of the Iſland, and went to diſcover Cuba, ſuppoſing it to be the Continent.*

THE admiral being reſolved to go out to diſcover the continent, appointed a council to govern the iſland in his abſence; the perſons it conſiſted of were D. James Colon, his brother, with the title of preſident, F. Boyl, and Peter Fernandez Coronell, regents, Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal, rector of Bacca, and John de Luxan of Madrid, gentlemen to Their Catholic Majeſties. And that there might not want meal for ſupport of the people, he haſtened the building of the mills, notwithſtanding the rain and flood very much obſtructed it. From theſe rains, the admiral ſays, proceeds the great moiſture, and conſequently the fruitfulneſs of the iſland, which is ſo wonderful, that they eat fruit of the trees in November, when they were bloſſoming afreſh, which ſhews that they bear twice a year. But herbs and ſeeds grow at all times, and ſo they find on the trees, neſts with eggs, and young birds. As the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil appeared extraordinary, ſo they daily received freſh advices of the wealth of the country; for ſome of thoſe the admiral had ſent out were always returning with news of new mines diſcovered, beſides the relation of the Indians concerning the great plenty of gold found in ſeveral parts of the iſland. The admiral not ſo ſatisfied, reſolved to go out to diſcover along the coaſt of Cuba, not knowing whether it was an iſland or continent. Therefore taking three ſhips along with him, he ſet ſail upon Thurſday the 24th of April, afternoon, and came to an anchor that day at Monte Chriſto, weſt of Iſabella. On Friday he went to Guacanagari's port, thinking to find him there, but he ſeeing the ſhips fled for fear, though his ſubjects falſely affirmed he would ſoon return. But the admiral not caring to ſtay without great cauſe, departed on Saturday the 26th of April, and went to the iſland Tortuga, which lies ſix leagues to the weſtward: he lay by it that night, in a calm with his ſails abroad, the tide running back againſt the currents. Next day the north-weſt winds and currents ſetting from the weſt, obliged him to go back to an anchor in the river of Guadalquiver, which is in the ſame iſland, there to wait for a wind that would ſtem the current, which both then and the year before he found to run ſtrong there toward the eaſt. On Tueſday the 29th of the ſame month, the wind being fair he came to cape St. Nicholas, and thence croſſed over to the iſland of Cuba, running along the ſouth coaſt of it, and having ſailed a league beyond Cabo Fuerte, put into a large bay which he called Puerto Grande, or great port, the mouth whereof was one hundred and fifty paces over, and had much water. Here he caſt anchor, and took ſome refreſhment of broiled fiſh and oyſters, whereof the Indians had great ſtore. On the 1ſt of May he continued his voyage along the coaſt, where he found commodious harbours, fine rivers, and high mountains. Upon the ſea, after he left Tortuga, he met abundance of the weeds he ſaw on the ocean, in his voyage to and from Spain. He ſailing cloſe along the ſhore, abundance of people came aboard in their canoes from the iſland, thinking our men were come down from heaven, bringing of their bread, water, and fiſh, and giving it all freely, without aſking any thing for it; but the admiral, to ſend them home well pleaſed, ordered they ſhould be paid, giving them beads, bells, and ſuch like baubles.

## CHAP. LV.—*The admiral diſcovers the Iſland of Jamaica.*

ON Saturday, the 3d of May, the admiral reſolved to ſail over from Cuba to Jamaica, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the report of ſuch plenty

plenty of gold they heard there was in it proved true, and the wind being fair, and he almoſt half way over, diſcovered it on Sunday. Upon Monday he came to an anchor, and thought it the beautifulleſt of any he had yet ſeen in the Indies, and ſuch multitudes of people in great and ſmall canoes came aboard, that it was aſtoniſhing. The next day he ran along the coaſt to find out harbours, and the boats going to ſound the mouths of them, there came out ſo many canoes and armed men, to defend the country, that they were forced to return to the ſhips, not ſo much for fear, as to avoid falling to enmity with thoſe people. But afterwards, conſidering that if they ſhewed ſigns of fear, the Indians would grow proud upon it, they returned together to the port, which the admiral called Puerto Bueno, that is, Good Harbour. And becauſe the Indians came to drive them off, thoſe in boats gave them ſuch a flight of arrows from their croſs-bows, that ſix or ſeven of them being wounded, they retired. The fight ending in this manner; there came abundance of canoes from the neighbouring places in a peaceable manner, to ſee and barter proviſions, and ſeveral things they brought, and gave for the leaſt trifle that was offered them. In this port, which is like a horſe-ſhoe, the admiral's ſhip was repaired, it being leaky; and that done, they ſet ſail on Friday the 9th of May, keeping ſo cloſe along the coaſt weſtward that the Indians followed in their canoes to trade, and get ſomething of ours. The wind being ſomewhat contrary, the admiral could not make ſo much way as he wiſhed, till on Tueſday the 13th of May he reſolved to ſtand over again for Cuba, to keep along its coaſt, deſigning not to return till he had ſailed five or ſix hundred leagues, and were ſatisfied whether it was an iſland or continent. That ſame day, as he was going off from Jamaica, a very young Indian came aboard, ſaying he would come into Spain, and after him came ſeveral of his kindred and other people in their canoes, earneſtly intreating him to go back, but they could never alter his reſolution; and therefore to avoid ſeeing his ſiſters cry and ſob, he went where they could not come at him. The admiral, admiring his reſolution, gave order that he ſhould be uſed with all civility.

## CHAP. LVI.—*The Admiral from Jamaica returns to the coaſt of Cuba, ſtill thinking it to be the Continent.*

THE admiral leaving Jamaica, on Wedneſday the 14th of May came to that point of Cuba, which he called Cabo de Santa Cruz, or Cape Holy Croſs, and running along the coaſt, there happened a great ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which together with the flats and currents, put him in no ſmall danger and to very much trouble, being obliged at the ſame time to ſtruggle againſt theſe two evils, which required contrary remedies; for it is a proper remedy againſt thunder to ſtrike the ſails, and it was requiſite to ſpread them to avoid the flats, and had this calamity laſted for eight or ten leagues it had been inſupportable. But the worſt of it was, that all over that ſea, both north and north-eaſt, the further they went the more low little iſlands they met with, and though there were trees in ſome of them, yet others were ſandy, and ſcarce appeared above the ſurface of the water, ſome a league, ſome more and ſome leſs in compaſs. True it is, that the nearer they ſailed to Cuba, the higher and pleaſanter the little iſlands appeared; and being a matter of difficulty, and to no purpoſe, to give every one of them a name, the admiral called them all in general Jardin de la Reyna, the Queen's Garden. But as many iſlands as he ſaw that day, he ſaw many more and bigger the next day than he had before, and not only to the north-eaſt, but north-weſt and ſouth-weſt; inſomuch that they counted one hundred and ſixty iſlands that day, all parted by deep channels, which the ſhip ſailed through. In ſome of theſe iſlands they

ſaw abundance of cranes, in ſhape and bigneſs like thoſe of Spain, but that they were as red as ſcarlet. In others they found abundance of tortoiſes, and of their eggs, not unlike a hen's, but that the ſhells are very hard. The tortoiſes lay theſe eggs in a hole they make in the ſand, and covering them, leave them till the heat of the ſun hatches and brings forth the tortoiſes, which in time grow as big as a buckler, or great target. In theſe iſlands they alſo ſaw crows and cranes like thoſe of Spain, and ſea-crows, and infinite numbers of little birds that ſung ſweetly, and the very air was as ſweet as if they had been among roſes and the fineſt perfumes in the world; yet the danger was very great, there being ſuch abundance of channels, that much time was ſpent in finding the way out. In one of theſe channels, they ſpied a canoe of Indian fiſhermen, who very quietly, without the leaſt concern expected the boat which was making towards them, and being come near, made a ſign to them in it, till they had done fiſhing. Their manner of fiſhing was ſo ſtrange and new to our men, that they were willing to comply with them; it was thus: they had tied ſome ſmall fiſhes they call reves by the tail, which run themſelves againſt other fiſh, and with a certain roughneſs they have from the head to the middle of the back, they ſtick ſo faſt to the next fiſh they meet, that when the Indians perceive it, drawing their line, they draw them both together; and it was a tortoiſe our men ſaw ſo taken by thoſe fiſhermen, that fiſh clinging about the neck of it, where they generally faſten, being by that means ſafe from the other fiſh biting them, and have ſeen them faſten upon vaſt ſharks. When the Indians in the canoe had taken their tortoiſe, and two other fiſhes they had before, they preſently came very friendly to the boat, to know what our men would have, and by their directions went along aboard the ſhips, where the admiral treated them very courteouſly, and underſtood by them, that there was an infinite multitude of iſlands in that ſea; and they freely gave all they had, though the admiral would ſuffer nothing to be taken of them but the fiſh, the reſt being their nets, hooks, and calabaſhes full of water to drink. Having given them ſome ſmall trifles, they went away very well pleaſed, and he held on his courſe with a deſign not to do ſo long, becauſe he began to want proviſions already; whereas, had he been well ſtored, he thought not to have returned into Spain, but caſt about, though he was very much ſpent, not only becauſe he fed ill, but alſo becauſe he had not ſtript or lain in a bed ever ſince he ſailed from Spain till the 19th of May, when he writ this, except eight nights, when he was much indiſpoſed. And if he had much care upon him at other times, it was doubled this voyage, by reaſon of the innumerable quantity of iſlands, among which he was ſailing, which were ſo many, that on the 20th of May he diſcovered ſeventy-one, beſides many more he ſaw weſt-ſouth-weſt at ſun-ſetting. Which iſlands or ſands are not only frightful by their multitude, appearing on all ſides, but what is yet more terrible, is, that every night there riſes off them a great fog eaſtward, ſo diſmal to behold, that it ſeems as if ſome great ſhower of hail would fall, the thunder and lightning are ſo violent; but when the moon riſes it all vaniſhes, part of it turning to rain and wind, which is ſo uſual and natural in that country, that it did not only happen all thoſe nights the admiral was there, but I ſaw the ſame in thoſe iſlands in the year 1503, in my return from the diſcovery of Veragua; and generally here at night the wind is north, coming off the iſland Cuba, and afterwards, when the ſun is up, it comes about eaſt, and follows the ſun till it comes to the weſt.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LVII.—*Of the great fatigue the Admiral underwent, ſailing among abundance of Iſlands.*

THE admiral ſtill holding on his courſe weſtward, among infinite numbers of iſlands, upon Thurſday the 22d of May came to an iſland ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, which he called St. Mary; and landing at a town, there was in it, not one Indian would ſtay to talk to the Chriſtians, nor did they find any thing in the houſes but fiſh, which is all the food thoſe people live on, and ſeveral dogs like maſtiffs, who eat fiſh too. Thus without talking to any body, or ſeeing any thing remarkable, he ſailed away north-eaſt, among abundance of iſlands, in which there were many cranes as red as ſcarlet, parrots, and other ſorts of birds, dogs like thoſe before mentioned, and abundance of thoſe weeds he ſaw on the ocean when he firſt diſcovered the Indies. Thus ſailing among ſo many ſands and iſlands fatigued him very much; for ſometimes he was forced to ſtand weſt, ſometimes north, and ſometimes ſouth, according as the channels would permit; for notwithſtanding his care in ſounding, and keeping men upon the round top to look out, yet the ſhip often touched, and there was no avoiding it, there being no end of the flats on all hands. Sailing on in this manner, he came again to Cuba to take in water, whereof they had much need. And though there was no town where they put in, becauſe the place was wooded, yet one of the ſeamen that went aſhore, going up among the trees with a croſs-bow to kill ſome bird or beaſt, found thirty people armed with ſuch weapons as they uſe, that is ſpears and ſtaves which they wear inſtead of ſwords and call macanas. Among them he ſaid he ſaw one clad with a white coat, or a veſt down to his knees, and two that carried him had them down to their feet all three of them as white as the Spaniards; but that he had no talk with them, becauſe being afraid of ſuch a number he began to cry out to his companions, and the Indians ran away without looking back. Though the admiral the next day ſent people aſhore to know the truth of it, they could not travel above half a league, becauſe of the thickneſs of the trees and buſhes, and becauſe all that coaſt is boggy and muddy, for two leagues up the country, where there are hills and mountains, ſo that they only ſaw footſteps of fiſhermen on the ſhore, and abundance of cranes like thoſe in Spain, but bigger. Then ſailing about ten leagues weſtward, they ſaw houſes on the ſhore, from which ſome canoes came with water and ſuch things as thoſe people eat, which they brought to the Chriſtians, who paid well for them; and the admiral cauſed one of thoſe Indians to be ſtopped, telling him and the reſt by his interpreters that he would let him go freely home as ſoon as he had directed him in his voyage, and given ſome account of that country. At which the Indian was very much pleaſed, and aſſured the admiral that Cuba was an iſland, and that the king or cacique of the weſtern part of it, never ſpoke to his ſubjects but by ſigns, by whom all his orders were immediately obeyed; that all that coaſt was very low, and full of ſmall iſlands, which was found to be too true. The next day, being the 11th of June, to paſs from one channel to another, the admiral was forced to have the ſhips towed over a flat, where there was not a foot water, and all the breadth of it was not above two ſhips length. Bearing up cloſer to Cuba, they ſaw tortoiſes of a vaſt bigneſs, and in ſuch numbers that they covered the ſea. At break of day they ſaw ſuch a cloud of ſea-crows that they darkened the ſun, coming from the ſeaward to the iſland, where they all lighted; beſides them, abundance of pigeons, and birds of other ſorts were ſeen, and the next day there came ſuch ſwarms of butterflies, that they darkened the air, and laſted till night, when the great rain carried them away.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LVIII.—*How the Admiral returns back towards Hiſpaniola.*

ON Friday the 13th of June, the admiral perceiving that the coaſt of Cuba ran far weſt, and that it was a matter of the greateſt difficulty to ſail that way, by reaſon of the infinite multitude of iſlands and ſands that were on all ſides, and that he already began to want proviſions, for which reaſon he could not continue his voyage as he had intended, he reſolved to return to the town he had began to build in Hiſpaniola, and to furniſh himſelf with wood and water; he anchored in the iſland Evangeliſta, which is thirty leagues in compaſs, and ſeven hundred from Dominica. Having provided himſelf with what he wanted, he directed his courſe ſouthward, hoping to get out better that way; and ſailing through the channel he ſaw looked cleareſt, after ſailing a few leagues, found it ſhut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify the men ſeeing themſelves as it were hemmed in on all ſides, and deſtitute of proviſions and all comfort. But the admiral, who was wiſe and courageous, perceiving their faint-heartedneſs, ſaid with a chearful countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the ſame way he came; foraſmuch as if they had continued their voyage that way they intended to go, it might perhaps have happened they might have run themſelves into ſome place whence it would have been hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither ſhips nor proviſions to go back, which at preſent they could eaſily do. Thus with great ſatisfaction of all the men, he returned to the iſland Evangeliſta, where he had watered, and on Wedneſday the 25th of June ſailed thence north-weſt towards ſome ſmall iſlands that appeared five leagues off. Going ſtill a little forward he came into a ſea ſo patched with green and white, that it looked like one entire ſand, though there was two fathoms water; along which he ſailed ſeven leagues, till he met another ſea, as white as milk, which he much admired, the water being very thick. This ſea dazzled the eyes of all that beheld it, and ſeemed to be all a ſhoal, without water enough for the ſhips, yet there were about three fathoms water. But when he had ſailed about four leagues upon that ſea, he came into another ſea as black as ink, and five fathoms deep, through which he held his courſe till he came up with Cuba. Thence ſtanding to the eaſtward, with ſcant winds, through narrow channels and ſhoals; on the 30th of June, as he was writing his journal of the voyage, his ſhip run aground ſo faſt, that neither anchors nor other inventions being able to get it off, it pleaſed God it was drawn off a-head, though with ſome damage becauſe of its beating on the ſand. However, with God's aſſiſtance they got off at laſt, and he ſailed on as the wind and ſhoal-water would permit, always through a very white ſea and two fathoms deep, neither deeper nor ſhallower, unleſs he came too cloſe to ſome of the ſands, where there was want of water. Beſides which trouble, every day about ſun-ſetting he was troubled with mighty ſhowers, which riſe in the mountains from the moraſſes near the ſea, which were a great fatigue to him, till he came cloſe to Cuba towards the eaſt, the way he came at firſt. Thence, as he had found before, came off a moſt fragrant ſcent, as it were of flowers. On the 7th of July he landed to hear maſs, and there reſorted to him an old cacique lord of that province, who was very attentive at maſs; when it was ended, by ſigns, and the beſt he could expreſs, he ſaid it was very well done to give thanks to God, becauſe the ſoul which was good would go to heaven, and the body remain on earth, but that the wicked ſouls muſt go to hell. And among other things he ſaid, he had been in the iſland Hiſpaniola, where he knew ſome of the chief men; that he had been at Jamaica, and a great way towards the weſt of Cuba, and that the cacique of that port was clad like a prieſt.

## CHAP. LIX. — *The great Hunger and other Calamities the Admiral and his Men endured, and how he returned to Jamaica.*

THE admiral ſailing thence on Wedneſday the 16th of July, ſtill attended by terrible rains and winds, drew near to Cape Cruz in Cuba, where he was on a ſudden aſſaulted by ſuch a violent rain and ſtorm as bore his ſhip's ſide under water; but it pleaſed God they immediately ſtruck all their ſails, and dropped their beſt anchors; but they took in ſo much water at the deck, that the men were not able to pump it out, eſpecially in the condition they were, being much ſpent for want of proviſions: for they eat nothing but a pound of rotten biſcuit a day, and about half a pint of wine, unleſs they happened to catch ſome fiſh, which yet they could not keep from one day to the next, proviſions in thoſe parts being of a very ſlight nature, and becauſe the weather was always more inclinable to heat than in our countries; and this want being common to all, the admiral in his journal ſpeaks thus concerning it: "I myſelf am at the ſame allowance, God grant it may be to his honour, and for Your Highneſs's ſervice, for I ſhall never again for my own benefit expoſe myſelf to ſuch ſufferings and dangers; never a day paſſing, but I ſee we are all upon the brink of death." In this danger and diſtreſs he arrived at Cape Cruz the 18th of July, where he was friendly entertained by the Indians. They brought him abundance of cazabi, ſo they call their bread made of roots grated, a great deal of fiſh, ſtore of fruit, and ſuch other things as they eat. The wind being contrary to ſail for Hiſpaniola, he ſtood over to Jamaica on Wedneſday the 22d day of July, and ſailed along weſtward cloſe under the ſhore, the country all along moſt delightful and fruitful, with excellent harbours at every league diſtance, and all the coaſt full of towns, the people whereof followed the ſhips in their canoes, bringing ſuch proviſions as they eat, and much better liked by the Chriſtians than that they found in the other iſlands. The climate, air, and weather was the ſame as the reſt; for in this weſtern part of Jamaica there gathered every evening a ſtorm of rain which laſted about an hour more or leſs, which the admiral ſaid, he attributed to the great woods that were in thoſe countries, for that he knew this was uſual at firſt in the Canary iſlands, Madera, and the Azores; whereas, now the woods are cut down that ſhaded them, there are not ſo great and frequent ſtorms and rains as there were formerly. Thus the admiral ſailed on, though with contrary winds, which obliged him every night to take the ſhelter of the land, which appeared green, pleaſant, fruitful, abounding in proviſions, and ſo populous that he thought none excelled it, eſpecially near a bay which he called De las Vacas, becauſe there are nine iſlands cloſe to the land, which he ſaid was as high as any he had ſeen, and believed reached above the region where the ſtorms bred, yet it is all peopled, very fruitful and pleaſant. This iſland he judged to be eight hundred miles in compaſs, and when fully diſcovered, computed it to be fifty leagues in length and twenty in breadth. Being much taken with its beauty, he had a great mind to ſtay there to be fully informed of the nature of it, but the great want of proviſions we mentioned, and the leakineſs of the veſſels would not permit. Therefore as ſoon as the weather was a little fair, he ſailed away eaſtward, ſo that on Tueſday the 19th of Auguſt he loſt ſight of that iſland, ſtanding over directly for Hiſpaniola, and called the moſt eaſtward cape of Jamaica on the ſouth coaſt Cabo del Farol.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LX. *The Admiral diſcovers the South Side of Hiſpaniola, till he returned Eaſt about the Town of Iſabella.*

ON Wedneſday the 20th of Auguſt the admiral had ſight of the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, and called the firſt point Cape St. Michael, which was thirty leagues diſtant from the eaſterlieſt point of Jamaica, yet at preſent through the ignorance of the ſailors it is called Cape Tiburon. From this cape on Saturday the 23d of Auguſt there came aboard a cacique, who called the admiral by his name, and had ſome other Spaniſh words, by which he was convinced this was the ſame land as Hiſpaniola. At the end of Auguſt he anchored in an iſland which is called Alto Velo, and having loſt ſight of the other two ſhips under his command, he cauſed ſome men to go aſhore in that little iſland, whence being very high they might ſee a great way round; but they diſcovered none of their companions. As they were going aboard they killed eight ſea-wolves, that lay aſleep on the ſand, and took abundance of pigeons and other birds; for that iſland not being inhabited, nor thoſe creatures uſed to ſee men, they ſtood ſtill to be killed with ſtaves. The ſame they did the two following days, waiting for the ſhips that had been aſtray ever ſince the Friday before, till at the end of ſix days they came, and all three together went away to the iſland Beata twelve leagues diſtant from Alto Velo. Hence they paſſed on coaſting Hiſpaniola, in ſight of a delightful country, which was a plain running up a mile from the ſea, ſo populous that it ſeemed to be one continued town for a league in length. In which plain there appeared a lake five leagues long from eaſt to weſt. The people therefore of the country having ſome knowledge of the Chriſtians, came aboard in their canoes, bringing news that ſome Spaniards from Iſabella had happened to come among them, and that they were all well, which much pleaſed the admiral, and to the end they too might hear of his health and his company's, and of his return, being ſomewhat more towards the eaſt, he ſent nine men to croſs the iſland, paſſing by the forts of St. Thomas and the Magdalen to Iſabella, and he with his three ſhips ſtill keeping along the coaſt eaſtward, ſent the boats for water to a place, where a great town appeared. The Indians came out againſt them with bows and poiſoned arrows, and with ropes in their hands, making ſigns that they would bind the Chriſtians they ſhould take with them. But as ſoon as the boats came to the ſhore, the Indians laid down their arms, and offered to bring bread and water, and all they had, aſking in their language for the admiral. Going hence they ſaw in the ſea a fiſh as big as a whale, which on its neck had a great ſhell, like a tortoiſe, and bore its head, which was as big as a hogſhead, above water, had a tail like a tunny fiſh, very long, and two large fins on the ſides. The admiral by this fiſh and other ſigns, perceiving there would be ſome change of weather, he ſought for ſome harbour to ſecure himſelf. And on the 15th of September it pleaſed God to ſhew him an iſland, being near the eaſt part of Hiſpaniola, called by the Indians Adamanai, and the weather being very ſtormy, dropped anchor in the channel between it and Hiſpaniola, cloſe to a ſmall iſland that lies between both, where that night he ſaw the eclipſe of the moon, which he ſaid varied five hours twenty-three minutes from Cadiz to the place where he was. This I ſuppoſe made the bad weather laſt ſo long, for he was forced to lie cloſe in that very place till the 20th of the month, not without fear for the other ſhips, which could not get in, but it pleaſed God to ſave them. Being afterwards together again, on the 24th of September they ſailed to the moſt eaſterly point of Hiſpaniola, and thence paſſed over to a little iſland lying between Hiſpaniola and St. John de Borriquen, called by the Indians Mona. From this iſland

the admiral does not continue the journal of his voyage, nor does he ſay how he returned to Iſabella, but only that going from Mona to St. John, the great toil he had gone through, his own weakneſs and want of proviſions caſt him into a dangerous diſeaſe between a peſtilential fever and a lethargy, which preſently deprived him of all his ſenſes and memory. Whereupon all the men aboard the ſhips reſolved to deſiſt from the deſign he had in hand of diſcovering all the iſlands of the Caribbees, and to return to Iſabella, where they arrived in five days, on the 29th of September, and there it pleaſed God to reſtore his health, though his ſickneſs laſted above five months, which was attributed to the great ſufferings he had gone through during that voyage, and to his extraordinary weakneſs; for ſometimes he had not ſleep three hours in eight days, which ſeems almoſt impoſſible, were not he himſelf and his men witneſſes of the truth of it.

## CHAP. LXI. — *How the Admiral ſubdued the Iſland Hiſpaniola, and took ſuch Order that they might not revolt again.*

THE admiral returning to Hiſpaniola from the diſcovery of Cuba and Jamacia, found there his brother Bartholomew Colon, who, as was ſaid before, had been ſent to treat with the King of England about the diſcovery of the Indies. He returning to Spain with the grant of his demands, underſtood at Paris, by Charles King of France, that the admiral his brother had diſcovered the Indies, and he ſupplied him with one hundred crowns to proceed on his journey. Upon this news he made all the haſte he could to overtake the admiral in Spain; yet when he came to Sevil, his brother was ſet out for the Indies with ſeventeen ſail. Therefore to fulfil the orders he had left him at the beginning of the year 1494, he went away to Their Catholic Majeſties, carrying me and my brother D. James Colon to ſerve Prince John as his pages, as had been appointed by the Queen, who was then at Valladolid. As ſoon as we came thither, Their Majeſties ſent for D. Bartholomew Colon, and ſent him to Hiſpaniola with three ſhips, where he ſerved ſome years, as appears by a manuſcript I found among his papers, in which are theſe words. "I ſerved as captain from the 14th of April 1494 till the 12th of March 1496, when the admiral ſet out for Spain, and then I began to act as governor till the 24th of Auguſt 1498, when the admiral returned from the diſcovery of Paria, when I again ſerved as captain till the 11th of December 1500, when I returned to Spain." But to return to the admiral: he returning from Cuba made him governor of the Indies, though afterwards there aroſe a controverſy on this account, becauſe Their Catholic Majeſties ſaid they had not granted the admiral power to appoint any ſuch. But to decide this difference Their Highneſſes granted it a new, and ſo for the future he was called Adelantado, that is, lieutenant of the Indies.

The admiral having the aſſiſtance and advice of his brother, took ſome reſt, and lived in quiet, though on the other ſide he met with trouble enough, as well from his ſickneſs, as becauſe he found almoſt all the Indians had revolted, through the fault of D. Peter Margarite, of whom we ſpoke above. He, though obliged to reſpect and honour him that at his departure for Cuba had left him the command of three hundred and ſixty foot and fourteen horſe, to travel over the iſland, and reduce it under the obedience of Their Catholic Majeſties and the Chriſtians, and particularly the province of Cibao, whence the chief profit was expected, yet did all things ſo much to the contrary, that as ſoon as the admiral was gone, he went with all his men to the great plain called Vega Real, ten leagues from Iſabella, without ſtirring to over-run

and reduce the iſland. Hence there enſued diſcord and factions at Iſabella; he endeavouring that thoſe of the council inſtituted by the admiral, ſhould obey his orders, ſending them very inſolent letters, till perceiving he could not ſucceed in his deſign of getting the whole command into his hands, rather than ſtay the coming of the admiral, who would call him in queſtion for his behaviour, he went aboard the firſt ſhips that came from Spain and returned in them, without giving any account of himſelf, or any ways diſpoſing of the men left under his command. Upon this every one went away among the Indians where he thought fit, taking away their goods and their women, and committing ſuch outrages that the Indians reſolved to be revenged on thoſe they found alone or ſtraggling; ſo that the Cacique of the Magdalen, whoſe name was Guatiguana, had killed ten, and privately ordered a houſe to be fired in which there were eleven ſick. But he was ſeverely puniſhed when the admiral returned; for though he himſelf could not be taken, yet ſome of his ſubjects were made priſoners and ſent into Spain in four ſhips, Antony de Torres brought on the 24th of February 1495. Six or ſeven more, who in other parts of the iſland had done harm to the Chriſtians ſuffered for it. The caciques had certainly killed many, and would have deſtroyed more, but the admiral came in time to curb them all, who found the iſland in ſuch diſorder, that moſt of the Chriſtians committed a thouſand inſolencies, for which they were mortally hated by the Indians, who refuſed to ſubmit to them. It was no difficult matter for them all to agree to caſt off the Spaniſh yoke; becauſe, as has been ſaid, there were four principal Kings or caciques, to whom all the others were ſubject. The names of thoſe four were Caunabo, Guacanagari, Behechico, and Guarionex; and each of theſe had under him ſeventy or eighty other little lords; not that they paid tribute or gave any thing, but were obliged, whenſoever called upon, to aſſiſt them in their wars and till the ground; but Guacanagari, one of theſe who was lord of that part of the iſland where the town of the Nativity had been built, continued a friend to the Chriſtians. As ſoon therefore as he heard of the admiral's coming, he went to viſit him, ſaying, he had no way been aiding or adviſing with the others, which might appear by the great civility the Chriſtians had found in his country, where one hundred men had been always very well uſed and furniſhed with all things he could get to pleaſe them; for which reaſon the other Kings were become his enemies, and particularly Behechico had killed one of his women, and Caunabo had taken another, wherefore he prayed him to cauſe her to be reſtored, and aſſiſt him to revenge theſe wrongs. The admiral reſolved to do ſo, believing what he ſaid was true, becauſe he wept every time he called to mind thoſe that had been killed at the Nativity, as if they had been his own children; and he was the more inclinable to it, conſidering that the diſcord among them would make it more practicable to conquer the country, and puniſh the revolt of the other Indians, and killing of the Chriſtians. Therefore on the 24th of March 1495 he ſet out from Iſabella to carry on the war, and the aforeſaid Guacanagari with him, being very deſirous to cruſh his enemies, though the undertaking ſeemed very difficult, they having raiſed above one hundred thouſand Indians, whereas the admiral had not along with him above two hundred Chriſtians, twenty horſes, and as many dogs. The admiral being acquainted with the nature and qualities of the Indians, when he was two days journey from Iſabella, divided his forces, giving half to his brother the lieutenant, that he might attack that multitude ſcattered about the plains in two places, believing the terror of hearing the noiſe in ſeveral places would put them to flight ſooner than any thing elſe, as in effect it proved. The battalions of foot on both ſides falling upon the multitude of Indians, and breaking them with the firſt diſcharge of their croſs-bows and muſkets, the horſe and dogs fell

in

in next in moſt furious manner, that they might not rally; whereupon thoſe faint-hearted creatures fled, ſome one way and ſome another; and our men purſuing and killing a great number, made ſuch havock that in a ſhort time, through God's aſſiſtance, they obtained a complete victory, many of the enemies being ſlain, and others taken, among whom was Caunabo, the chief cacique of them all, together with his wives and children. This Caunabo afterwards confeſſed he had killed twenty of the Chriſtians left with Arana in the town of the Nativity, the firſt voyage when the Indies were diſcovered, and that afterwards, under colour of friendſhip, he went in great haſte to ſee the town of Iſabella, to obſerve how he might beſt attack it, and do as he had done at the Nativity. Of all which things the admiral had been fully informed by others; and therefore to puniſh him for that offence, and this ſecond revolt, and gathering of forces he had now marched againſt him, and having taken him and his brother, he ſent them all priſoners into Spain; for he would not, without the knowledge of Their Catholic Majeſties, execute ſo conſiderable a perſon, being ſatisfied with puniſhing ſome of thoſe that were moſt in fault. The victory obtained, and this man's impriſonment, put the affairs of the Chriſtians into ſuch a good poſture, that though at that time they were but ſix hundred and thirty, many of them ſick, and others women and children, yet in the ſpace of a year the admiral ſpent in ranging the iſland, without being forced to draw ſword any more, he reduced it to ſuch obedience, that they all promiſed to pay tribute to Their Catholic Majeſties every three months, that is all that inhabited the province of Cibao, where the gold mines were, from fourteen years of age upward to pay a large horſe-bell full of gold-duſt, and all the reſt twenty-five pounds of cotton a head. And that it might be known who had paid this tribute, there was a ſort of braſs and tin coin ſtamped, one of which pieces was to be given to every one that paid, and he to wear it about his neck, that whoſoever was found without it might be known not to have paid and puniſhed. And doubtleſs this order would have proved effectual, had not thoſe troubles we ſhall ſpeak of afterwards happened among the Chriſtians; for after the taking of Caunabo, the country was ſo peaceable, that for the future one ſingle Chriſtian went ſafely where he pleaſed; and the Indians themſelves would carry him about on their ſhoulders, which the admiral attributed only to God and the good fortune of Their Catholic Majeſties, conſidering it had been otherwiſe impoſſible for two hundred men, half ſick and ill-armed, to overthrow ſuch a multitude, which it pleaſed his Divine Majeſty not only to bring under his command, but to ſend ſuch ſcarcity of proviſions, and ſuch violent diſeaſes among them, that they were reduced to one-third of what they had been at firſt, to make it appear the more plain, that ſuch miraculous victories, and the ſubduing of nations are his gift, and not the effect of our power or conduct, or of their want of courage; for though our men had been ſuperior to them, yet their multitude might make amends for any advantage we had over them.

## CHAP. LXII.—*Some remarkable Things in the Iſland, as the Cuſtoms, Ceremonies, and Religion of the Indies.*

THE people of the iſland being brought under, and converſing more freely with our men, many other particulars, and the ſecrets of their religion were found out, but particularly that there were mines of copper, azure, and amber; as alſo ebony, cedar, frankincenſe, and other rich gums and ſpice of ſeveral ſorts, but wild, which being cultivated, might be brought to perfection; as for inſtance, cinnamon of good colour, but bitter, ginger, long pepper, abundance of mulberry trees for making of ſilk, which bear

bear leaves all the year, and many other uſeful trees and plants not known in our parts. Beſides, the Spaniards were informed of many other things relating to their cuſtoms, which to me ſeem to deſerve a place in our hiſtory. To begin with their religion, I will here ſet down the admiral's own words, writ by himſelf, which are theſe:

" I could diſcover neither idolatry nor any other ſect among them, though every one of their kings, who are very many, as well in Hiſpaniola as in all the other iſlands and continent, has a houſe apart from the town, in which there is nothing at all but ſome wooden images carved, by them called cemies; nor is there any thing done in thoſe houſes but what is for the ſervice of thoſe cemies, they repairing to perform certain ceremonies, and pray there, as we do to our churches. In theſe houſes they have a handſome round table, made like a diſh, on which is ſome powder, which they lay on the head of the cemies with a certain ceremony; then through a cane that has two branches clapped to their noſe, they ſnuff up this powder: the words they ſay none of our people underſtand. This powder puts them beſides themſelves, as if they were drunk. They alſo give the image a name, and I believe it is their father's or grandfather's, or both; for they have more than one, and ſome above ten, all in memory of their forefathers, as I ſaid before. I have heard them commend one above another, and have obſerved them to have more devotion, and ſhow more reſpect to one than another, as we do in proceſſions in time of need; and the people and caciques boaſt among themſelves of having the beſt cemies. When they go to theſe their cemies they ſhun the Chriſtians, and will not let them go into thoſe houſes; and if they ſuſpect they will come, they take away their cemies, and hide them in the woods for fear they ſhould be taken from them; and what is moſt ridiculous, they uſe to ſteal one another's cemies. It happened once, that the Chriſtians on a ſudden ruſhed into the houſe with them, and preſently the cemi cried out, ſpeaking in their language, by which it appeared to be artificially made; for it being hollow they had applied a trunk to it, which anſwered to a dark corner of the houſe covered with boughs and leaves, where a man was concealed who ſpoke what the cacique ordered him. The Spaniards therefore reflecting on what it might be, kicked down the cemi, and found as has been ſaid; and the cacique ſeeing they had diſcovered his practice, earneſtly begged of them not to ſpeak of it to his ſubjects, or the other Indians, becauſe he kept them in obedience by that policy. This we may ſay has ſome reſemblance of idolatry, at leaſt among thoſe that are ignorant of their caciques' fraud, ſince they believe it is the cemi that ſpeaks, and all of them in general are impoſed upon, and only the cacique and he that combines with him abuſe their credulity, by which means he draws what tribute he pleaſes from his people. Moſt of the caciques have three great ſtones alſo, to which they and their people ſhew a great devotion. The one they ſay helps the corn and all ſorts of grain; the ſecond makes women be delivered without pain; and the third procures rain or fair weather, according as they ſtand in need of either. I ſent Your Highneſs three of theſe ſtones by Antony de Torres, and have three more to carry along with me. When theſe Indians die, they have ſeveral ways of performing their obſequies, but the manner of burying their caciques is thus: they open and dry him at the fire, that he may keep whole. Of others they take only the head, others they bury in a grot or den, and lay a calabaſh of water and bread on his head; others they burn in the houſe where they die, and when they are at the laſt gaſp, they ſuffer them not to die but ſtrangle them; and this is done to caciques. Others are turned out of the houſe, and others put them into a hammock, which is their bed, laying bread and water by their head, never returning to ſee them any more. Some that are dangerouſly ill are carried to the cacique, who tells them whether they are to be ſtrangled or not, and what

he ſays is done. I have taken pains to find out what it is they believe, and whether they know what becomes of them after they are dead; eſpecially I enquired of Caunabo, who was the chiefeſt King in Hiſpaniola, a man in years, knowing, and of a moſt piercing wit. ' He and the reſt anſwered, that they go to a certain vale, which every great cacique ſuppoſes to be in his country, where they affirm they find their parents, and all their predeceſſors, and that they eat, have women, and give themſelves up to pleaſures and paſtimes, as appears more at large in the following account, in which I ordered one F. Roman, who underſtood their language, to ſet down all their ceremonies and antiquities, though there are ſo many fables that nothing can be made of it, but that they have all ſome regard to a future ſtate, and hold the immortality of the ſoul."

*The Manuſcript of F. Roman, concerning the Antiquities of the Indians, which he, as being ſkilled in their Tongue, has carefully gathered by order of the Admiral.*

I F. Roman, a poor anchorite of the order of St. Jerome, by order of the moſt illuſtrious lord admiral, viceroy and governor of the iſlands and continent of the Indies, write what I could hear and learn of the belief and idolatry of the Indians, and how they ſerve their Gods. Every one obſerves ſome particular way and ſuperſtition and worſhipping idols, which they call cemies. They think there is an immortal being, like heaven, inviſible, and that has a mother, but has no beginning, and this being they call Jocakuvague Maorocon, and its mother they call Atabei, Iermaoguacar, Apito and Zuimaco, which are ſeveral names. Thoſe I here write of are the people of the iſland Hiſpaniola, for I know nothing of the others, having never been in them. They alſo know whence they came, the original of the ſun and moon, how the ſea was made, and whither the dead go. And they believe the dead appear to them upon the roads when any of them go alone, for when there are a great many together they do not appear to them. All this their anceſtors have made them believe, for they can neither read nor tell beyond ten.

## CHAP. I. — *Whence the Indians came, and after what Manner.*

THERE is a province in Hiſpaniola called Caanan, in which there is a mountain called Canta, where there are two grots or caverns; the one called Cacibagiagua, the other Amaiauva; moſt of the people that firſt inhabited the iſland came out of Cacibagiagua. Theſe being in thoſe caverns, kept watch by night, and one Marocael had the charge of it, who coming one day too late to the door, they ſay the ſun took him away. Seeing therefore that the ſun had carried him away for his neglect, they ſhut the door againſt him, and ſo he was turned into a ſtone near the door. Then they ſay, that others going a fiſhing were taken by the ſun, and became trees, by them called Jobi, but otherwiſe Mirabolans.

The reaſon why Marocael watched and warded, was to obſerve whether he would ſend and diſtribute the people, and it appears he ſtaid to his own harm.

## CHAP. II. — *How the Men parted from the Women.*

IT happened that one Guagugiana bid another, whoſe name was Giadruvava, go and gather an herb called digo, wherewith they cleanſe their body when they go to waſh. He went out before day, the ſun took him by the way, and he became a bird that

that ſings in the morning, like the nightingale, and is called giahuba bagiaci. Guagugiana perceiving he did not return, whom he had ſent to gather digo, reſolved to go out of the aforeſaid grot Cacibagiagua.

## CHAP. III.

GUAGUGIANA reſolved to go away in a paſſion, ſeeing they did not return whom he had ſent to gather digo to waſh him, and ſaid to the women, leave your huſbands, and let us go into other countries, and we ſhall get jewels enough. Leave your children, and let us only carry the herbs along with us, and we will come again for them.

## CHAP. IV.

GUAGUGIANA ſet out with all the women, and went to ſeek another country, and came to Matinino, where he immediately left the women, and went into another country, called Guanin, having left the children by a brook. Afterwards, when hunger began to pinch them, they ſay they cried, and called their mothers, that were gone; and the fathers could not relieve the children, who for hunger, called their mothers, ſaying, "ma, ma," to ſpeak, but in truth to beg of the earth. And they thus crying and begging of the earth, ſaying, "too, too," like one that very earneſtly begs a thing, they were transformed into little creatures like dwarfs, and called tona, becauſe of their begging of the earth. And thus all the men were left without women.

## CHAP. V.

THAT there went women again to the ſaid iſland of Hiſpaniola, formerly called Aiti, and ſo the inhabitants of it are called, and the other iſlands called them Bouchi: and foraſmuch as they have no letters, nor way of writing, they can give no good account how they underſtand this ſtory of their anceſtors, and therefore they do not agree in what they ſay, nor is what they relate to be put into any order. When Guagugiana, who carried away all the women went off, he took with him the wives of his cacique, whoſe name was Anacacugia, deceiving them as he had done the others. Beſides, a kinſman of Guagugiana, who followed him, went upon the ſea, and Guagugiana ſaid to his kinſman, when he was in the canoe, look what a fine cobo there is in the water, which cobo is the ſea-ſnail, or periwinkle; and he looking down for the cobo, Guagugiana his kinſman took him by the feet and threw him into the ſea, and ſo took all the women to himſelf, and left thoſe at Matinino, where it is ſaid there are none but women to this day; and he went away to another iſland called Guanin, and it was ſo called for what he carried to it when he went thither.

## CHAP. VI.

THAT Guagugiana returned to the ſame Canta, whence he had carried the women: they ſay that Guagugiana being in that country whither he went, ſaw he had left a woman in the ſea, at which he was not pleaſed, and looked about where to waſh himſelf, being full of thoſe blotches we call the French pox. The woman put him into a guanara, that is, a by-place; and being there, he was healed of his ſores.

Afterwards he aſked her leave to go his way, and ſhe gave it him. This woman's name was Guabonito; and Guagugiana changed his name, calling himſelf from that time forwards, Biberoci Guahagiona. And the woman Guabonito gave Biberoci Guahagiona much Guanine and Cibe, that he might carry them tied to his arms; for in thoſe countries, the Colecibi are of ſtone, very like marble, and they wear them about their wriſts and necks; and the Guanini's wear them at their ears, making holes in them when they are little, and they found like fine mettle. They ſay, that Guabonito, Albeborael, Guahagiona, and the father of Albeborael, were the firſt of theſe Guanini's. Guahagiona ſtaid in that country with the father, called Hiauna, his ſon from his father took the name Hia Guaili Guanin, which ſignifies ſon of Hiauna, and from henceforward, was called Guanin, and is ſo to this day. And they not knowing how to write, cannot give a good account of theſe fables, nor can I write them well; wherefore I believe, I mention the laſt firſt and the firſt laſt. But all I write is related by them, and ſo I deliver it as I had it from the people of the country.

## CHAP. VII. — *How Women came again to the aforeſaid Iſland Aiti, now called Hiſpaniola.*

THEY ſay the men went one day to waſh themſelves, and when they were in the water it rained much, and they were very deſirous to have women; and that very often, when it rained, they had gone to ſeek out the track of their women, and could find no news of them; but they ſay, that as they were waſhing themſelves that day, they ſaw fall down from the trees, as it were ſliding down the branches, the ſhape of people, which were neither men nor women, nor had the ſecret parts of men or women, which they went to catch, but they fled as ſwift as if they had been eagles. Therefore by order of their cacique, they called two or three men, ſince they themſelves could not catch them, to watch how many there were of them, and find out for each of them a man that was Caracaracoli; for thoſe men had rough hands, and therefore would hold faſt. They told the cacique they were four, and ſo they took four men that were Caracaracoli, which is a diſtemper like the itch, that makes the body very rough. When they had taken thoſe creatures, they held a council about them, how to make them women, ſince they had neither the privities of man or woman.

## CHAP. VIII. — *How they found the Way to make Women.*

THEY ſought out a bird called turiri, formerly turire cahuvail, that is, a woodpecker, that makes holes in trees, and taking thoſe creatures that had neither the parts of man nor woman, tied them hands and feet, and bound the ſaid bird to their body; the which bird taking them to be trees, began to work as it uſes, pecking and boring that part where women's privities ſhould be; and thus ſay the antienteſt Indians, they came to have women. I writing in haſte, and not having paper enough, could not place every thing rightly, but through miſtake tranſpoſed ſome; but the miſtake is not great, for they believe all that is here writ. Let us now return to what we ſhould have ſaid firſt, that is, their opinion concerning the original and beginning of the ſea.

## CHAP. IX. — *How they ſay the Sea was made.*

THERE was a man they call Giaia, whoſe right name they know not, his ſon was called Giaiael, that is, Giaia's ſon. This Giaiael intending to kill his father, he baniſhed him, where he remained an outlaw four months; after which his father killed him, put his bones into a calabaſh, and hung it to the top of his houſe, where it continued ſome time. It happened that being deſirous to ſee his ſon, Giaia one day ſaid to his wife, I have a mind to ſee our ſon Gaiael, and ſhe was content. Taking down the calabaſh, he turned it over to ſee his ſon's bones, and there came out of it abundance of great and ſmall fiſhes. Perceiving that the bones were turned into fiſhes, they reſolved to eat them. Now they ſay, that one day, when Giaia was gone to his Conichi, that is, his lands he had by inheritance, there came four ſons of a certain woman, called Itiba Tahuvava, all born at one birth; for the ſaid woman dying in labour, they cut her open, and took out the ſaid ſons; and the firſt they cut was Caracaracol, that is, Mangy; which Caracaracol had to name ..... the others had no name.

## CHAP. X.

HOW the four ſons of Itiba Tahuvara, who died in labour, went to take down Giaia's calabaſh; in which was his ſon Giaiael who had been converted into fiſh, and none of them durſt lay hold of it but Dimivan Caracaracol, who unhung it; and they all eat their belly full of fiſh, but whilſt they were eating, they perceived Giaia was coming from his eſtate, and going about in that hurry to hang up the calabaſh; they did not hang it right, ſo that there ran ſo much water from it, as overflowed all the country, and with it came out abundance of fiſh; and hence they believe the ſea had its original. Afterwards they went and met with a man whoſe name was Cone, and he was dumb.

## CHAP. XI. — *What happened to the Four Brothers, when they fled from Giaia.*

AS ſoon as they came to Baſſamanaco's door, and found he brought cazzabi, they ſaid, Ahiacavo Gearocoel; that is, let us be acquainted with this grandfire of ours. So Demivan Caracaracol, ſeeing his brothers before him, went in to try whether he could get ſome cazzabi, which is the bread they eat there. Caracaracol going into the houſe of Aiamavaco, aſked ſome cazzabi of him, which, as has been ſaid, is bread. He clapt his hand on his noſe, and threw on him a guanguaio, full of cogioba, which he had made that day, and is a ſort of powder they take ſometimes to purge them, and for other purpoſes you ſhall know hereafter. This they take through a cane half a cubit long, one end whereof they put to their noſe, and the other to the powder, and ſo ſnuff it up, which purges them very much. So he gave him that guanguaio inſtead of bread, and leaving what he was about, went away very angry becauſe they aſked it of him.——After this, Caracaracol returned to his brothers, and told them what had happened to him with Baiamanicoel, and the ſtroke he gave him on the ſhoulder with the guanguaio, and that it pained him very much. His brothers looked upon his ſhoulder, and perceived it was much ſwollen, which ſwelling increaſed ſo much, that he was like to die. Therefore they endeavoured to cut it open, and could not; but taking an inſtrument of ſtone, they opened it, and out came a live female

tortoiſe; ſo they built their houſe, and bred up the tortoiſe. I underſtood no more of this matter, and what we have writ ſignifies but little. They ſay further, that the ſun and moon came out of a grotto, that is in the country of a cacique, whoſe name is Maucia Tiuvel, and the grotto is called Giovovava; and they pay a great veneration to it, and have painted it all after their faſhion, without any figure, but leaves and the like. In the ſaid grotto, there were two little ſtone cemies, about a quarter of a yard long, their hands bound, and they looked as if they ſweated. Theſe cemies they honoured very much; and when they wanted rain, they ſay they uſed to go viſit them, and they preſently had it. One of the cemies is by them called Boinaiel, the other Maroio.

## CHAP. XII. — *What their Opinion is concerning the wandering of the Dead, after what Manner they are and what they do.*

THEY hold there is a place to which the dead go, called Coaibai, and lying in a part of the iſland known by the name of Soraia. The firſt that was in Coaibai, they ſay was one Machetaurie Guaiava, who was lord of the ſaid Coaibai, the habitation and dwelling-place of the dead.

## CHAP. XIII. — *Of the Figure they aſſign the Dead.*

THEY ſay they are ſhut up in the day, and walk abroad in the night; that they feed on a certain fruit called guabazza, which taſtes like ——, that in the day-time they are ——, and at night were converted into fruit, and that they feaſt, and go about with the living; and thus it is they know them: they feel their belly, and if they cannot find their navel, they ſay they are dead; for they ſay the dead have no navel; and therefore they are ſometimes deceived, when they do not obſerve this, and lie with ſome of the women of Coaibai, whom when they think they have in their arms, they have none, becauſe they vaniſh of a ſudden. This they ſtill believe as to this affair. Whilſt a man is living, they call the ſoul goeiz, and when dead opia, which goeiz they ſay often appears to them, as well in the ſhape of a man as of a woman; and they ſay there have been men that would fight with it, and when they came to cloſe it vaniſhed, and the man clapped his arms elſewhere about ſome tree, to which he clung faſt. This they believe all in general, great and ſmall, and that it appears to them in the ſhape of their father, mother, brother, kindred, or any other. The fruit they ſay the dead feed on is about the bigneſs of a quince. The dead do not appear to them in the day-time, but always at night; and therefore if any one ventures to go abroad at night, it is with great fear.

## CHAP. XIV. — *Whence they have this, and who makes them hold ſuch an Opinion.*

THERE is a ſort of men among them called Bohutis, who have many juggling tricks, as we ſhall ſay hereafter, to make them believe they talk with the dead, that they know all their actions and ſecrets, and when they are ſick, cure them. Thus they impoſe upon them, which I have ſeen with my own eyes; though as to the other particulars I relate only what I have heard from many of them, eſpecially the principal men, with whom I converſed more than with others; for theſe believe ſuch fables more firmly than the others, for they have all their ſuperſtition sreduced into old ſongs, and are directed by them, as the Moors are by the Alcoran. When they ſing theſe ſongs

they play upon an inſtrument called maiohavan, made of wood, hollow, ſtrong, yet very thin, and as long as a man's arm; that part where they play on it is made like a ſmith's tongs, and the other end like a club, ſo that it looks like a calabaſh with a long neck. This inſtrument they play on, and is ſo loud, that it is heard a league and a half off; and to that muſic they ſing thoſe ſongs they have got by heart. The chief men play on it, who learn it from their infancy, and ſo ſing to it according to their cuſtom. Let us now proceed to ſpeak of many other ceremonies and cuſtoms of theſe Gentiles.

## CHAP. XV. — *Of the Obſervations of the Indian Buſſuitihus; how they profeſs Phyſic, teach the People, and are often deceived in their Cures.*

ALL, or moſt of the people of the iſland of Hiſpaniola have abundance of cemies of ſeveral ſorts: ſome have their father, mother, kindred and predeceſſors; ſome figures cut in ſtone and wood, and many of both ſorts; ſome that ſpeak, others that cauſe things to grow, ſome that eat, and others that cauſe rain, and others that make the wind blow; which things thoſe ignorant people believe the idols perform, or rather thoſe devils, they having no knowledge of our holy faith. When any one is ſick they bring him to buhuitihu, that is, as was ſaid above, the phyſician. The doctor is obliged to be dieted as the ſick man is, and to look like him, which is done thus: he is to purge himſelf as the ſick man does, which is done by ſnuffing a certain powder, called cohoba, up his noſe, which makes him drunk, that he knows not what he does, and ſo ſays many extravagant things which they affirm is talking with the cemies, and that they tell them how the ſickneſs came.

## CHAP. XVI. — *What theſe Buhuitihus do.*

WHEN they go to viſit any ſick body, before they ſet out from their houſe, they take the ſoot off a pot, or pounded charcoal, and black all their face, to make the ſick man believe what they pleaſe concerning his diſtemper. Then they take ſome ſmall bones, and a little fleſh, and wrapping them all up in ſomething that they may not drop, put them in their mouth, the ſick man being before purged with the powder aforeſaid. When the phyſician is come into the ſick man's houſe, he ſits down, and all perſons are ſilent; and if there are any children, they put them out, that they may not hinder the Buhuitihu in performing his office; nor does there remain in the houſe any but one or two of the chief perſons: being thus by themſelves, they take ſome of the herb gioia ——— broad, and another herb, wrapped up in the web of an onion half a quarter long; one of the gioias and the other they hold, and drawing it in their hands they bruiſe it into a paſte, and then put it in their mouths to vomit what they have eaten, that it may not hurt them; then preſently begins their ſong, and lighting a torch, take the juice. This done, having ſtayed a little, the buhuitihu riſes up, and goes towards the ſick man, who ſits all alone in the middle of the houſe, as has been ſaid, and turns him twice about, as he thinks fit; then ſtands before him, takes him by the legs, and feels his thighs, deſcending by degrees to his feet; then draws hard, as if he would pull ſomething off; then he goes to the door, ſhuts it, and ſays, Begone to the mountain, or to the ſea, or whither thou wilt; and giving a blaſt, as if he blowed ſomething away, turns about, claps his hands together, ſhuts his mouth, his hands quake as if he were cold, he blows on his hands, and then draws in his blaſt as if ſucking the marrow of a bone, ſucks the ſick man's neck, ſtomach, ſhoulders, jaws,

jaws, breaſt, belly, and ſeveral other parts of his body. This done they begin to cough, and make faces, as if they had eaten ſome bitter thing, and the doctor pulls out that we ſaid he put into his mouth at home, or by the way, whether ſtone, fleſh, or bone, as above. If it is any thing eatable, he ſays to the ſick man, "Take notice, you have eaten ſomething that has cauſed this diſtemper; ſee how I have taken it out of your body; for your cemi had put it into you becauſe you did not pray to him, or build him ſome temple, or give him ſome of your goods." If it be a ſtone, he ſays, "Keep it ſafe." Sometimes they take it for certain, that thoſe ſtones are good and help women in labour; wherefore they keep them very carefully wrapped up in cotton, putting them into little baſkets, giving them ſuch as they have themſelves to eat, and the ſame they do to the cemies they have in their houſes. Upon any ſolemn day, when they provide much to eat, whether fiſh, fleſh, or any other thing, they put it all into the houſe of the cemies, that the idol may feed on it. The next day they carry all home, after the cemi has eaten. And ſo God help them, as the cemi eats of that, or any other thing, they being inanimate ſtocks or ſtones.

## CHAP. XVII. — *How the aforeſaid Phyſicians have been ſometimes deceived.*

WHEN they have done as has been ſaid, and yet the patient dies, if the dead man has many friends, or was lord of a territory, and can oppoſe the ſaid buhuitihu, that is phyſician, for mean people dare not contend with them, he that would do him harm does it thus: when they would know whether the patient died through the phyſician's fault, or whether he did not obſerve what was preſcribed; they take an herb, called gueio, whoſe leaves are like baſil, thick and broad, being called by another name, zachon; they take the juice of this leaf, pare the dead man's nails, and cut off the hair on his forehead, which they powder between two ſtones, and mix with the aforeſaid juice of the herb, and pour it down the dead man's throat, or noſtrils, and ſo doing, aſk him, whether the phyſician was the occaſion of his death? and whether he obſerved order? this they aſk ſeveral times, till he ſpeaks as plain as if he were alive; ſo that he anſwers to all they aſk of him, ſaying, the buhuitihu did not obſerve order, or was the cauſe of his death; and they ſay, the phyſician aſks him whether he is alive, and how he comes to talk ſo plain; and he anſwers he is dead. When they have known what they deſire of him, they return him to his grave, whence they took him to make this enquiry. They uſe another method to know what they deſired: they take the dead body and make a great fire, like that uſed for making of charcoal, and when the wood is turned into a live coal, they throw the body into that violent fire, and cover it with earth, as the colliers do the coals, where they let it lie as long as they think fit, and there aſk queſtions, as was ſaid before; who anſwers, he knows nothing. This they aſk ten times, and then he ſpeaks no more. They aſk, whether he is dead, but he ſpeaks only thoſe ten times.

## CHAP. XVIII. — *How the Kindred of the Party departed revenge themſelves, when they have got an Anſwer by means of the Drench.*

THE dead man's kindred get together upon a day appointed, wait for the aforeſaid buhuitihu, and baſtinado him, till they break his legs, arms, and head, ſo that he is all battered, and ſo they leave him for dead. At night, they ſay, there come abundance of ſnakes of ſeveral ſorts, white, black, green, and of ſeveral other colours, which lick the ſaid phyſician's face, and all his body, ſo left as has been ſaid, and remains in that manner

two or three days. Whilſt he is thus, they ſay the bones of his legs and arms knit together again, he gets up, and walks fair and ſoftly towards his houſe, and they that ſaw him aſk the queſtion of him, were not you dead? he anſwers, the cemies came to his aſſiſtance in the ſhape of ſnakes. The dead man's kindred, in a rage, becauſe they thought they had revenged their relation's death, ſeeing him alive, grow deſperate, and endeavour to lay hold of him to put him to death; and if they can catch him again, they put out his eyes, and bruiſe his teſticles; for they ſay none of theſe phyſicians can die, though never ſo much baſtinadoed, if they do not cut out his teſticles.

*How they know what they deſire of him they burn, and how they take their revenge.*

When they uncover the fire, the ſmoke that comes from it, riſes till they loſe ſight of it, and makes a noiſe, as it breaks out: then it turns down again, and goes into the houſe of the buhuitihu, or phyſician: and that very moment, he that did not obſerve order, falls ſick, is covered with ſores, and all the ſkin of his body flays off; and this they take for a ſign that he did not do his duty, and therefore the patient died; for which reaſon they endeavour to kill him, as was ſaid in the other caſe. Theſe are the ſorceries they uſe.

## CHAP. XIX. — *How they make and keep their wooden and ſtone Cemies.*

THOSE of wood are made thus: when any one is travelling he ſays he ſees ſome tree that ſhakes its root; the man, in a great fright, ſtops, and aſks who he is; it anſwers my name is Buhuitihu, and he will inform you who I am. The man repairing to the ſaid phyſician, tells him what he has ſeen. The wizard, or conjurer, runs immediately to ſee the tree the other has told him of, ſits down by it and makes it cogioba, as was ſaid above in the ſtory of the four brothers. The cogioba being made, he ſtands up, gives it all its titles, as if it were ſome great lord, and aſks of it, "Tell me who you are, what you do here, what you will have with me, and why you ſend for me? Tell me whether you will have me cut you, whether you will go along with me, and how you will have me carry you; and I will build you a houſe and endow it." Immediately that tree, or cemi, becomes an idol, or devil, anſwers, telling how he will have him do it. He cuts it into ſuch a ſhape as he is directed, builds his houſe, and endows it; and makes cogioba for it ſeveral times in the year; which cogioba is to pray to it, to pleaſe it, to aſk and know of the ſaid cemi, what good or evil is to happen, and to beg wealth of it. When they would know whether they ſhall be victorious over their enemies, they go into a houſe, whither none but the chief men are admitted. The lord of them is the firſt that begins to make the cogioba, and to make a noiſe; whilſt he does it, none of the company ſpeaking till he has done. His prayer being ended, he ſtands awhile with his head turned about, and his arms on his knees; then he lifts up his head, and looks towards heaven, and ſpeaks. Then they all anſwer him with a loud voice, and when they have all ſpoke, giving thanks, he tells the viſion he ſaw, being made drunk with the cogioba he ſnuffed up his noſe, which flies into his head: he ſays, he has talked with the cemi, and ſhall obtain victory, or that his enemies ſhall fly, or that there ſhall be a great mortality, or war, or famine, or ſome ſuch thing as occurs to him in his drunken fit.

Conſider, what a condition their brains are in; for they ſay the houſes ſeem to them to be turned topſy turvy, and that the men go upon their heads. This cogioba they make for ſtone and wooden cemies, as well as for the dead bodies, as has been ſaid above.

above. The ſtone cemies are of ſeveral ſorts: ſome there are, which, they ſay, the phyſicians take out of the body of the ſick, and thoſe they look upon as the beſt to help women in labour. Others there are that ſpeak, which are ſhaped like a long turnip, with the leaves long and extended, like the ſhrub bearing capers. Thoſe leaves for the moſt part are like thoſe of the elm. Others have three points, and they think they cauſe the giuca to thrive. Their roots are like a radiſh. The leaves of giuca have at leaſt ſix or ſeven points; nor do I know what to compare them to, for I have ſeen nothing like it in Spain or elſewhere. The ſtem of the giuca is as high as a man. Let us now ſpeak of their opinions concerning the idols and cemies, and how they are deceived by them.

## CHAP. XX. — *Of the Cemi, Bugid, and Aiba.*

THEY ſay in the time of the wars he was burnt, and afterwards being waſhed with the juice of giuca, his arms grew out again, his body ſpread, and he recovered his eyes. The giuca was ſmall, and they waſhed it with the above-mentioned water and juice to make it grow bigger, and they affirm it made thoſe ſick who had made the ſaid cemi, becauſe they had not brought it to Giuca to eat. This cemi was called Baidrama, and when any one fell ſick, they called the buhuitihu, and aſked him whence the diſtemper proceeded: he anſwered, Baidrama had ſent it, becauſe they had not ſent him to eat by thoſe that had charge of his houſe. This the buhuitihu ſaid, the cemi Baidrama had told him.

## CHAP. XXI. — *Of Guamorete's Cemi.*

THEY ſay that when they built the houſe of Guamorete, who was a man of note, they put into it a cemi that was on the top of his other houſe, which cemi was called Corocoſe; and when they had wars among themſelve, Guamorete's enemies burnt the houſe in which this cemi Corocoſe was. They ſay he preſently got up, and went a bow-ſhot from that place, near to a water. They further ſay, that when he was on the top of the houſe, he would come down and lie with the women. That afterwards Camoreſe died, and the cemi fell into the hands of another cacique, and ſtill continued to lie with the women: and moreover, that he had two crowns grew on his head; for which reaſon they ſaid, ſince ſuch a one has two crowns, he is certainly Corocoſe's ſon; and this they looked upon as moſt certain. This cemi came afterwards to another cacique, called Guatabanex, and his country is called Giacoba.

## CHAP. XXII. — *Of another Cemi, called Opigielguoviran, which belonged to a great Man whoſe Name was Cavavaniova, who had many Subjects.*

THIS cemi Opigielguoviran, they ſay, has four feet like a dog's, and is made of wood, and that he would often at night go out of the houſe into the woods, whither they went to ſeek him out, and when brought home again, they bound him with cords, yet he would go away to the woods. They ſay that when the Chriſtians came to the iſland of Hiſpaniola he broke looſe and went into a moraſs, whither they followed him by the track, but never ſaw him ſince, nor know any thing of him. As I received this, ſo I deliver it.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIII. — *Of another Cemi, called Guabancex.*

THIS cemi Guabencex was in the country of a great cacique, whoſe name was Aumatex; and they ſay, it is a woman cemi, and has two others with it; one a crier, the other gatherer, or governor of the waters. When Guabancex is angry, they ſay, it raiſes the winds and waters, overthrows houſes, and ſhakes the trees. This cemi they ſay, is a female, and made of ſtones of that country. The other two cemies that are with it, are called, one of them Guatauva, and is a crier, that by order of Guabancex, makes proclamation for all the other cemies of that province to help to raiſe a high wind, and cauſe much rain. The other is, Coatriſchie, who they ſay, gathers the waters in the vallies among the mountains, and then lets them looſe to deſtroy the country. This they believe as moſt certain.

## CHAP. XXIV. — *Their belief of another Cemi, called Faraguvaol.*

THIS cemi belongs to a principal cacique of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, is an idol, has ſeveral names, and was found as you ſhall now hear. They ſay, that on a certain day in paſt times, before the iſland was diſcovered, they know not how long ſince, being abroad a hunting, they found a certain creature; they ran back, and that got into a ditch; looking into it, they ſaw a beam, which looked like a thing that had life in it. The huntſman ſeeing it, ran to his lord, who was a cacique, and father to Guaraionel, telling him what he had ſeen. They went thither, and found the thing as the huntſman had given information, and taking that log, they built a houſe to it. They ſay it went out of that houſe ſeveral times, and returned to the place whence they brought it, not exactly to the ſame ſpot, but near it; for the aforeſaid lord, and his ſon Guaraionel, ordering it to be ſought out, found it hid; and that another time they bound and put it in a ſack, and yet bound as it was, it went away as before. Thoſe ignorant people look upon this as undoubted truth.

## CHAP. XXV. — *Of thoſe Things they affirm were reported by two principal Caciques of the iſland Hiſpaniola; one of them called Cazziva, father to the aforeſaid Guaraionel; the other Gamanacoei.*

THAT great lord, who, they ſay, is in heaven, at the beginning of the book, is this Cazziva, who kept a ſort of abſtinence here, which all of them generally perform; for they ſhut themſelves up ſix or ſeven days, without taking any ſuſtenance but the juice of herbs, with which they alſo waſh themſelves. After this time they begin to eat ſomething that is nouriſhing. During the time they have been without eating, weakneſs makes them ſay, they have ſeen ſomething they earneſtly deſired, for they all perform that abſtinence in honour of the cemies, to know whether they ſhall obtain victory over their enemies, or to acquire wealth, or any other thing they deſire. They ſay, this cacique affirmed he had ſpoke with Giocauvaghama, who told him, that whoſoever ſurvived him, would not long enjoy his power, becauſe they ſhould ſee a people clad in their country, who would rule over, and kill them, and they ſhould die for hunger. They thought at firſt, theſe ſhould be the canibals, but afterwards conſidering, that they only plundered and fled, they believed it was ſome other people the cemi ſpoke of; and now they believe it is the admiral and thoſe that came with him. Now I will give an account of what I ſaw and knew, when F. Roman, a poor

anchorite, went to the province Madalena, to a fort built by D. Chriſtopher Colon, admiral, viceroy, and governor of the iſlands and continent of the Indies, for their majeſties King Ferdinand and Queen Iſabel. I being in that fort, with Arriaga, appointed governor of it by the aforeſaid viceroy D. Chriſtopher Colon, it pleaſed God to give the light of his faith to a whole family of ill principled people of that province of Madalena, which province was called Maroris, and the lord of it Guavaouvionel, that is, ſon of Guavaenechin. In the ſaid houſe are his ſervants, and retainers, whoſe ſurname is Giahuvavariu, and were in all ſixteen perſons, all relations, and among them five brothers. Of theſe one died, and the other four were baptized; and I believe, they died martyrs, for ſo it appeared by the manner of their death and their conſtancy. The firſt that received baptiſm was an Indian called Guaticava, afterwards John. This was the firſt Chriſtian that ſuffered a cruel death, and to me he ſeems to have died a martyr; for I have heard from ſome that were by when he died, that he ſaid, *Dio aboridacha*, *Dio aboridacha*, that is, I am God's ſervant. So died his brother Anthony, and another with him, ſaying the ſame words. All the people of this houſe attended me, to do whatſoever I pleaſed. Such as are left alive at this day, are now Chriſtians, by means of D. Chriſtopher Colon, viceroy and governor of the Indies, and by the grace of God they are very numerous at preſent.

Let us now ſay what happened in the province of Madalena. When I was there, the aforeſaid lord admiral came to the aſſiſtance of Arriaga and ſome Chriſtians, beſieged by the ſubjects of a principal cacique, called Çaovalto. The admiral told me, that the language of the province Madalena Maroris was different from the reſt, and not underſtood in all parts of the country; and therefore bid me go and reſide with another principal cacique, called Guarionex, lord of many ſubjects, whoſe language was underſtood all over the iſland. In obedience to his orders, I went to reſide with the ſaid Guarionex. True it is, I ſaid to D. Chriſtopher Colon, my lord, why will you have me go to live with Guarionex, when I know no language but that of Maroris? Be pleaſed to give leave that one of thoſe Nohuircis, (who were afterwards Chriſtians, and knew both the languages) may go along with me; which he granted, and bid me carry whom I pleaſed; and it pleaſed God to give me for a companion, the beſt of the Indians, and who was beſt inſtructed in the Catholic faith; and afterwards took him from me; God be praiſed who gave and took him away; for indeed, I looked upon him as a good child and a brother; and it was that Guaicavanu, who was afterwards a Chriſtian, and called John. What happened to us there I ſhall not relate, and how I and Guaicavanu went to Iſabella, where we waited for the admiral, till he returned from the relief of Madalena. As ſoon as he came, we went where he had ordered, with one John de Aguada, who had the command of a fort, which D. Chriſtopher Colon had built, half a league from the place where we were to reſide. The admiral commanded the ſaid John de Aguada to allow us ſuch proviſions as there were in the fort, which is called the Conception. We continued with that cacique, Guarionex, almoſt two years, inſtructing him in our faith, and the manners of Chriſtians. At firſt he appeared well inclined, and gave ſome hopes of complying and becoming a Chriſtian, bidding us teach him the Lord's prayer, the creed, and all other Chriſtian prayers, which many in his houſe learnt; and he ſaid his prayers every morning, and cauſed all his family to do ſo twice a day; yet afterwards he fell off from his good purpoſe, through the fault of ſome of the principal men of that country, who blamed him for ſubmitting to the law of Chriſt, ſince the Chriſtians were ill-men, and drove them out of their country by force. Therefore they adviſed him never to mind any thing that belonged to the Chriſtians; but that he ſhould

join and conſpire with them for their deſtruction, becauſe they could not ſatisfy them, and were reſolved to ſubmit no longer. Thus he fell off from his good beginning, and we perceiving he neglected what he had learnt, reſolved to depart thence, and go where we might be more ſucceſsful in inſtructing the Indians in the faith. We therefore went away to another principal cacique, who ſhewed a favourable inclination, ſaying, he would be a Chriſtian; his name was Maviatue.

Accordingly we ſet out to go to the ſaid Maviatue's country; I F. Roman Pane, poor anchorite, and F. John Borgognon of the order of St. Francis, and John Matthew the firſt that was baptized in Hiſpaniola.

The ſecond day after we ſet out from the town and habitation of Guarionex, to go to the other cacique, called Maviatue; we found Guarionex's people building a houſe near the houſe of prayer, where we left ſome pictures for the catecumens, to kneel and pray before them. Theſe were the mother, brothers, and kindred, of the aforeſaid John Matthew, the firſt Chriſtian; afterwards ſeven more joined them, and at laſt all the family became Chriſtians, and perſevered in the faith; ſo that all the aforeſaid family was left to keep that houſe of prayer, and ſome lands I had cauſed to be tilled. They being ſo left to keep the houſe, two days after we were gone towards the aforeſaid Maviatue, ſix men went to the aforeſaid houſe of prayer, left in the cuſtody of the ſeven catecumens, and by order of Guarionex, told them, they ſhould take thoſe pictures, left by F. Roman, and deſtroy them, ſince he and his companion were gone, and they knew not what was become of them. Theſe ſix ſervants of Guarionex found ſix children keeping the houſe of prayer, who being ſo inſtructed, ſaid, they ſhould not come in; but they went in by force, took the pictures, and carried them away.

## CHAP. XXVI.—*What became of the Pictures, and a Miracle God wrought to ſhew his Power.*

THESE men being gone out of the houſe, threw the pictures down, covered them with earth, and piſſed upon them, ſaying, now you will yield much fruit. This they ſaid, becauſe they buried them in a field that was ſown, ſaying, what grew there would be good; but this they did in ſcorn. The children that were keeping the houſe by order of the catecumens, ſeeing this, they ran to their friends who were upon their lands, and told them, that Guarionex's men had abuſed and ſcorned the pictures; which they underſtanding, left what they were about, and ran crying out to give an account of it to D. Bartholomew Colon, who was then governor, his brother being gone into Spain. He, as lieutenant to the viceroy, proceeded againſt the offenders, and having convicted them publickly, burnt them. This did not deter Guarionex and his ſubjects, from their deſign of murdering all the Chriſtians on the day when they were to bring in their tribute; but the conſpiracy was diſcovered, and they apprehended on the ſame day they were to put it in execution. Still they held on their reſolution, and accordingly killed four Spaniards, beſides John Matthew and his brother Anthony, who had been baptized; and running where they had hid the pictures, tore them in pieces. Some days after, the owner of that field went to dig up his agi's, which are certain roots like turnips, and ſome like radiſhes; and in the place where the pictures had been buried, two or three agi's were grown in the ſhape of a croſs, as if they had been ſtuck one through another; nor could any man find this croſs, but only the mother of Guarionex, who was the worſt woman I knew in thoſe parts, who looked upon this as a great miracle, and ſaid to the commander of

the fort of the Conception, this miracle has been ſhewn by God, where the images were found: God knows to what end.

Let us now give an account, how they were converted that firſt became Chriſtians, and how much will be requiſite to convert them all. To ſay the truth, that iſland ſtands in much need of people to puniſh the lords, when they will not ſuffer their people to be inſtructed in the faith; for they have nothing to ſay againſt it, which I can with truth maintain, becauſe it has coſt me much labour to know it; as I am ſatisfied may be gathered by what has been ſaid hitherto; and a word to the wiſe is enough.

The firſt Chriſtians were thoſe we have beforementioned in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, that is, Gianauvariu, in whoſe houſe there were ſeventeen perſons who all became Chriſtians, only giving them to underſtand, that there is one God, who has made all things, and created heaven and earth, without any further arguments or controverſy; for they were eaſy of belief. With others there muſt be force and ingenuity uſed, for all of them are not alike; foraſmuch, as if thoſe had a good beginning and a better end, they were none of thoſe others that begin well, and then fall off from what has been taught them; and therefore there is need of force and puniſhment.

The firſt that received baptiſm in the iſland Hiſpaniola, was John Matthew, who was baptized on the feaſt of St. Matthew the evangeliſt, in the year 1496, and after him all his family; where were many Chriſtians, and a greater progreſs had been made, had they been inſtructed in the faith, and the Spaniards been in a condition to keep them under. And if any one ſhould aſk, why I make this ſo eaſy a matter? I ſay, it is becauſe I know it by experience, eſpecially in the perſon of a principal cacique, called Mahuviativire, who has continued now for three years in his good purpoſe, ſaying, he will be a Chriſtian, and have but one wife; for they uſed to have two or three, and the great men twenty five or thirty. This is what I could learn and find out as to the cuſtoms and ceremonies of the Indians of Hiſpaniola, with all the pains I have taken; wherein I expect no ſpiritual nor temporal advantage. May it pleaſe our Lord, if this turns to his honour and ſervice, to give me his grace to perſevere; and if it muſt fall out otherwiſe, may he deprive me of my underſtanding.

*The End of the Work of the poor Anchorite Roman Pane.*

## CHAP. LXIII. — *How the Admiral returned to Spain to give their Majeſties an Account of the Condition he left the Iſland in.*

TO return to the main ſubject of our hiſtory; I ſay, the admiral having brought the iſland into a peaceable condition, and built the town of Iſabella, beſides three forts about the country, he reſolved to return into Spain, to acquaint their Catholick Majeſties with ſeveral matters he thought convenient for their ſervice; but particularly becauſe of many malicious ſlanderers, who through envy ceaſed not to give the king a falſe information of the affairs of the Indies, to the great prejudice and diſhonour of the admiral and his brothers. For theſe reaſons he went on board on Thurſday the 10th of March 1496, with 225 Spaniards and 30 Indians, ſailed from Iſabella about break of day, and turned it along the coaſt with two caravals, one called Santa Cruz, the other Nina, the ſame he went in to diſcover the iſland of Cuba. On Tueſday the 22d of March he loſt ſight of the eaſt point of Hiſpaniola, holding on

his courſe eaſtward as the wind would permit. But the wind for the moſt part continuing at eaſt, on the 6th of April, finding his proviſions fell ſhort, and his men were weary and diſcouraged, he fell off towards the ſouth to the Caribbee iſlands, and came up with them in three days, anchoring at Marigalante on Saturday the 9th of April. The next day, though it was not his cuſtom to weigh anchor on a Sunday, when in any port, he ſet ſail, becauſe his men muttered, ſaying, when they were to ſeek their bread, they needed not ſo ſtrictly obſerve days. So he anchored at the iſland Guadaloupe, and ſending the boats well-manned aſhore, before they came to land, abundance of women came out of a wood, with bows and arrows and feathers, as if they would defend their iſland. For this reaſon, and becauſe the ſea ran ſomewhat high, thoſe in the boats kept aloof, and ſent two Indian women, they brought from Hiſpaniola, aſhore ſwimming, of whom thoſe other women particularly inquired concerning the Chriſtians; and underſtanding they only deſired proviſions in exchange for ſuch things as they had, bid them go with their ſhips to the north-ſide, where their huſbands were, who would furniſh them with what they wanted. The ſhips ſailing cloſe under the ſhore, ſaw abundance of people come down to the ſhore with bows and arrows, who let fly upon our men with great cries, though in vain, for their arrows fell ſhort. But perceiving the boats full of men were going aſhore, the Indians went back into an ambuſh, and when our men drew near, came out to hinder their landing, till being frighted with the cannon fired at them from the ſhips, they fled to the wood, leaving their houſes and goods, where the Chriſtians took and deſtroyed all they found. Being acquainted with the way of making bread, they fell to work, and made enough to ſupply their want. Among other things they found in the houſes, there were great parrots, honey, wax and iron, whereof they had hatchets to cut, and looms like thoſe for tapeſtry-work, in which they weave their tents. Their houſes were ſquare, and not round, as is uſual in the other iſlands. In one of them was found the arm of a man roaſting upon a ſpit. Whilſt the bread was making, the admiral ſent forty men up the country, to learn ſomething of it; who the next day returned with ten women and three boys, the reſt of the people being fled. Among theſe women, was the wife of a cacique, whom a Canaryman, that was very nimble, had much difficulty to overtake; and ſhe had got from him, but that ſeeing him alone, ſhe thought to take him, and cloſing ſhe got him down, and had ſtifled him, but that others came in to his aſſiſtance. Theſe women's legs are ſwathed with cotton from the ancle to the knee, that they may look thick, which ornament they call coiro, and look upon it as very genteel; and they gird ſo hard, that if it happen to ſlip off the leg, that part appears very thin. The ſame both men and women uſe in Jamaica, who ſwathe their arms up to the arm-pits, that is, about the ſmalleſt parts like the old faſhioned ſleeves uſed among us. Theſe women are alſo exceſſive fat, and there were ſome thicker than a man could graſp. As ſoon as children can ſtand upon their legs and walk, they give them a bow, that they may learn to ſhoot; and they all wear their hair long and looſe upon their ſhoulders, nor do they cover any part of the body. That lady they took, ſaid, the iſland was only inhabited by women, and that thoſe who would have hindered the men landing were women, except only four men, who were there accidentally from another iſland; for at a certain time in the year they come to ſport and lie with them. The ſame was obſerved by the women of another iſland, called Matrimonio, of whom ſhe gave the ſame account we read of the Amazons; and the admiral believed it by what he ſaw among thoſe women, and becauſe of the courage and ſtrength that appeared in them. They alſo ſay, thoſe women ſeem to be endowed with clearer under-

underſtandings than thoſe of the other iſlands; for in other places they only reckon the day by the ſun, and the night by the moon; whereas theſe women reckoned by other ſtars, ſaying, when the Charles Wain riſes, or ſuch a ſtar is north, then it is time to do ſo and ſo.

## CHAP. LXIV. — *The Admiral ſails from the Iſland Guadaloupe for Spain.*

WHEN they had made proviſion of bread for twenty days, beſides what they had aboard, the admiral reſolved to continue his voyage towards Spain; but perceiving that iſland was an inlet to the others, he thought fit firſt to ſatisfy thoſe women with ſome gifts, in ſatisfaction for the loſs they had ſuſtained, and therefore ſent them all aſhore, except the chief lady, who choſe to go into Spain with her daughter, among the other Indians of the iſland Hiſpaniola, one of whom was Cuonabo, who, it has been ſaid, was the chief man in all the iſland, and that becauſe he was not a native of it, but of the Caribbees, and therefore that lady was content to go into Spain with the admiral. He having furniſhed himſelf with bread, wood, and water, ſet ſail on Wedneſday the 20th of April from Guadaloupe, with the wind very ſcant, keeping near the latitude of 22 degrees; for at that time they had not found out the method of running away north to meet the ſouth-weſt winds.

Having made but little way, and the ſhips being full of people, on the 20th of May, they all began to be much afflicted for want of proviſions, which was ſo great, that they had but ſix ounces of bread a day for each, and leſs than a pint of water, without any thing elſe. And though there were eight or nine pilots in thoſe two ſhips, yet none of them knew where they were; but the admiral was confident they were but a little weſt of the Azores, whereof he gives an account in his journal thus.

This morning the Dutch compaſſes varied, as they uſed to do, a point; and thoſe of Genoa, that uſed to agree with them, varied but a very little, but afterwards ſailing eaſt vary more, which is a ſign we are one hundred leagues, or ſomewhat more, weſt of the Azores; for when we were juſt one hundred, there were but a few ſcattered weeds in the ſea; and the Dutch needles varied a point, thoſe of Genoa cutting the north point; and when we are ſomewhat farther eaſt-north-eaſt, they will alter again; which was verified on Sunday following, being the 22d of May; by which, and the exactneſs of his account, he found he was one hundred leagues from the iſlands Azores, which he was ſurprized at, and aſſigned this difference to the ſeveral ſorts of load-ſtones the needles are made by; for till they come juſt to that longitude, they all varied a point, and there ſome held it; and thoſe of Genoa exactly cut the north-ſtar. The ſame was yet farther demonſtrated the next day, being the 24th of May. Thus continuing their voyage, though all the pilots went like blind men, on Wedneſday the 8th of June, they came in ſight of Odemira, between Liſbon and Cape St. Vincent, all the pilots for ſeveral days having ſtill made for the land, except the admiral, who the night before ſlacked his ſails for fear of land, ſaying, he did ſo becauſe they were near cape St. Vincent, which all laughed at; ſome of them affirming they were in the Engliſh channel, and thoſe that erred leaſt, ſaid, they were on the coaſt of Gallicia, and therefore ought not to take in any ſail, it being better to die aſhore than ſtarve miſerably at ſea, the ſcarcity being ſo great, that there were many, who, like the canibals, were for eating the Indians they had aboard; and others, to ſave the little proviſion there was left, were for throwing them overboard; which they would have done, had not the admiral uſed all his authority to prevent it, conſidering they were human creatures, and therefore ought not to be worſe uſed than the reſt; and ſo it pleaſed God to reward him

him with the ſight of land next morning, as he had promiſed them all, for which reaſon he was afterwards looked upon by the ſeamen as moſt expert, and almoſt prophetical in ſea affairs.

## CHAP. LXV. — *How the Admiral went to Court, and their Catholick Majeſties ſet him out again for the Indies.*

THE admiral being landed in Spain, began to prepare for his journey to Burgos, where he was favourably received by Their Catholic Majeſties, who were there celebrating the nuptials of Prince John their ſon, who married Margaret of Auſtria, daughter to Maximilian the Emperor, who was conducted into Spain, and received by moſt of the nobility, and the greateſt appearance of perſons of quality that had ever been ſeen together in Spain. But though I was preſent as page to Prince John, I ſhall not mention the particulars of this ſolemnity, as well becauſe it does not belong to our hiſtory, as becauſe Their Highneſſes hiſtoriographers have doubtleſs taken care to do it. Therefore to return to what concerns the admiral, I ſay, that being come to Burgos, he preſented Their Majeſties with ſeveral things he brought as ſamples from the Indies, as well birds and beaſts, as trees, plants, inſtruments and other things the Indians uſe for their ſervice and diverſion; alſo ſeveral girdles and maſks, with eyes and ears of plates of gold, beſides much gold ſand, groſs and ſmall, as nature produced it: ſome grains as big as vetches, ſome as beans, and ſome as pigeons eggs. This was not afterwards ſo much valued, becauſe in progreſs of time, there were pieces of gold found that weighed above thirty pounds. Yet at this time what he brought was much valued, in hopes of what was hoped for, and accordingly Their Majeſties received it in good part. When the admiral had given them an account of all that related to the improving and peopling the Indies; he was deſirous to return with ſpeed, for fear ſome diſaſter ſhould happen in his abſence, eſpecially becauſe he had left the people there in great want of all neceſſaries. Though he preſſed hard on this account, yet the affairs of that court being ſubject to delays, he could not be ſo ſoon diſpatched, but that ten or twelve months elapſed before he obtained two ſhips, which were ſent before with ſuccours under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronel. Theſe ſet out in February 1498, and the admiral ſtayed to negociate the obtaining ſuch a fleet as was requiſite for him to return to the Indies. But he was forced to ſtay above a year at Burgos and at Medina del Campo; where, in the year 1499, Their Catholic Majeſties granted him many favours, and gave the neceſſary orders for his affairs, and for the government, and ſettling of the Indies. Whereof I here make mention, that it may appear how ready Their Catholic Majeſties were as yet to reward his merits and ſervice, and how much they afterwards altered, through the falſe informations of malicious and envious perſons, inſomuch as to ſuffer the wrongs to be done him, which we ſhall give an account of hereafter. But to return to his departure from court to Seville, there the fitting out of the fleet was retarded much longer than was convenient, through the negligence and ill management of the King's officers, and particularly of D. John de Fonſeca, arch-deacon of Seville. Whence it proceeded, that the ſaid D. John, who was afterwards biſhop of Burgos, ever was an utter enemy to the admiral and his affairs, and was chief of thoſe that brought him into diſgrace with Their Catholic Majeſties. And to the end that D. James my brother and I, who had ſerved as pages to Prince John, who was now dead, might not ſuffer by his delays, nor be abſent from court, till the time of his departure; he ſent us, on the 2d of November 1497, from Seville, to ſerve ſtill as pages to Her Majeſty Queen Iſabel, or Elizabeth, of glorious memory.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVI. — *The Admiral ſets out from Spain to diſcover the Continent of Paria.*

THE admiral forwarding his expedition with all poſſible care, on the 30th of May 1498, ſet ſail from the bay of St. Lucar de Berrameda, with ſix ſhips loaded with proviſions and other neceſſaries, for the relief of the planters in Hiſpaniola, and peopling of that iſland.

On the 7th of June he arrived at the iſland of Puerto Santo, where he heard maſs, and ſtaid to take in wood and water, and what elſe he ſtood in need of; yet that ſame night ſailed away towards Madeira, whither he came on Sunday the 9th of June, and there at the town of Fonchal, was courteouſly received and treated by the governor of that iſland, with whom he ſtaid to provide himſelf farther till Saturday in the afternoon, when he ſailed, and on Wedneſday the 19th of June arrived at Gomera, where there was a French ſhip that had taken three Spaniards; who ſeeing the admiral's ſquadron, weighed and ſtood to ſea with them. The admiral ſuppoſing they had been merchant ſhips, and fled, believing him to be a Frenchman, took no care to purſue, till when they were at a great diſtance, he was informed what they were, and ſent after them three of his ſhips; for fear of which the French left one of the ſhips they had taken, and fled with the other two, ſo that the admiral could not fetch them up. They might have carried the other off too, had they not forſaken it; for when the admiral appeared in the port, in the conſternation they were in, they had not time to man it; ſo that there being but four Frenchmen aboard, and ſix Spaniards of thoſe that had been taken in it; theſe ſeeing the aſſiſtance coming to them, clapt the French under hatches, and returned to the port, where the ſhip was reſtored to its maſter; and the French had ſuffered, but that D. Alvaro de Lugo the governor, and all the iſland interceded for them, who begged them to exchange for ſix of their men the French had carried away, which the admiral granted. Still haſtening on his way, he ſailed for the iſland Ferro on Thurſday the 21ſt of June. There he reſolved to ſend away three of his ſix ſhips to Hiſpaniola, and to ſail away with the reſt towards the iſlands of Capo Verde; thence to ſail directly over, and diſcover the continent. He therefore appointed a captain over each ſhip, of thoſe he ſent to Hiſpaniola, one of which was Peter de Arana, couſin to that Arana who died in Hiſpaniola; the ſecond, Alonza Sancher de Carvagal; and the third, one John Anthony Colon, his own kinſman; to whom he gave particular inſtruction, that each of them ſhould command a week in his turn. This done, he ſet out for the iſlands of Capo Verde, and thoſe captains for Hiſpaniola. But that climate he was then entering upon being unhealthy at that time, he had a terrible fit of the gout in one leg, and four days after he fell into a violent fever; yet notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, he was ſtill himſelf, and diligently obſerved the way the ſhip made, the alterations of the weather that happened, as he had done ſince his firſt voyage.

On Wedneſday the 25th of June he diſcovered the iſland de Sal, one of thoſe of Capo Verde; paſſing by it, he came to another called *Boa Viſta*, a name remote from the truth, for it ſignifies a good ſight, and the place is dull and wretched. Here he caſt anchor in a channel near a ſmall iſland on the weſt ſide of it, near to where there are ſix or ſeven houſes of the inhabitants for perſons troubled with the leproſy, who came thither to be cured. And as ſailors rejoice when they diſcover land, ſo do theſe wretches much more, when they ſee any ſhips. Therefore they preſently ran down to the ſhore, to ſpeak to thoſe the admiral ſent aſhore in the boats to take in water and ſalt, there being alſo abundance of goats there. Underſtanding they were Spaniards, the

the Portugueſe who had charge of the iſland for the owner, went aboard to ſpeak to the admiral, and offer him all he demanded; for which the admiral thanked him, ordered him to be well treated, and ſome proviſion given him, becauſe by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the iſland, they always live miſerably. The admiral being deſirous to know what method they uſed to cure the lepers, that man told him, that the temperature of the air was one main cauſe of it; and the next was their diet, becauſe there came thither a vaſt number of tortoiſes, on which the ſick feed, and anoint themſelves with their blood, and continuing it a ſhort time they recover; but that thoſe who are born infected with this diſtemper are longer a curing. That the reaſon of having ſo many tortoiſes, was the ſhores being all ſandy, whither the tortoiſes, in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, came over from the ſhore of Africk, moſt of them as big as an ordinary target, and that every night they came up to ſleep and lay their eggs on the ſand; that the people went along the ſhore in the night with lanthorns or other light, ſeeking the track the tortoiſe leaves on the ſand, which they follow till they find the fiſh; which deing tired with coming ſo far, ſleeps ſo ſound that it hears not its enemy. He having found and turned his belly up, without doing any more harm, goes on to ſeek more; for when turned, they cannot ſtir from the place, or recover their feet. Having got as many as they think fit, they come again in the morning to chuſe thoſe they like beſt; and letting go the leaſt, carry away the others to eat. So wretchedly do the ſick live, without any other employment or ſuſtenance, the iſland being very dry and barren, without trees or ſprings, ſo that they drink of certain wells whoſe water is thick and brackiſh. Thoſe who had charge of the iſland, which were only that man and four more, had no other employment, but only to kill goats and ſalt them to ſend into Portugal. He ſaid, there were ſuch multitudes of theſe goats on the mountains, that ſome years they killed to the value of three or four thouſand ducats; and that they all came from eight goats, carried thither by the proprietor of the iſland, whoſe name was Roderick Alfonſo, the King of Portugal's ſecretary of the cuſtoms. That very often the hunters are four or five months without bread, or any other thing to eat, except goats' fleſh and fiſh; for which reaſon he made great account of the proviſion he had given him. That man and his companions, with ſome of the admiral's men, went out a goat-hunting; but perceiving it required much time to kill all he had need of, he would ſtay no longer, being in great haſte.

On Saturday the 30th of June he ſailed for the iſland of Santiago, the chief of Capo Verde, where he arrived the next day in the evening, and anchored near a church, ſending aſhore to buy ſome cows and bulls to carry alive to Hiſpaniola: yet obſerving it was a difficult matter to furniſh himſelf ſo ſoon as he deſired, and how prejudicial delays were to him, he reſolved to ſtay no longer; and the more for fear his men ſhould ſicken, that country being unhealthy. He ſays, that all the while he was at that iſland, he never ſaw the ſky nor any ſtar; but there was always a thick hot fog, inſomuch that three parts of the inhabitants were ſick, and they all of them had a baſe colour.

## CHAP. LXVII.—*How the Admiral ſailed from the Iſlands of Capo Verde, to diſcover the Continent; of the violent Heat he endured, and great Brightneſs of the North-Star.*

ON Thurſday the 5th of July the admiral left the iſland of Santiago, ſailing ſouth-weſt, with a reſolution to hold that courſe till he was under the equinoctial, and then to ſteer due weſt, that he might find ſome other land, or croſs over to Hiſpaniola. But the currents among thoſe iſlands ſetting violently towards the north and north-weſt,

weſt, he could not ſail as he deſigned; ſo that he ſays, on Saturday the 7th of July he was ſtill in ſight of the iſland of Fogo, which is one of thoſe of Capo Verde; which, he ſays, is very high land on the ſouth ſide; and at a diſtance, looks like a great church, with a ſteeple at the eaſt end, which is a vaſt high rock; whence before the eaſt winds blow, there uſually breaks out much fire; as is ſeen at Tenerif, Veſuvius, and mount Ætna. From this laſt country of Chriſtians he held on his courſe ſouth-weſt, till he came into only five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed, having been till then continually attended by the fog we mentioned above. The calm laſted eight days, with ſuch violent heat, that it almoſt burnt the ſhips; and there was no man could abide under deck, and had it not rained ſometimes, and the ſun been clouded, he thought they would have been burnt alive, together with the ſhips; for the firſt day of the calm, which was fair, the heat was ſo violent, that nothing could withſtand it, had not God miraculouſly relieved them with the aforeſaid rain and fog. Having therefore got off a little to the northward, into ſeven degrees of latitude, he reſolved not to make any more to the ſouth, but ſail due weſt, at leaſt till he ſaw how the weather ſettled; becauſe he had loſt many caſks with the great heat; the hoops flew, and the corn and all proviſions were ſcorched up. About the middle of July, he ſays, he very carefully took the latitude, and found a wonderful difference between that and the parallel of the Azores. For there, when the Charles's Wain was on the right, that is, eaſt, then the North-Star was loweſt, and from that time began to riſe; ſo that when the Charles's Wain was over head, the North-Star was two degrees and an half higher, and being once paſſed that, began again to deſcend the ſame five degrees it aſcended. This, he ſays, he obſerved ſeveral times very carefully, the weather being very fit for that purpoſe. But that where he was at this time in the torrid zone, it happened quite contrary; for when the Charles's Wain was in its greateſt elevation, he found the North-Star ſix degrees high; and when the Charles's Wain came to the weſt, in ſix hours ſpace he found the North-Star eleven degrees high; and then in the morning, when the Charles's Wain was quite depreſſed, though it could not be ſeen becauſe of the inclination of the pole, the North-Star was ſix degrees high, ſo that the difference was ten degrees, and it made a circle, whoſe diameter was ten degrees, whereas in the other place it made but five, lowering the poſition; for there it is loweſt when the other is weſt, and here when in its elevation. The reaſon of it he thought very difficult to comprehend; and not being completely maſter of it, without farther reflections on it, he ſays, he is of opinion, that in what relates to the circumference of the ſtar's orb, it may be ſaid, that at the equinoctial the full appears, and the nearer a man goes to the pole it ſeems the leſs, becauſe the heaven is more oblique. As for the variation, I believe the ſtar has the quality of all the four quarters, as has the needle, which if touched to the eaſt ſide points to the eaſt, and ſo of the weſt, north, and ſouth; and therefore he that makes the compaſs, covers the load-ſtone with a cloth, all but the north part of it, *viz.* that which has the virtue to make the ſteel point north.

## CHAP. LXVIII. — *How the Admiral diſcovered the Iſland of the Trinity, and ſaw the Continent.*

ON Tueſday the laſt day of July 1498, the admiral having ſailed many days weſt, inſomuch, that in his judgment, the Caribbee iſlands were north of him, he reſolved not to hold that courſe any longer, but to make for Hiſpaniola, not only becauſe he was in great want of water, but alſo becauſe all his proviſions periſhed, and he was

afraid leſt during his abſence mutiny or diſorder had happened among the people he left there, as in effect there had, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Therefore altering his courſe from the weſt, he ſtood north, thinking to light on ſome of the Caribbee iſlands, there to refreſh his men, and take in wood and water, whereof he had great want.

As he was thus ſailing one day about noon, Alonzo Perez Nirando, a ſailor of the town of Gullva, going up to the round-top, ſaw land to the weſtward at about fifteen leagues diſtance, and there appeared three mountains all at the ſame time; but not long after they perceived the ſame land ſtretched out towards the north-eaſt, as far as the eye could reach, and that did not ſeem to be the end. Having given thanks to God, ſaid the *Salve Regina*, and other prayers the ſeamen uſe in time of diſtreſs or joy, the admiral called that land the iſland of the Trinity; as well becauſe he had before thoughts of giving that name to the firſt land that he found, as in return, becauſe it had pleaſed God to ſhew him three mountains all together, as has been ſaid. He ſailed due weſt, to make a cape that appeared to the ſouth of him, and making for the ſouth ſide of the iſland, till he came to an anchor, five leagues beyond a point, which he called de la Galera, or of the galley, becauſe of a a rock that lay near the point, and at a diſtance looked like a galley under ſail. Having now but one caſk of water for all his ſhip's crew, and the other ſhips being in the ſame condition, there being no conveniency here to take in any, on Wedneſday following in the morning he continued his courſe ſtill weſt, and caſt anchor at another point, which he called de la Plaga, or, of the Strand, where the people landed, and took water, in a delicate brook, without ſeeing any town or people there; though along the coaſt they left behind, they had ſeen many houſes and towns. True it is, they found the tokens of fiſhermen, who had fled, leaving behind them ſome of their fiſhing tackle. They alſo ſaw the prints of the feet of beaſts, which ſeemed to be of goats, and ſaw the bones of one, but the head being without horns, they thought it might be of ſome catamountain, or monkey, as they afterwards found it to be, ſeeing abundance of thoſe cats in Paria. This ſame day, being the firſt of Auguſt, ſailing between cape Galera and that of la Plaga ſouthwards, they diſcovered the continent, about twenty-five leagues diſtance, as they gueſſed; but they thinking it another iſland, called it Iſla Santa, or Holy Iſland. The land they ſaw of the Trinity, between the two points, was thirty leagues in length eaſt and weſt, without any harbour; but all the country very pleaſant with trees down to the ſea, and abundance of towns. This ſpace they ran in a very ſhort time, becauſe the current of the ſea ſet ſo very violent weſtward, that it looked like a rapid river both day and night, and at all hours, notwithſtanding the tide flowed and ebbed along the ſhore above forty paces, as happens at St. Lucar de Berrameda, when there are floods; for though the water riſe and fall never ſo much, yet it never ceaſes running towards the ſea.

## CHAP. LXIX. — *How the Admiral ſailed to the Cape, called Puntal del Arenal, and a Canoo came out to talk to him.*

PERCEIVING they could have no account of the people of the country at this cape, and that there was no conveniency of taking water, without exceſſive labour, and there was no conveniency of careening the ſhips and getting proviſions, the next being the ſecond of Auguſt, the admiral went on to another point of land, which ſeemed to be moſt weſterly in that iſland, and called it del Arenal, where he came to an anchor, thinking the eaſterly winds which reign there would not be ſo troubleſome

to the boats in going backwards and forwards. On the way before they came to this point, a canoo began to follow them with twenty-five men in it, and ſtopped at about a cannon ſhot diſtance, calling out and talking very loud. Nothing could be underſtood, though it was ſuppoſed they inquired who our men were, and whence they came, as the other Indians uſed to do at firſt. There being no poſſibility of perſuading them with any words to come aboard, they began to ſhew them ſeveral things, that they might covet to have them, ſuch as little braſs baſons, looking-glaſſes, and other things the reſt of the Indians uſed to make great account of. But though this drew them a little, yet they ſoon ſtopped again; and therefore the more to allure them, the admiral ordered one to get upon the poop with a tabor and pipe, and ſome young fellows to dance. As ſoon as the Indians ſaw it, they put themſelves into a poſture of defence, laying hold of their targets, and ſhooting their arrows at thoſe that danced, who, by the admiral's command, that thoſe people might not go unpuniſhed, or contemn the Chriſtians, leaving their dance began to ſhoot with their croſs bows, ſo that they were glad to draw off, and made to another caraval, clapping cloſe to its ſide without any apprehenſion. The pilot of the ſhip went over into the canoo, and gave them ſome things they were very well pleaſed with, and ſaid, if they had been aſhore they would have brought him bread from their houſes, and ſo they went towards land; nor would they in the ſhip ſtop ever a one, for fear of diſpleaſing the admiral. The account they gave of them was, that they were well-ſhaped people, and whiter than thoſe of the other iſlands; and that they wear their hair long, like women, bound with ſmall ſtrings, and covered their privities with little clouts.

CHAP. LXX.—*Of the Danger the Ships were in, entering the Mouth of the Channel, they called Boca del Drago, or the Dragon's Mouth; and how Paria was diſcovered, being the firſt Diſcovery on the Continent.*

AS ſoon as the ſhips had anchored at Punto del Arenal, the admiral ſent the boats aſhore for water, and to get ſome information of the Indians; but they could do neither, that country being very low, and unpeopled. He therefore ordered them the next day to dig trenches on the iſland, and by good luck they found them ready made, and full of excellent water, and it was thought the fiſhermen had made them. Having taken what they wanted, the admiral reſolved to proceed on to another mouth or channel which appeared towards the north-weſt, which he afterwards called Boca del Drago, or the Dragon's Mouth, to diſtinguiſh it from that where he was, to which he had given the name of Boca de la Sierpe, or the Serpent's Mouth. Theſe two mouths or channels, like the Dardanelles, were made by the two weſtermoſt points of the Trinity iſland, and two others of the continent, and lay almoſt north and ſouth of one another. In the midſt of that, where the admiral anchored, was another rock, which he called El Gallo, that is the Cock. Through this mouth, he called Boca de Sierpe, the water continually ran ſo furiouſly northward, as if it had been the mouth of ſome great river, which was the reaſon of giving it that name, becauſe of the fright it put them into. For as they lay very ſecurely at anchor, there came a ſtronger ſtream of water than uſual, with a hideous noiſe, running through that mouth northward. And another current running out of the gulph now called Paria, oppoſite to that before-mentioned, they met with hideous roaring, and cauſed the ſea to ſwell up like a high mountain, or ridge of hills along that channel, which mountain ſoon came towards the ſhips, to the great terror of all men, fearing they ſhould over-ſet. But it pleaſed God it paſſed under, or rather lifted them up without doing any harm, though it drew the

anchor

anchor of one of them, carrying the veſſel away; but by the help of their ſails they eſcaped the danger, not without mortal fear of being loſt. That furious current being paſſed, the admiral conſidering the danger he was in there, ſtood for the Dragon's Mouth, which was between the north point of the Trinity iſland, and the eaſt point of Paria; yet went not through it at that time, but ſailed along the ſouth coaſt of Paria weſtward, believing it to be an iſland, and hoping to find a way out northwards towards Hiſpaniola. And though there were many ports along that coaſt of Paria, he would put into none, all the ſea being a harbour locked in with the continent.

CHAP. LXXI. — *How there was ſome Gold and Pearls found in Paria, and a People of good Converſation.*

THE admiral being at an anchor on the fifth of Auguſt, and it being his particular devotion never to weigh on a Sunday, he ſent the boats aſhore, where they found abundance of fruit of the ſame ſort they had ſeen in the other iſlands; great numbers of trees, and ſigns of people that had fled for fear of the Chriſtians. But being unwilling to loſe time, he ſailed down the coaſt fifteen leagues farther without going into any harbour, for fear he ſhould miſs of wind to bring him out. Being at an anchor on the coaſt, at the end of theſe fifteen leagues, there came out a canoo to the caraval called El Borreo, with three men in it; and the pilot knowing how much the admiral coveted to receive ſome information from thoſe people, he pretended to talk to them, and let himſelf fall into the canoo, and the Spaniards in the boat took thoſe three men, and carried them to the admiral, who made very much of them, and ſent them aſhore with many gifts, where there appeared abundance of Indians. Theſe hearing the good account the three gave them, came all in their canoos to barter for ſuch things as they had, which were much the ſame as had been ſeen in the iſlands before diſcovered, only that here they had no targets, nor poiſoned arrows, which theſe people do not uſe, but only the cannibals. Their drink was a ſort of liquor as white as milk, and another ſomewhat blackiſh, taſting like green wine made of grapes not quite ripe, but they could not learn what fruit it was made of. They wore cotton cloths well wove, of ſeveral colours, about the bigneſs of a handkerchief, ſome bigger and ſome leſs; and what they moſt valued of our things was braſs, and eſpecially bells. The people ſeem to be more civilized and tractable than thoſe of Hiſpaniola. They cover their nakedneſs with one of thoſe cloths above-mentioned, and have another wrapped about their head. The women cover nothing, not even their privities: the ſame they do in the Trinity iſland. They ſaw nothing of value here, except ſome little plates of gold they hung about their necks; for which reaſon, and becauſe the admiral could not ſtay to dive into the ſecrets of the country, he ordered ſix of thoſe Indians to be taken, and continued his voyage weſtward, believing that land of Paria, which he called the Holy Iſland, was no continent. Soon after another iſland appeared towards the ſouth, and another no leſs than that towards the weſt, all high land, ſowed and well peopled; and the Indians had more plates of gold about their necks than the others, and abundance of guaninis, which is very low gold. They ſaid that was produced in other weſtern iſlands, inhabited by people that eat men. The women had ſtrings of beads about their arms, and among them very fine large and ſmall pearls ſtrung, ſome whereof were got in exchange to ſend their Catholic Majeſties as a ſample. Being aſked where they found thoſe things, they made ſigns to ſhow that in the oyſter-ſhells which were taken weſtward of that land of Paria, and beyond it towards the north. Upon this, the admiral ſtaid there to know more of that good diſcovery, and ſent the boats

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boats aſhore, where all the people of the country that had flocked together, appeared ſo tractable and friendly, that they importuned the Chriſtians to go along with them to a houſe not far off, where they gave them to eat, and a great deal of that wine of theirs. Then from that houſe, which it is likely was the King's palace, they carried them to another, which was his ſon's, and ſhewed them the ſame kindneſs. They were all in general whiter than any they had ſeen in the Indies, and of better aſpects and ſhapes, with their hair cut ſhort by their ears, after the Spaniſh faſhion. From them they underſtood that land was called Paria, and that they would be glad to be in amity with the Chriſtians. Thus they departed from them, and returned to the ſhips.

## CHAP. LXXII. — *How the Admiral paſſed through Boca del Drago, and the Danger he was in there.*

THE admiral holding on his voyage weſtward, they ſtill found leſs and leſs water, inſomuch that being come through four or five fathom, they found but two and a half at ebb, for the tide differed from that at the Trinity iſland; for at the Trinity, the water ſwelled three fathom, and here being forty-five leagues to the weſtward, it roſe but one; and there always, whether ebb or flood, the current ran weſt; and here upon the ebb they ran eaſt, and upon the flood weſt; there the water was but brackiſh, here it was like river water. The admiral perceiving this difference, and how little water he found, durſt proceed no farther in his ſhip, which required three fathom water, being of a hundred ton, and therefore came to an anchor on that coaſt, which was very ſafe, being a port like a horſe-ſhoe, locked with that land on all ſides. However, he ſent the little caraval, called El Borreo, or the Poſt, to diſcover whether there was any paſs weſtward among thoſe iſlands. She having gone but a little way, returned the next day, being the eleventh of Auguſt, ſaying, that at the weſtermoſt point of that ſea, there was a mouth or opening, two leagues over from north to ſouth, and within it a round bay, with four other little bays, one towards each quarter of heaven; that from each of them flowed a river, whoſe water made that ſea ſo ſweet, which was yet much ſweeter farther in; adding, that all that land which ſeemed to be iſlands, was one and the ſame continent; that they had every where four or five fathom water, and ſuch abundance of thoſe weeds they ſaw in the ocean, that they hindered their ſailing. The admiral, therefore, being certain he could not get out weſtward, that ſame day ſtood back to the eaſtward, deſigning to paſs the ſtreights, which he ſaw between the land the Indians call Paria, and the Trinity. In this ſtreight there are four little iſlands eaſt near the point of the Trinity, which he called cape Boca, becauſe it was blunt, weſt upon the point of the continent, which he called cape Lapa, and in the middle. The reaſon why he called this the Dragon's Mouth, was, becauſe it is very dangerous, by reaſon of the abundance of freſh water that ſtruggles to get out there into the ſea, and made three boiſterous channels, extending from eaſt to weſt the width of the ſtreight. And becauſe, as he was ſailing through, the wind failed him, and he was in danger of being drove on ſome ſand or rock; therefore he with reaſon gave it a name anſwerable to that of the other mouth, where he was in no leſs danger, as was ſaid above. But it pleaſed God, that what they moſt dreaded ſhould be their greateſt ſafety, the ſtrength of the current carrying them off. Therefore on Monday the 17th of Auguſt, he began to ſail weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, in order to ſtand over afterwards for Hiſpaniola, giving thanks to God, who delivered him from ſo many troubles and dangers, ſtill ſhewing him new countries full of peaceable people and great wealth, eſpecially that which he certainly concluded to be

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the continent, becauſe of the great extent of that gulph of pearls, of the rivers that ran from it, of the ſea, which was all ſweet water; and by the authority of Eſdras, in the eighth chapter of the 4th book; where he ſays, that dividing the globe into ſeven parts, only one of them is covered with water; for all the Indians of the Caribbee iſlands had told him, there was a vaſt land ſouthward.

## CHAP. LXXIII.—*How the Admiral ſtood over from the Continent to Hiſpaniola.*

THE admiral ſailing along weſtward on the coaſt of Paria, ſtill fell farther off from it towards the north-weſt, the currents in being calm driving him that way; ſo that on Wedneſday the 15th of Auguſt, he left the cape, he called De las Conchas, or of Shells, ſouth of him, and the iſland Margarita weſt, which name he gave this iſland, perhaps by divine inſpiration, becauſe cloſe by it lies that of Cubagua, where an infinite quantity of pearls has been found; and in Hiſpaniola and Jamaica at his return he called ſome Mountains of Gold, where afterwards was found the greateſt quantity and largeſt pieces that ever were carried from thence into Spain. But to return to his voyage, he held on his courſe by ſix iſlands, which he called Las Gardes, or The Guards, and three others more to the north, Los Teſtigos, or The Witneſſes. And though they ſtill diſcovered much land of Paria weſtward, yet the admiral ſays, he could not from this time give ſuch an account of it as he could wiſh, becauſe through overmuch watching, his eyes were inflamed, and therefore was forced to take moſt of his obſervations from the ſailors and pilots. He alſo ſays, that this ſame night, being Thurſday the 16th of Auguſt, the compaſſes which till now had not varied, did at this time, at leaſt a point and a half, and ſome of them two points, wherein there could be no miſtake, becauſe ſeveral perſons had always watched to obſerve it. Admiring at this, and grieved that he had not the opportunity of following the courſe of the continent, he held on north-weſt, till on Monday the 20th of Auguſt he came to anchor between Beaca and Hiſpaniola; whence he ſent a letter by ſome Indians to his brother the Adelantodo, acquainting him with his ſafe arrival and ſucceſs. He was ſurprized to find himſelf ſo far weſtward; for though he knew the force of the currents failed, yet he did not think it had been ſo much. Therefore to the end his proviſions might not fail him in time of need, he ſtood to the eaſtward for S. Domingo, into which harbour he ſailed on the 30th of Auguſt; for here the lieutenant his brother had appointed the city to be built on the eaſt-ſide of the river, where it ſtands at preſent, and was called Santo Domingo in memory of his father, whoſe name was Dominick.

## CHAP. LXXIV.—*The Rebellion and Troubles the Admiral met with in Hiſpaniola, raiſed by the wickedneſs of one Francis Roldan, whom he had left as Alcalde Mayor, or Chief Juſtice.*

THE admiral being come to S. Domingo, almoſt blind with over-watching, he hoped there to reſt himſelf after his voyage, and find peace among his people, but found all quite contrary, for all the people in the iſland were in diſorder and rebellion; for abundance of thoſe he had left were dead, and of thoſe that remained, above one hundred and ſixty were ſick of the French pox, and beſides that many were in rebellion with Roldan, he found not the three ſhips, we ſaid he ſent before him from the Canary iſlands. Of theſe things it is requiſite we ſpeak orderly, beginning from the time the admiral ſet out for Spain, which as we ſaid, was in March 1496, thirty months

months before his return; the firſt part of which time the people continued pretty quiet, in hopes of his return, and of being ſpeedily relieved: But the firſt year being paſſed, the Spaniſh proviſions failing, and ſickneſs and ſufferings increaſing, they began to be diſſatisfied with what was, and to deſpair of any better; ſo that the complaints of many diſcontented perſons were heard, who never want ſomebody to ſtir them up, deſiring to be head of a party, as was now done by one Francis Roldan, born at Torre de D. Ximeno, whom the admiral had left in ſuch power among both Chriſtians and Indians, by making him chief juſtice, that he was as much obeyed as himſelf. For this reaſon it is to be ſuppoſed there was not that good underſtanding between him and the admiral's lieutenant, as ought to have been for the publick good, as time and experience made it appear. For the admiral, neither returning himſelf, nor ſending any ſupplies, this Roldan began to think of poſſeſſing himſelf of the iſland, deſigning for this purpoſe to murder the admiral's brothers, as thoſe that could beſt oppoſe his rebellion, and waited an opportunity to put this in execution. It happened that the lieutenant of the iſland, one of the admiral's brothers, went to a province in the weſt, called Xaragua, eighty leagues from Iſabella, where the ſaid Roldan remained in his employ, but ſubordinate to D. James, ſecond brother to the admiral. This Roldan was ſo offended at, that whilſt the lieutenant was taking order how the kings of the iſland ſhould pay tribute to their Catholick Majeſties, as the admiral had rated all the Indians, Orlando began underhand to draw ſome of them over to his party. But that it might not prove fatal to riſe on a ſudden, and without ſome pretence; that which Roldan laid hold of was, that there was a caraval aſhore at Iſabella, built by the lieutenant of the iſland, to ſend to Spain in caſe of neceſſity, and there being no launching of it for want of tackle and other neceſſaries, Roldan feigned and gave out there was ſome other reaſon for it, and that it behoved the publick, that caraval ſhould be fitted out, that ſome of them might go to Spain in it, to give an account of their ſufferings. Thus, upon pretence of the publick good, he preſſed that it might be launched, and D. James Columbus not conſenting to it for want of tackle, as has been ſaid, Roldan began more boldly to treat with ſome about launching the caraval in deſpite of him; telling thoſe he thought to agree with him, that if the lieutenant and D. James were diſpleaſed at it, the reaſon was becauſe they would ſecure to themſelves the dominion of the country, and keep them in ſubjection, without any ſhip that might carry the news of their revolt to their Catholick Majeſties. And ſince they were ſatisfied and convinced of the cruelty and ill-nature of the lieutenant, and what a reſtleſs life he led them, building towns and forts, and that they had no hopes of the admiral's coming with ſupplies, it was fit they ſhould take that caraval and procure their liberty, and not ſuffer themſelves under pretence of pay, which they never received, to be kept under by a foreigner, whereas it was in their power to live at eaſe and in plenty; for that whatſoever could be had in the iſland would be equally divided among them, and they would be ſerved by the Indians to their own content, without being ſo much in ſubjection that they could not take to wife any Indian woman they pleaſed. That the lieutenant made them keep the three vows of religious men; and beſides that, they wanted not for faſts and diſciplines, as alſo impriſonment, and other puniſhments, which they endured for the leaſt fault. Therefore, ſince he had the rod of juſtice and regal authority, which ſecured them againſt any thing that might befal them on this account, he adviſed them to do what he directed, wherein they could not do amiſs. With theſe and the like words, proceeding from the hatred he bore the lieutenant, he drew ſo many over to his own party, that one day when the lieutenant was come back from Xaragua to Iſabella, ſome

ſome of them reſolved to ſtab him, looking upon it as ſo eaſy a matter, that they had provided a halter to hang him up after he was dead. What at preſent the more incenſed them, was the impriſoning of one Barahona, a friend to the conſpirators, againſt whom, if God had not put it into the heart of the lieutenant not to proceed to execution of juſtice at that time, they had then certainly murdered him.

## CHAP. LXXV. — *How Francis Roldan endeavoured to make the Town of Conception mutiny, and plundered Iſabella.*

FRANCIS ROLDAN, perceiving he had miſſed of the murder of the lieutenant, and his conſpiracy was diſcovered, he reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the town and fort of The Conception, thinking from thence he might eaſily ſubdue the iſland. It fell out conveniently for his deſign, that he was near the ſaid town; for whilſt the lieutenant was aboard, he had been ſent with forty men about that province, to reduce the Indians that had revolted, with the ſame deſign of making themſelves maſters of that town, and deſtroying the Chriſtians. So that Roldan, under pretence of putting a ſtop to this evil, and puniſhing the Indians, gathered his men at the reſidence of one of their caciques, called Marche, deſigning to put his project in execution upon the firſt opportunity. But Balleſter, the commander of the fort, having ſome jealouſy of him, he ſtood upon his guard, and acquainted the lieutenant of the iſland with the danger he was in, who with all ſpeed, and what men he could gather, threw himſelf into the fort. Thither Roldan came upon a ſafe conduct, now his conſpiracy was diſcovered, rather to obſerve by the lieutenant what might do him harm, than through any deſire of coming to an accommodation, and with more boldneſs and impudence than became him, required the lieutenant to cauſe the caraval to be launched, or give him leave to launch it, which he and his friends would do. The lieutenant incenſed at theſe words, anſwered, that neither he nor his friends were ſeamen, or knew what was proper to be done in that caſe; and that though they had known how to launch it, yet they could not ſail in her for want of rigging and other neceſſaries, and therefore it would be only expoſing the men and the caraval. And, foraſmuch as the lieutenant underſtood that affair, as a ſeaman, and they not being ſuch, knew nothing of it, therefore they varied in their judgments. Theſe, and other diſpleaſing words having paſſed between them, Roldan went away in a paſſion, refuſing to quit his rod of juſtice, or ſtand trial, as the lieutenant ordered, ſaying, he would do both, when Their Majeſties, whoſe the iſland was, commanded him; knowing he could expect no juſtice from him, becauſe of the hatred he bore him, but that right, or wrong, he would find means to put him to death with ſhame: that in the mean while, not to exceed the bounds of reaſon, he would go and reſide where he ſhould bid him. But he at preſent appointing him the reſidence of the cacique James Colon, he refuſed it, ſaying, there were not proviſions there for his men, and that he would find a more convenient place. He ſet out towards Iſabella, and having gathered ſixty five men, perceiving he could not launch the caraval, he plundered the magazines, he and his followers taking away what arms, ſtuffs, and proviſions they thought fit; D. James Colon, who was there, not being able to oppoſe him, but would have been in danger, had he not retired to the fort with ſome friends and ſervants. Yet in the proceſs afterwards drawn up on this ſubject, there were ſome that depoſed, that Roldan promiſed to ſubmit to him, provided he would take his part againſt his own brother: which he refuſing, and Roldan not being able to do him any further harm, as alſo fearing the ſuccours that were coming from the lieutenant,

he went out of town with all the mutineers, and falling on the cattle that grazed thereabouts, they killed ſuch as they liked to eat, and took the beaſts of burden to ſerve them in their journey, reſolving to go into the province of Xaragua, whence the lieutenant was lately come deſigning to ſettle there, that being the pleaſanteſt and moſt plentiful part of the iſland; the people here being more civilized and wiſer than the reſt of the natives of Hiſpaniola; but above all, becauſe the women were the handſomeſt, and of the moſt pleaſing converſation of any others; which moſt invited them to go thither. But that they might not go without making trial of their ſtrength, before the lieutenant could increaſe his power, and puniſh them as they deſerved, they reſolved to take the town of The Conception in their way, to ſurprize it, and kill the lieutenant; and in caſe this did not ſucceed, to beſiege him. The lieutenant having intelligence of their deſign, ſtood upon his guard, encouraging his men with good words, and promiſing them many gifts, and each of them two ſlaves. And foraſmuch as he underſtood, that moſt of thoſe that were with him liked the life Roldan and his men led, ſo well, that many of them gave ear to his meſſages; therefore Roldan having conceived hopes that they would all go over to him, had the boldneſs to undertake that enterprize, which did not ſucceed as he expected. For the lieutenant having provided, as has been ſaid, being himſelf a man of great reſolution, and having the beſt men on his ſide, was reſolved to do that by force of arms, which he could not compaſs by fair means and arguments. Having therefore gathered his men together, he marched out of town to attack the rebels on the road.

## CHAP. LXXVI. — *How Francis Roldan incenſed the Indians againſt the Lieutenant, and went away with his Men to Xaragua.*

FRANCIS ROLDAN, perceiving he was ſo diſappointed, and that not one of the lieutenant's men came over to him, as he had expected, reſolved to retire in time, and go away to Xaragua, as he deſigned at firſt, not daring to meet him, yet preſumed to talk contemptibly of him, and to ſtir up the Indians, wherever he went, to rebel againſt him, telling them, the cauſe of his forſaking him was his being a man naturally revengeful and moroſe, as well towards the Chriſtians as Indians; and abominably covetous, impoſing great burdens and tributes on them; which if they bore with, he would increaſe every year, though againſt Their Catholic Majeſties' will; who required nothing of their ſubjects but obedience, maintaining them in juſtice, liberty and peace; which, if they feared they ſhould not be able to maintain, he with his friends and followers, would aſſiſt them to aſſert, and would declare himſelf their protector and deliverer. After which, they reſolved to forbid paying the tribute, we ſaid, had been impoſed on them, by which means it could not be gathered of thoſe that dwelt far from the lieutenant, nor durſt he exact it of thoſe near about him, for fear of provoking them to join with the rebels. Yet this condeſcenſion towards them had not ſo good an effect, but that as ſoon as the lieutenant was gone from The Conception, Guarionex, who was the principal cacique of that province, with the aſſiſtance of Roldan, reſolved to beſiege the fort, and deſtroy the Chriſtians that kept it. The better to effect it, he drew together all the caciques of his party, and agreed with them privately, that every one ſhould kill thoſe that were within his precinct, becauſe the territories in Hiſpaniola being too ſmall for any of them to maintain a great number of people, the Chriſtians had been obliged to divide themſelves into ſmall parcels of eight or nine in each liberty. This gave the Indians hopes, that ſurpriſing them all at the ſame time, they might have it in their power to ſuffer none to eſcape. But they hav-

ing no other way of fixing a time, or ordering any thing elſe that requires counting, but only by their fingers, they reſolved, that every one ſhould be ready to deſtroy the Chriſtians at the next full moon. Guarionex having thus diſpoſed his caciques to put this in execution, the chiefeſt of them being deſirous to gain honour, and looking upon the matter as very eaſy, and being no good aſtronomers, to know when the full moon was, fell on before the time appointed, and were forced to fly, after many blows. He thinking to find aſſiſtance in Guarionex, found his own ruin; for he put him to death, as he had deſerved, for having cauſed the conſpiracy to be diſcovered, and the Chriſtians to be upon their guard. The rebels were not a little concerned at this miſcarriage; for, as was reported, it had been contrived with their conſent, and therefore they waited to ſee, whether Guarionex brought affairs to ſuch terms, that joining with him they might deſtroy the lieutenant: but perceiving this did not ſucceed, they thought not themſelves ſecure in the province where they were, but went away to Xaragua, ſtill proclaiming themſelves protectors of the Indians; whereas they were thieves in their actions and inclinations, having no regard for God or the world, but following their inordinate appetites; for every one ſtole what he could, and Roldan their leader more than all of them, perſuading and commanding every cacique to entertain him, that could and would defend the Indians and rebels from paying the tribute the lieutenant demanded of them, though at the ſame time he under this pretence took much more from them; for from only one cacique, whoſe name was Manicaotex, he received every three months, a calabaſh, containing three marks of pure gold, that is, a pound and a half, and to be the more ſure of him, kept his ſon and nephew as hoſtages. He that reads this, muſt not wonder that we reduce the marks of gold to the meaſure of a calabaſh, which we do to ſhew, that the Indians in theſe caſes dealt by meaſure, becauſe they never had any weights.

## CHAP. LXXVII, — *How the Ships came from Spain with Proviſions and Supplies.*

THE Chriſtians being thus divided, as has been ſaid, and no ſhips yet coming from Spain with ſupplies, neither the lieutenant nor his brother D. James, could keep the people quiet that had remained with them; for moſt of them being mean perſons, and deſirous to lead that eaſy life Roldan promiſed them, they durſt not puniſh the guilty, for fear of being forſaken; which made them ſo inſolent, that it was impoſſible to keep them in order, and therefore they were forced to bear with the affronts of the rebels. But it being God's will to afford them ſome comfort, it pleaſed him to order that the two ſhips ſhould arrive, which, as was ſaid before, had been ſent a year after the admiral's departure from the Indies, not without great application uſed by him at court for fitting them out; for he, conſidering the nature of the country, the diſpoſitions of the people he left behind, and the great danger that might accrue from his long abſence, preſſed for, and obtained of Their Catholic Majeſties, that thoſe two ſhips might be ſent before, of eighteen he had been ordered to fit out. The arrival of theſe, the ſupplies they brought of men and proviſions, and the aſſurance that the admiral was ſafe arrived in Spain, encouraged thoſe that were with the lieutenant to ſerve him more faithfully, and made thoſe that followed Roldan, apprehenſive of being puniſhed. Theſe being deſirous to hear news, and furniſh themſelves with what they wanted, reſolved to repair to St. Domingo, where the ſhips had put in, hoping to draw ſome of the men over to their party. But the lieutenant having intelligence of their march, and being nearer that harbour, he moved towards them to hinder their paſſage; and having left guards on the paſſes, went to the port to ſee

the ſhips, and order the affairs of that place. And being deſirous the admiral ſhould find the iſland in a peaceable condition, and all troubles ended, he again made new overtures to Roldan, who was ſix leagues off with his men, ſending to him for this purpoſe the commander of the two ſhips lately arrived, whoſe name was Peter Fernandez Coronel; as well becauſe he was a man of worth and in authority, as becauſe he hoped his words would prove more effectual, ſince he as an eye-witneſs, could certify him of the admiral's arrival in Spain, the good reception he had found, and the willingneſs Their Majeſties expreſſed to make him ſtill greater. But the chief men among them, fearing the impreſſion this meſſenger might make upon their followers, would not ſuffer him to ſpeak in publick; ſo that they received him with their bows and arrows on the road, and he could only ſpeak ſome few words to thoſe that were appointed to hear him. Thus having done nothing, he returned to the town, and the rebels to their quarters in Xaragua, not without apprehenſions, leſt Roldan and ſome of the principal men of his gang, ſhould write to their friends that were with the lieutenant, deſiring them when the admiral came, to intercede for them, ſince all their complaints were againſt the lieutenant, and not againſt the admiral himſelf, for which reaſon they deſired to be reſtored to his favour.

## CHAP. LXXVIII. — *How the three Ships the Admiral ſent from the Canary Iſlands arrived where the Rebels were.*

HAVING ſpoke of the arrival of the two ſhips the admiral ſent from Spain to Hiſpaniola, it is fit we give an account of the three that parted from him at the Canary iſlands, which proceeded on their voyage with fair winds till they came to the Caribbee iſlands, which are the firſt that ſailors meet with in their way to the port of St. Domingo. The pilots then not being ſo well acquainted with that voyage, as they have been ſince, it happened they knew not how to hit that port, and were carried away by the currents ſo far to weſtward, that they arrived in the province of Xaragua, where the rebels were, who as ſoon as they underſtood that thoſe ſhips were out of their way, and knew nothing of their revolt, ſome of them went peaceably aboard, pretending they were there by the lieutenant's orders, the better to be ſupplied with proviſions, and keep that country under. But it being very eaſy for a ſecret, that is among many, to be diſcovered, Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal, who was the ſkilfulleſt of the captains of thoſe ſhips, being aware of the rebellion and diſcord, began immediately to make overtures of peace to Francis Roldan, thinking to bring him to ſubmit to the lieutenant. But the familiar converſation the rebels had before entertained aboard the ſhips, was the cauſe that his perſuaſions had not the deſired effect; for Roldan had privately obtained promiſes from many of thoſe that came freſh out of Spain, that they would ſtay with him, and by that acceſſion he hoped to become ſtill greater. Caravajal therefore finding things were not in ſuch a poſture that he might hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of what he had in hand, thought it convenient, with the advice of the other two captains, that the people they brought under pay to work in the mines, and other employments, ſhould go by land to St. Domingo, becauſe the winds and currents being ſet there againſt that voyage, it was poſſible they might not perform it in two or three months; ſo that they would not only conſume the proviſions, but the men might fall ſick, and the time be loſt, which ought to have been employed in the ſervice they came for. Having agreed upon this, it fell to John Anthony Colon his lot to march with the men, which were forty, to Arana, to ſail about with the ſhips, and to Caravajal to ſtay and endeavour to bring the rebels

to

to an accommodation. John Anthony Colon ſetting forward the ſecond day after they landed, thoſe labourers and vagabonds ſent over to work went away to the rebels, leaving their captain with only ſix or ſeven men that ſtuck to him. He ſeeing their baſe infidelity, without apprehending any danger, went to Roldan, and told him, that ſince he pretended to promote the ſervice of Their Catholic Majeſties, it was not reaſonable he ſhould ſuffer thoſe men that were come to people and cultivate the country, and to follow their callings with wages in hand, to ſtay there and loſe their time, without doing any thing of that they were obliged to; and that if he had turned them away, it had been a token that his words and his actions agreed; that his ſtaying there cauſed the diviſion and diſorder with the lieutenant, and not any inclination in him to obſtruct the King's ſervice. But that which had happened turning to the account of Roldan and his followers, as well for the carrying on their deſign, as becauſe the crime committed by many is generally ſooneſt connived at; he excuſed himſelf as to that point, ſaying, he could not uſe violence towards them, and that his was a religious order, which refuſed no man. John Anthony knowing it was not the part of a diſcreet man to expoſe himſelf to the danger of preſſing farther without hopes of ſucceſs, reſolved to go aboard again with thoſe few that followed him; and therefore that they might not be ſerved ſo by thoſe that were left, they two captains ſailed immediately with their two ſhips towards St. Domingo, with the wind as contrary as they had feared; for they ſpent many days, ſpoiled their proviſions, and Caravajal's ſhip was much damaged upon certain ſands, where ſhe loſt her rudder and ſprung a leak, ſo that they had much to do to bring her in.

## CHAP. LXXIX. — *How the Captains of the Ships that came from Xaragua, found the Admiral at St. Domingo.*

THE captains with their ſhips arriving at St. Domingo, in their return from Xaragua, found the admiral there, after his diſcovery of the continent. He being fully informed of the condition of the rebels, and having ſeen the proceſs his lieutenant had made againſt them, though the crime was plainly made out to deſerve ſevere puniſhment, yet he thought fit to form a new proceſs, and give Their Majeſties an account of it, reſolving at the ſame time to uſe all the moderation he could in this matter, and endeavouring to reduce them by fair means. For which reaſon, and that neither they nor any others might have cauſe to complain of him, or ſay he kept them there by force, he made proclamation on the 12th of September, giving leave to all that would return to Spain, and promiſing them free paſſage and proviſions. And being informed on the other hand, that Roldan was coming towards St. Domingo with ſome of his men, he ordered Michael Balleſter, commander of The Conception, to ſecure his own town and fort; and in caſe Roldan came that way, he ſhould tell him from the admiral, that he was much concerned at his ſufferings and all that was paſt, and would have no more ſaid of it, granting a general pardon to all, and deſiring him to come away immediately to the admiral, without fearing any thing, that by his advice things might be ordered, as was for Their Majeſties ſervice; and if he required any ſafe conduct, he would ſend it him in ſuch form as he required. Balleſter returned anſwer on the 14th of February, that he had received certain information, that Riquelme was the day before come to the town of Bonao, and that Adrian and Roldan, who were the ring-leaders, would meet there in ſeven or eight days, at which time he might there apprehend them, as he did. For having diſcourſed them according to the inſtructions given him, he found them obſtinate

ſtinate and unmannerly, Roldan telling him, they were not come to treat, nor did they deſire, or care for peace, for he had the admiral and his authority at his beck, either to ſupport, or ſuppreſs it, as he pleaſed; and that they muſt not talk to him of any accommodation, till they had ſent him all the Indians taken at the ſiege of The Conception, ſince they had met together to ſerve the King, and upon his promiſe of ſecurity. Other things he added, by which it appeared he would make no agreement, but what was much to his advantage. To this purpoſe he demanded, that the admiral ſhould ſend Caravajal to him, becauſe he would treat with no other but him, he being a man that would hear reaſon, and had diſcretion, as he had found by experience, when the three ſhips, as has been ſaid, were at Xaragua. This anſwer made the admiral ſuſpect Caravajal, and not without much cauſe.

*Firſt*, becauſe before Caravajal was at Xaragua, where theſe rebels then were, they had often writ and ſent meſſages to their friends that were with the lieutenant, telling them, they would come and deliver themſelves up to the admiral as ſoon as he arrived, and therefore they deſired them to intercede for them, and appeaſe him.

*Secondly*, becauſe, ſince they did this, as ſoon as they heard there were two ſhips come to the aſſiſtance of the lieutenant, they had much more cauſe to perform it, knowing the admiral was not come, had not the long conference Caravajal had with them prevented it.

*Thirdly*, becauſe if he would have done his duty, he might have kept Roldan, and the chief men of his gang priſoners, aboard his caraval, they having been two days aboard without any ſecurity given.

*Fourthly*, becauſe knowing as he did, that they were in rebellion, he ought not to ſuffer them to buy aboard the ſhips, as they did, fifty-ſix ſwords, and ſixty croſs-bows.

*Fifthly*, becauſe there being ſome proofs that the men who were to land with John Anthony to go to St. Domingo, would join the rebels, he ought not to ſuffer them to land, or at leaſt when they were gone over to them, he ought to have been more induſtrious to endeavour to recover them.

*Sixthly*, becauſe he gave out that he came to the Indies as companion to the admiral, that nothing might be done without him, for fear the admiral ſhould commit ſome offence.

*Seventhly*, becauſe Roldan had writ to the admiral by Caravajal himſelf, acquainting him, that he was drawing near to St. Domingo with his men, by the advice of Caravajal, to be the nearer to treat of an accommodation, when the admiral arrived in Hiſpaniola; and now he was come, his actions not ſuiting with his letter, it appeared he had rather invited him to come thither, to the end that if the admiral had been long coming, or had not come at all, he, as the admiral's aſſociate, and Roldan as chief juſtice, might govern the iſland in deſpite of the lieutenant.

*Eighthly*, becauſe at the ſame time that the other captains came with the three caravals to St. Domingo, he came by land attended by a guard of the rebels, and one of the chief of them called Gamir, who had been two days and two nights with him aboard his ſhip.

*Ninthly*, becauſe he writ to the rebels when they came to Bonao, and ſent them preſents and proviſions.

*Tenthly* and laſtly, becauſe, beſides that the ſaid rebels would not treat with any body but him, they all unanimouſly ſaid, if there had been occaſion, they would have taken him for their captain.

Yet

Yet the admiral, on the other ſide, conſidering that Caravajal was a diſcreet prudent perſon, and a gentleman, and that every one of thoſe arguments might be anſwered, and perhaps what he had been told was not true, and looking upon him as one that would not do any thing contrary to his duty, having a great deſire to put out that fire, he reſolved to conſult with all the chief men he had about him, about Roldan's anſwer, and reſolve upon what was to be done on this occaſion. All agreeing upon it, he ſent Caravajal, with Balleſter, to treat, who had no other anſwer from Roldan, but that ſince they had not brought the Indians he demanded, they ſhould not without them talk of any accommodation. Caravajal diſcreetly anſwering to theſe words, made ſo taking a diſcourſe, that he moved Roldan and three or four of the chief men to go wait upon the admiral and agree with him; but the others diſliking of it, as Roldan and the others were mounting their horſes to go with Caravajal to the admiral, they fell upon them, ſaying, they would not allow them to go, and that if any agreement was to be made, it ſhould be drawn up in writing, that they might all know what was doing: ſo that after ſome days paſſed, upon this reſolution, on the 20th of October, Roldan, by the conſent of all his men, writ a letter to the admiral, laying the blame of their ſeparation on the lieutenant; and telling the admiral, that ſince he had not in writing ſent them ſecurity to come and give an account of themſelves, they had reſolved to ſend him their demands in writing, which were the reward of what they had hitherto done, as ſhall appear hereafter. Though their propoſals were extravagant and inſolent, yet the commander Balleſter, the next day, writ to the admiral, extolling Caravajal's moving diſcourſe, and ſaying, that ſince it was not of force to remove thoſe people from their wicked deſign, nothing leſs than granting them what they demanded would prevail; for he found them ſo reſolute, that he looked upon it as moſt certain, that moſt of the people that were with his lordſhip would go over to the rebels. And though he might rely on his ſervants and men of honour, yet they would not be able to withſtand ſuch a number, many daily reſorting to them, which the admiral already knew by experience; for when Roldan was near St. Domingo, he muſtered all that were fit to bear arms, if it were requiſite, and obſerved that ſome feigning themſelves ſick, and ſome lame, he had not found above ſeventy men, of which there were not forty that he could confide in. For which reaſon, the next day being the 17th of October 1498, the aforeſaid Roldan, and the chief of his followers, who would have gone to the admiral, ſent him a letter ſubſcribed by them, telling him, they had withdrawn from the lieutenant to ſave their lives, he having a deſign to deſtroy them; and that they being his lordſhip's ſervants, whoſe coming they had expected, as of one that would look upon what they had done, complying with their duty, as good ſervice, they had hindered their people from doing harm to any that belonged to his lordſhip, as they might eaſily have done. But that ſince he was come, and was ſo far from thinking ſo, that he inſiſted upon taking revenge, and doing them harm, that they might with honour do what they had undertaken, and be at liberty to do it, they took leave of him and his ſervice. Before this letter was delivered to the admiral, he had ſent Roldan an anſwer. Caravajal, whom he ſent to him, telling him what confidence he always repoſed in him, and what a good account he had given His Catholic Majeſty of them; adding, that he did not write to him, for fear of ſome inconveniency, if his letter ſhould be ſeen by the common ſort, which might redound to his diſadvantage; and therefore, inſtead of hand and ſeal, he had ſent that perſon to him, in whom he knew how much he confided, and might regard what he ſaid as if it were under his ſeal, which was the commander Balleſter; and therefore

therefore he might conſider what was proper to be done, and he ſhould find him moſt ready to comply. On the 18th of October he ordered five ſhips to depart for Spain, ſending Their Catholic Majeſties by them a moſt particular account of affairs, and ſaying, he had kept thoſe ſhips till then, believing that Roldan and his men would have gone away in them, as they had given out at firſt; and that the other three he kept with him, were fitting out for his brother to go in them to purſue the diſcovery of the continent of Paria, and take order about the fiſhery and trade for pearls, a ſample whereof he ſent them by Arogial.

## CHAP. LXXX. — *How Francis Roldan went to treat with the Admiral, but came to no Agreement with him.*

ROLDAN having received the admiral's letter, anſwered the third day, ſeeming to incline to do all he ordered him; but his men not allowing him to go to treat without a ſafe conduct, he deſired him to ſend one, drawn up according to thoſe heads he ſent under his hand, and ſigned by the chief men about him. This ſafe conduct was immediately ſent him by the admiral on the 26th of October, and Roldan having received it ſoon came, but rather with a deſign to draw ſome body over to him, than to conclude any thing, as appeared by his impudent propoſals. Thus he returned without concluding any thing, ſaying, he would give his company an account of matters, and write word what they reſolved on. And that there might be ſome body from the admiral to treat and ſign what was agreed on, the admiral's ſteward went with him; his name was Salamanca. After much talk, Roldan ſent articles of agreement for the admiral to ſubſcribe, telling him, that was all he could obtain of his people, and if his lordſhip thought fit to grant it, he ſhould ſend his aſſent to The Conception; for at Bonao they had no longer proviſions to ſubſiſt on, and they would expect his anſwer till the next Monday. The admiral having read their anſwer and propoſals, and conſidering what diſhonourable things they demanded, would not grant them, leſt he ſhould bring himſelf, his brothers, and juſtice itſelf, into contempt. But that they might have no cauſe to complain, or ſay he was too ſtiff in this affair, he ordered a general pardon to be proclaimed, and to be thirty days upon the gates of the fort, the purport whereof was as follows:

" That foraſmuch as during his abſence in Spain, ſome difference had happened between the lieutenant and the chief juſtice Roldan, and other perſons who had fled with him, notwithſtanding any thing that had happened, they might all in general, and every one in particular, ſafely come to ſerve Their Catholic Majeſties, as if no difference had ever been; and that whoſoever would go into Spain ſhould have his paſſage, and an order to receive his pay, as was uſual with others, provided they preſented themſelves before the admiral within thirty days, to receive the benefit of this pardon: proteſting that in caſe they did not appear within the time limited, they ſhould be proceeded againſt according to courſe of law."

This pardon, ſubſcribed by himſelf, he ſent to Roldan by Caravajal, giving him, in writing, the reaſons why he neither could nor ought to grant the articles ſent by him, and putting him in mind what they ought to do, if they aimed at Their Majeſties' ſervice. Caravajal went to the rebels at The Conception, where they were very haughty and proud, laughing at the admiral's pardon, and ſaying, he ſhould ſoon have occaſion to aſk one of them. All this happened in the ſpace of three weeks, during which time, under colour of apprehending a man Roldan would execute, they kept the commander

Balleſter

Balleſter beſieged in the fort, and cut off his water, believing the want of it would oblige him to ſurrender; but upon Caravajal's arrival, they raiſed the ſiege, and after many altercations made on both ſides, came to the following concluſion.

## CHAP. LXXXI. — *The Agreement made between the Admiral and Roldan with his Rebels.*

THE articles ſigned and agreed to by Francis Roldan and his company, in order to their return to Spain, are as follows:

I. "That the lord admiral give him two good ſhips, and in good order, according to the judgment of able ſeamen, to be delivered to him at the port of Xaragua, becauſe moſt of his followers were there; and becauſe there is no other port more commodious to provide and prepare victualling and other neceſſaries, where the ſaid Roldan and his company ſhall embark, and ſail for Spain, if ſo God pleaſe.

II. "That his lordſhip ſhall give an order for the payment of the ſalaries due to them all till that day, and letters of recommendation to Their Catholic Majeſties, that they may cauſe them to be paid.

III. "That he ſhall give them ſlaves for the ſervice they have done in the iſland, and their ſufferings, and certify the ſaid gift: and becauſe ſome of them have women big with child, or delivered; if they carry them away, they ſhall paſs inſtead of ſuch ſlaves they were to have; and the children ſhall be free, and they may take them along with them.

IV. "His lordſhip ſhall put into the aforeſaid ſhips all the proviſions requiſite for that voyage, as have been given to others before; and becauſe he could not furniſh them with bread, the judge and his company have leave to provide in the country, and that they have thirty hundred weight of biſket allowed them, or for want of it thirty ſacks of corn; to the end, that if the carabi or Indian bread ſhould ſpoil, as might eaſily happen, they may ſubſiſt upon the aforeſaid biſket or corn.

V. "That his lordſhip ſhall give a ſafe conduct for ſuch perſons as ſhall come to receive the orders for their pay.

VI. "Foraſmuch as ſome goods belonging to ſeveral perſons, who are with Roldan, have been ſeized, his lordſhip ſhall order reſtitution to be made.

VII. "That his lordſhip ſhall write a letter to Their Catholic Majeſties, acquainting them, that the ſaid Roldan's ſwine remain in the iſland, for the inhabitants' proviſion, being one hundred and twenty great ones, and two hundred and thirty ſmall, praying Their Highneſs to allow him the price for them they would have bore in the iſland; the which ſwine were taken from him in February 1498.

VIII. "That his lordſhip ſhall give the ſaid Roldan full authority to ſell ſome goods he has, which he muſt part with to go away, or to do with them as he pleaſes, or to leave them for his own uſe with whom he thinks fit, to make the beſt of them.

IX. "That his lordſhip will order the judges to give ſpeedy judgment concerning the horſe.

X. "That if his lordſhip ſhall find the demands of Salamanca to be juſt, he ſhall write to the ſaid judge to cauſe him to be paid.

XI. "That his lordſhip ſhall be diſcourſed concerning the captain's ſlaves.

XII. "That foraſmuch as the ſaid Roldan and his company miſtruſt, that his lordſhip, or ſome other perſon by his order, may offer them ſome violence, with the other ſhips that are in the iſland, he ſhall therefore grant them a paſs or ſafe conduct, promiſing in Their Majeſties' name, and upon his own faith, and the word of a gentle-

man, as is uſed in Spain, that neither his lordſhip, nor any other perſon ſhall offend them, or obſtruct their voyage."

"Having examined this agreement made by Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca with Francis Roldan and his company, this day being Wedneſday the 21ſt of November 1498, I am content it be fully obſerved, upon condition that the ſaid Francis Roldan, nor any of his followers, in whoſe name he ſubſcribed and ratified the articles by him delivered to the aforeſaid Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca, ſhall not receive into their company any other Chriſtian of the iſland, of any ſtate or condition whatſoever."

"I Francis Roldan, judge, do promiſe and engage my faith and word for myſelf and all thoſe with me, that the articles above mentioned ſhall be obſerved and fulfilled, without any fraud, but faithfully as is here ſet down, his lordſhip performing all that has been agreed on between Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca and myſelf, as is in the written articles."

I. "That from the day of the date hereof, till the anſwer be brought, for which ten days ſhall be allowed, I will admit no perſon whatſoever of thoſe that are with the lord admiral.

II. "That within fifty days after the ſaid anſwer ſhall be delivered to me here in The Conception, ſigned and ſealed by his lordſhip, which ſhall be within the ten days before mentioned, we will embark and ſet ſail for Spain.

III. "That none of the ſlaves freely granted us, ſhall be carried away by force.

IV. "That whereas the admiral will not be at the port where we are to embark, the perſon or perſons his lordſhip ſhall ſend thither, be honoured and reſpected as Their Majeſties' and his lordſhip's officers, to whom ſhall be given an account of all we put aboard the ſhips, that they may enter it, and do as his lordſhip ſhall think fit; as alſo to deliver to them ſuch things as we have in our hands belonging to Their Majeſties. All the aforeſaid articles are to be ſubſcribed and performed by his lordſhip, as Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca have them in writing; the anſwer whereof I expect here at The Conception for eight days to come; and if it be not then brought, I ſhall not be obliged to any thing here mentioned."

"In teſtimony whereof, and that I and my company may obſerve and perform what I have ſaid, I have ſubſcribed this writing. Given at The Conception, on the 16th of November 1498."

## CHAP. LXXXII.—*How after the Agreement concluded, the Rebels went away to Xaragua, ſaying, they would embark on the two Ships ſent them by the Admiral.*

THINGS being adjuſted as above, Caravajal and Salamanca returned to St. Domingo to the admiral, and at their requeſt, on the 21ſt of November, he ſubſcribed the aforeſaid articles brought by them, and granted a new ſafe conduct or leave to all thoſe that would not go to Spain with Roldan, promiſing them pay, or the liberty of planters, as they liked beſt, and for others to come freely to manage their affairs. Theſe the Caſtellan Balleſter delivered to Roldan and his company at The Conception, on the 24th of November, and they having received them, went away toward Xaragua, to prepare for their departure, as was afterwards known. And though the admiral was ſenſible of their villainy, and much concerned that the good ſervice his brother might have done in continuing the diſcovery of the continent of Paria, and ſettling the pearl fiſhery and trade, was obſtructed by giving them thoſe ſhips, yet he would not give the rebels occaſion to blame him, ſaying, he had refuſed them their

paſſage. He began therefore preſently to fit out the ſhips as had been agreed, though the equipment was ſomewhat retarded for want of neceſſaries. To ſupply which defect, and that no time might be loſt, he ordered Caravajal to go over by land to provide and diſpoſe all things for the departure of the rebels, whilſt the ſhips came about, giving him ample commiſſion for it, reſolving himſelf to go ſoon to Iſabella, to ſettle affairs there, leaving his brother James at St. Domingo, to look to that place. After his departure, about the end of January, the two caravals, furniſhed with all neceſſaries for the voyage, ſet out to take up the rebels; but a great ſtorm riſing by the way, they were forced to put into another port till the end of March; and becauſe the caraval Ninna, one of the two, was in the worſt condition, and required moſt repairs, the admiral ſent orders to Peter de Arana and Francis de Garai to repair to Xaragua, with another called Santa Cruz, or the Holy Croſs, aboard which Caravajal went, and not by land. He was eleven days by the way, and found the other caraval waiting for him.

## CHAP. LXXXIII. — *How the Rebels altered their Reſolution of going to Spain, and came to a new Agreement with the Admiral.*

IN the mean while, the caravals not coming, and moſt of Roldan's men having no mind to embark, they took that delay for a pretence to ſtay, blaming the admiral, as if he had not diſpatched them as ſoon as he might; whereof he being informed, writ to Roldan and Adrian, perſuading them in a friendly manner to perform the agreement, and not fall into diſobedience. Beſides, Caravajal, who was with them at Xaragua, on the 20th of April entered his proteſtation before a notary, called Francis de Garai, afterwards governor of Panuco and of Jamaica, requiring them, ſince the admiral had ſent the ſhips, to accept of them, and embark according to articles. And becauſe they would not, on the 25th of April he ordered the ſhips to return to St. Domingo, becauſe they were deſtroyed by the worms, and the men ſuffered much for want of proviſions. The rebels were no way concerned, but rather rejoiced and grew haughty, ſeeing ſuch account was made of them, and were ſo far from acknowledging the admiral's civility, that they laid it to his charge in writing, that it was through his fault they ſtaid, ſaying, he had a mind to be revenged on them, and had therefore delayed the ſending of the caravals, which were in ſuch ill caſe, that it was impoſſible they ſhould go in them to Spain; and that though they had been never ſo good, their proviſions were ſpent expecting them, and they could not get more under a long while, for which reaſon they had reſolved to expect redreſs from Their Majeſties. Caravajal returned with this anſwer by land to St. Domingo, to whom, at the time of his departure, Roldan ſaid, he would willingly go wait on the admiral, to endeavour for ſuch an accommodation as might pleaſe all parties, provided he would ſend him his ſafe conduct. Caravajal ſent the admiral word of it from St. Domingo on the 15th of May, who anſwered on the 21ſt, commending him for the pains he took, and ſent the ſafe conduct he required, with a ſhort letter to Roldan, though very pithy, perſuading him to peace, ſubmiſſion, and Their Majeſties' ſervice; which he afterwards repeated at St. Domingo more at large on the 29th of June; and on the 3d of Auguſt, ſix or ſeven of the chief men about the admiral ſent Roldan another ſafe conduct, that he might come to treat with his lordſhip. But the diſtance being great, and the admiral having occaſion to viſit the country, he reſolved to go with two caravals to the port of Azua in the ſame iſland Hiſpaniola, weſt of St. Domingo, to be the nearer the province where the rebels were, many of whom came to the ſaid port; and the admiral

arriving there about the end of Auguſt with his ſhips, conferred with the chief of them, exhorting them to deſiſt from their ill courſe, and promiſing them all poſſible favour and kindneſs, which they promiſed to do, provided the admiral granted them four things, *viz.*

I. " That he ſhall ſend fifteen of them to Spain in the firſt ſhips that went.

II. " That to thoſe that remained, he ſhould give land and houſes for their pay.

III. " That proclamation ſhould be made, that all that had happened was cauſed by falſe ſuggeſtions, and through the fault of ill men.

IV. " That the admiral ſhall anew appoint Roldan perpetual judge."

This being concluded among them, Roldan returned aſhore from the admiral's caraval, and ſent his companions the articles, which were ſo much to their mind, and ſo unreaſonable, that they concluded, ſaying, in caſe the admiral failed in any part, it ſhould be lawful for them by force, or any other means, to oblige him to performance. The admiral being eager to conclude this difficult matter, which had laſted above two years; and conſidering his adverſaries continued more obſtinate than ever, and that many of thoſe, who were with him, had a mind to join companies, and conſpire together, to go to other parts of the iſland, as Roldan had done; he reſolved to ſign the articles whatſoever they were, *viz.* To grant Roldan a patent for perpetual judge, and the other three above-mentioned particulars, beſides all they had ſent in writing, a copy whereof was inſerted above. On Tueſday following, being the 5th of November, Roldan to exerciſe his office, and accordingly it being a part of his grant, he conſtituted Peter Riquelme judge of Bonao, with power to impriſon offenders in criminal caſes, but that he ſhould ſend criminals upon life and death, to be tried by him at the fort of The Conception. The ſubſtitute being no honeſter than his maſter, he preſently went about to build a ſtrong houſe at Bonao, had not Peter de Arana forbid him, becauſe he plainly perceived it was contrary to the reſpect due to the admiral.

## CHAP. LXXXIV. — *How Ojeda, returning from his Diſcovery, excited new Troubles in Hiſpaniola.*

TO return to the courſe of our hiſtory, the admiral having adjuſted matters with Roldan, appointed a captain with ſome men to march about the iſland to pacify it, and reduce the Indians to pay the tribute, and be always in a readineſs, that upon the leaſt mutiny among the Chriſtians, and ſign of rebellion among the Indians, he might ſuppreſs and puniſh them, which he did with a deſign to go himſelf over to Spain, and carry with him his brother the lieutenant, becauſe it would be difficult, if he were left behind, to forget old grudges. As he was preparing for his voyage, Alonſo de Ojeda, who had been diſcovering with four ſhips, arrived in the iſland. And foraſmuch as this ſort of men ſailed about to make their fortune, on the 5th of September he put into the port the Chriſtians called Braſil, and the Indians Yaquimo, deſigning to take what he could from the Indians, and load with wood and ſlaves. Whilſt he was thus employed, he did all the harm he could; and to ſhew he was a limb of the biſhop we have mentioned, endeavoured to raiſe another mutiny, gave out, that Queen Iſabel or Elizabeth was ready to die; and as ſoon as ſhe was dead, there would be nobody left to ſupport the admiral, and that he, as a faithful ſervant to the ſaid biſhop, might do what he pleaſed againſt the admiral, becauſe of the enmity there was between them. Upon theſe grounds he began to write to ſome that were not very ſound, after the late troubles, and to hold correſpondence with them. But Roldan being

being informed of his proceedings and designs, by the admiral's order, went againſt him with twenty-one men, to prevent him doing the harm he intended. Being come within a league and a half of him, on the 29th of September, he underſtood he was with fifteen men at a cacique's, whoſe name was Haniguaaba, making bread and biſket; and therefore he travelled that night to ſurprize him. Ojeda underſtanding that Roldan was coming upon him, and being too weak to oppoſe him, to make the beſt of a bad caſe, went to meet him, ſaying, want of proviſions had brought him thither, to ſupply himſelf in the King his maſter's dominions, without deſigning any harm. And giving him an account of his voyage, ſaid, he had been diſcovering ſix hundred leagues weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, where he found people that fought the Chriſtians even hand, and had wounded twenty of his men; for which reaſon he could make no advantage of the wealth of the country, where he ſaid he had ſeen deer and rabbits and tygers' ſkins and paws and gaaninies, all which he ſhewed Roldan aboard the caravals, ſaying, he would ſoon repair to St. Domingo to give the admiral an account of all. He at this time was much troubled, becauſe Peter de Arana had ſignified to him, that Riquelme, judge of Bonao, for Roldan, under colour of building a houſe for his herds, had made choice of a ſtrong rock, that he might from thence, with a few men, do all the harm he thought fit; that he had forbid him: whereupon Riquelme had drawn up a proceſs, atteſted by witneſſes againſt him, and ſent it to the admiral, complaining that Arana uſed violence againſt him, and praying relief, that no diſorder might happen among them. Hereupon, though the admiral knew that man was not of a quiet diſpoſition, yet he thought fit to conceal his jealouſy, yet ſo as to be upon his guard; being of opinion it was enough to provide againſt Ojeda's open intruſion, without taking notice of that which might tolerably be connived at. Ojeda holding his wicked purpoſe, and taking leave of Roldan in February 1500, went away with his ſhips to Xaragua, where a great many of thoſe lived, who had before rebelled with Roldan. And becauſe avarice is the moſt beneficial and ready way to promote any miſchief, he began to give out among thoſe people, that Their Catholic Majeſties had appointed him and Caravajal the admiral's counſellors, that they might not ſuffer him to do any thing, which they did not think was for Their Majeſties' ſervice; and that among many other things they had ordered him to do, one was, that he ſhould immediately pay in ready money, all thoſe that were in the iſland in their ſervice; and ſince the admiral was not ſo juſt as to do it, he was ready to go along with them to St. Domingo, to oblige him to pay them out of hand; and that done, if they thought fit, to turn him out of the iſland dead or alive; for they ought not to rely on the agreement made, or the word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than neceſſity obliged him to it. Upon theſe promiſes, many reſolved to follow him; and therefore, being aſſiſted by them, he one night fell upon others who oppoſed him, and there were ſome killed and wounded on both ſides. And being ſatisfied that Roldan, who was returned to the admiral's ſervice, would not join with them, they reſolved to ſurprize and make him priſoner; but he, being informed of their deſign, went well attended where Ojeda was, to put a ſtop to his diſorders, or puniſh him, as he ſhould find expedient. Ojeda, for fear of him, retired to his ſhips, and Roldan continuing aſhore, they treated about a conference; each of them fearing to put himſelf into the power of the other. Roldan perceiving that Ojeda was unwilling to come aſhore, he offered to go treat with him aboard: to which purpoſe he ſent to aſk his boat, which he ſent him well manned, and having taken in Roldan with ſix or ſeven of his followers, when they leaſt ſuſpected it, Roldan and his people on a ſudden fell upon Ojeda's men, with their naked

ſwords,

ſwords, and killing ſome and wounding others, made themſelves maſters of the boat, returning with it to land, Ojeda having only a ſmall ſkiff left him, in which he reſolved to come peaceably to treat with Roldan. Having made ſome excuſe for his offences, he agreed to reſtore ſome men he had taken by force, that his boat and men might be returned him; alleging, if it were not reſtored, it would be the ruin of them all and their ſhips, becauſe he had no other fit to ſerve them. Roldan readily granted it, that he might have no cauſe to complain, or ſay, he was loſt through his means; yet making him promiſe and give ſecurity that he would depart the iſland by a time appointed, as he was obliged to do, by the good guard Roldan kept aſhore. But as it is a hard matter to root out cockle, ſo that it may not ſprout up again; ſo it is no leſs difficult for people that have got a habit of doing ill to forbear relapſing into their crimes, as happened to ſome of the rebels a few days after Ojeda was gone. For one D. Ferdinand de Guevara, being in diſgrace with the admiral, as a ſeditious perſon, and having taken part with Ojeda, in hatred to Roldan, becauſe he would not permit him to take to wife the daughter of Canua, the principal queen of Xaragua, began to gather many conſpirators to ſecure Roldan, and ſucceed him in the ill things he had done. Particularly he gained to his party one Adrian de Moxica, a chief man among the late rebels, and other wicked men, who, about the middle of July 1500, had contrived to ſecure or murder Roldan. He having intelligence of the deſign, ſtood upon his guard, and ordered his buſineſs ſo well, that he ſeized the aforeſaid D. Ferdinand, Adrian, and the chief men of their party; and ſending the admiral an account of what had happened, aſked what his pleaſure was he ſhould do with them? The anſwer was, That ſince they had endeavoured, without any provocation, to diſturb the country, (and if they were not puniſhed, every thing muſt run to ruin,) he ſhould puniſh them according to their demerits, and as the law directed. The judge did it accordingly, and proceeding legally againſt them, hanged Adrian as chief author of the conſpiracy, baniſhed others, and kept D. Ferdinand in priſon, till on the 13th of June he delivered him, with other priſoners, to Gonſalo Blanco, to carry them to la Vega, that is, the Plain, where the admiral then was. This example quieted the country, and the Indians again ſubmitted themſelves to the Chriſtians. Such rich gold mines were diſcovered, that every man left the King's pay, and went away to live upon his own account, applying himſelf to dig gold at his own expence, allowing the King the third part of all they found. This proſpered ſo well, that a man has gathered five marks (a mark is eight ounces) of gold in a day, and a grain of pure gold has been taken up worth above 196 ducats; and the Indians were ſubmiſſive, dreading the admiral, and ſo deſirous to pleaſe him, that they readily became Chriſtians only to oblige him. When any of the chief of them was to appear before him, he endeavoured to be clad: and therefore to ſettle all things the better, the admiral reſolved to take a progreſs through the iſland; and accordingly he and his brother and lieutenant ſet out on Wedneſday the 20th of February 1499, and came to Iſabella on the 19th of March. From Iſabella they ſet out the 5th of April for The Conception, and came thither the Tueſday following. The lieutenant went thence for Xaragua, upon Friday the 7th of June. On Chriſtmas day following, which was in the year 1499, being forſaken by all the world, the Indians and rebel Chriſtians fell upon me, and I was reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that to avoid death, leaving all behind me, I put to ſea in a little caraval. But our Lord preſently relieved me, ſaying, Thou man of little faith, fear not, I am with you; and ſo he diſperſed my enemies, and ſhewed how he could fulfil my promiſes: unhappy ſinner that I am, who placed all my hopes on the world. From The Conception the admiral deſigned to go to St. Domingo, on the

3d of

3d of February, in order to make ready to return into Spain to give Their Catholic Majeſties an account of all things.

CHAP. LXXXV. — *How their Catholic Majeſties, upon falſe Informations, and malicious Complaints of ſome Perſons, ſent a Judge to take cognizance of Affairs.*

WHILST theſe diſorders happened, as has been ſaid, many of the rebels by letters ſent from Hiſpaniola, and others that were returned into Spain, did not ceaſe to give in falſe informations to the King and his council, againſt the admiral and his brothers, ſaying, they were cruel and unfit for that government, as well becauſe they were ſtrangers and aliens, as becauſe they had not formerly been in a condition to learn by experience how to govern people of condition; affirming, that if Their Highneſſes did not apply ſome remedy, thoſe countries would be utterly deſtroyed; and in caſe they were not quite ruined by their ill government, the admiral would revolt, and join in league with ſome prince to ſupport him, he pretending that all was his own, as having been diſcovered by his induſtry and labour; and that the better to compaſs his deſign, he concealed the wealth of the country, and would not have the Indians ſerve the Chriſtians, nor be converted to the faith, becauſe by making much of them he hoped they would be of his ſide, to do what he pleaſed againſt Their Highneſſes. They proceeding in theſe and ſuch like ſlanders, importuned Their Catholic Majeſties, ever talking ill of the admiral, and complaining there were ſeveral years pay due to the men, gave occaſion to all that were at court to rail. So that when I was at Granada, at the time the moſt ſerene Prince Michael happened to die, above fifty of them, like ſhameleſs wretches, brought a load of grapes, and ſat down in the court of Alhambra, (a caſtle and palace) crying out, that Their Highneſſes and the admiral made them live ſo miſerably by not paying them, with many other ſcandalous expreſſions. And their impudence was ſo great, that if The Catholic King went abroad, they all got about him, crying, pay, pay. And if it happened that my brother or I, who were pages to Her Majeſty, paſſed by where they were, they cried out in a hideous manner, making the ſign of the croſs, and ſaying, there are the admiral of the Moſqueto's ſons, he that has found out falſe and deceitful countries, to be the ruin and burial place of the Spaniſh gentry; adding many more ſuch inſolencies, which made us cautious of appearing before them. Their complaints running ſo high, and their conſtant importunity with the King's favourites, it was reſolved to ſend a judge to Hiſpaniola, to inquire into all theſe affairs, ordering him, in caſe he found the admiral guilty of what was alledged, to ſend him to Spain, and ſtay there himſelf as governor. The perſon Their Majeſties made choice of for this purpoſe, was one Francis de Bovadilla, a poor knight of the order of Calatrava, who on the 21ſt of May 1499 had full and ample commiſſion given him at Madrid, and blank letters, ſubſcribed by Their Majeſties, to ſuch perſons as he ſhould think fit in Hiſpaniola, commanding them to be aiding and aſſiſting to him. Thus furniſhed, he arrived at St. Domingo at the latter end of Auguſt 1500, at ſuch time as the admiral was at The Conception, ſettling the affairs of that province, where his brother had been aſſaulted by the rebels, and where there were more Indians, and thoſe more underſtanding people than in the reſt of the iſland. So that Bovadilla at his arrival finding nobody to keep him in awe, the firſt thing he did was to take up his quarters in the admiral's palace, and ſeize and make uſe of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by inheritance; and gathering together all he could find that had been in rebellion, and many others that hated the admiral and his brothers, he preſently declared himſelf governor. And to gain the affections

affections of the people, he cauſed a general freedom to be proclaimed for twenty years to come; requiring the admiral to repair to him without any delay, becauſe it was convenient for His Majeſty's ſervice he ſhould do ſo. And to back his ſummons, on the 7th of September, ſent him the King's letter by F. John de la Sera, which was to this effect:

*To D. Chriſtopher Colon, our Admiral of the Ocean.*

WE have ordered the commendary Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with ſome things from us: therefore we deſire you to give him entire credit, and to obey him.

" Given at Madrid the 21ſt of May 1499.

" I the King, I the Queen.

" By command of Their Highneſſes, MICH. PEREZ DE ALMAZAN."

CHAP. LXXXVI. — *How the Admiral was apprehended and ſent to Spain in Irons, together with his Brothers.*

THE admiral having ſeen Their Majeſties' letter, came away preſently to St. Domingo, where the aforeſaid judge was, who being eager to remain governor there, at the beginning of October 1500, without any delay, or legal information, ſent him priſoner aboard a ſhip, together with his brother James, putting them in irons, and a good guard over them, and ordered upon ſevere penalties, that none ſhould dare to ſpeak for them. After this, (by Abington law) he began to draw up a proceſs againſt them, admitting the rebels his enemies as witneſſes, and publickly favouring all that came to ſpeak ill of them, who in their depoſitions gave in ſuch villainies and incoherencies, that he muſt have been blind that had not plainly perceived they were falſe and malicious. For which reaſon, Their Catholic Majeſties would not admit of them, and cleared the admiral, repenting that they had ſent ſuch a man in that employment, and not without good cauſe; for this Bovadilla ruined the iſland, and ſquandered the King's revenues, that all men might be his friends, ſaying Their Majeſties would have nothing but the honour of the dominion, and that the profit ſhould be for their ſubjects. Yet he neglected not his own ſhare, but ſiding with the richeſt and moſt powerful men, gave them Indians to ſerve them, upon condition they ſhould ſhare with him all they got by their means, and ſold by auction the poſſeſſions and rights the admiral had acquired for Their Majeſties, ſaying, they were no labourers, nor did they deſire to make a profit of thoſe lands, but only kept them for the benefit of their ſubjects. He thus ſelling all things under this colour, endeavoured on the other ſide that they ſhould be bought by ſome of his own companions, for one third of the value. Beſides all this, he made no other uſe of his judicial power but to enrich himſelf and gain the affections of the people, being ſtill afraid leſt the lieutenant, who was not yet come from Xaragua, ſhould put a ſtop to his proceedings, and endeavour to ſet the admiral at liberty by force of arms; in which particular the brothers behaved themſelves very prudently; for the admiral ſent them word immediately, that they ſhould come peaceably to him, the King's ſervice ſo requiring, that the iſland might not be put into an uproar; for when they were in Spain, they ſhould more eaſily obtain the puniſhment of ſuch a ſenſeleſs perſon, and ſatisfaction for the wrong done them: Yet this did not divert Bovadilla from putting him and his brothers into irons, allowing the baſer ſort to rail at them publickly, blowing horns about

about the port where they were ſhipped, beſides many ſcandalous libels ſet up at corners of ſtreets againſt them; ſo that though he was informed that one James Ortir, governor of the hoſpital, had writ a libel, and read it publickly in the market-place, he was ſo far from puniſhing of him, that he ſeemed to be very well pleaſed, which made every one endeavour to ſhew himſelf in this ſort. And perhaps for fear the admiral ſhould ſwim back, he took care when they were to ſail, to deſire Andrew Martin, the maſter of the ſhip, to look to him, and to deliver him in irons as he was, to the biſhop D. John de Fonſeca, by whoſe advice and direction it was concluded he did all theſe things; though when they were at ſea, the maſter being ſenſible of Bovadilla's unworthineſs, would have knocked off the admiral's irons, which he would never permit, ſaying, that ſince Their Catholic Majeſties, by their letter directed him to perform whatſoever Bovadilla did in their name command him to do, in virtue of which authority and commiſſion he had put him into irons, he would have none but Their Highneſſes themſelves to do their pleaſure herein; and he was reſolved to keep thoſe fetters as relicks, and a memorial of the reward of his many ſervices; as accordingly he did; for I always ſaw thoſe irons in his room, which he ordered to be buried with his body; notwithſtanding that, he having on the 20th of November 1500, writ to Their Majeſties, acquainting them with his arrival at Cadiz; they, underſtanding the condition he came in, immediately gave orders that he ſhould be releaſed, and ſent him very gracious letters, ſaying, they were very ſorry for his ſufferings, and the unmannerly behaviour of Bovadilla towards him, ordering him to go to court, where care ſhould be taken about his affairs, and he ſhould be ſhortly diſpatched with full reſtitution of his honour. Nevertheleſs, I cannot but blame Their Catholic Majeſties, who choſe for that employment a baſe and ignorant man; for had he been a man who knew the duty of his office, the admiral himſelf would have been glad of his coming; ſince he by letter had deſired, that one might be ſent to take true information of the perverſeneſs of thoſe people, and of the crimes they committed, that they might be puniſhed by another hand, he being unwilling to uſe that ſeverity which an impartial perſon would have done, becauſe the original of thoſe tumults had been againſt his brother. And though it may be urged, that though Their Majeſties had ſuch bad accounts of the admiral, yet they ought not to ſend Bovadilla with ſo many letters, and ſuch power, without limiting the commiſſion they gave him. It may be anſwered in their behalf, that it was no wonder they did ſo, becauſe the complaints againſt the admiral were very many, as has been ſaid above.

## CHAP. LXXXVII. — *How the Admiral went to Court to give Their Catholic Majeſties an Account of himſelf.*

AS ſoon as Their Majeſties heard of the admiral's coming, and being in irons, they ſent orders on the 12th of December for him to be ſet at liberty, and writ to him to repair to Granada, where he was received by Their Highneſſes with a favourable aſpect and kind words, telling him, his impriſonment had not been by their deſire or command, and therefore they were much offended at it, and they would take care thoſe that were in fault ſhould be puniſhed, and full ſatisfaction given him. Having ſpoke theſe and ſuch like gracious words, they ordered his buſineſs ſhould be immediately gone upon, the reſult whereof was, that a governor ſhould be ſent to Hiſpaniola, who was to right the admiral and his brothers, and Bovadilla ſhould be obliged to reſtore all he had taken from them; and that the admiral ſhould be allowed all that belonged to him, according to the articles Their Highneſſes had granted

granted him; and that the rebels ſhould be proceeded againſt and puniſhed according to their offences. Nicholas de Obando, commendary of laws, was ſent with this power; he was a wiſe and judicious man, but, as afterwards appeared, partial, craftily concealing his paſſions, giving credit to his own ſurmiſes, and malicious perſons; and therefore acting cruelly and revengefully, as appears by the death of the eighty kings we have ſpoken of before. But to return to the admiral; as Their Majeſties were pleaſed to ſend Obando to Hiſpaniola, ſo they thought it proper to ſend the admiral upon ſome voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed till the ſaid Obando could pacify and reduce the iſland Hiſpaniola, becauſe they did not like to keep him ſo long out of his right, without any juſt occaſion; the information ſent by Bovadilla plainly appearing to be full of malice, and not containing any thing whereby he might forfeit his right. But there being ſome delay in the execution of this deſign, it being now the month of October 1500, and ill men endeavoured to prevail that a new information might be expected, the admiral reſolved to ſpeak to Their Majeſties, and beg of them that they would defend him againſt all dangers, which he afterwards repeated by letter. This they promiſed him by letter, when the admiral was ready to ſet out upon his voyage: the words of it are to this effect:

"And be aſſured that your impriſonment was very diſpleaſing to us, which you were ſenſible of, and all men plainly ſaw, becauſe as ſoon as we heard of it, we applied the proper remedies. And you know with how much honour and reſpect we have always ordered you to be treated, which we now direct ſhould be done, and that you receive all worthy and noble uſage, promiſing that the privileges and prerogatives by us granted you ſhall be preſerved in ample manner, according to the tenor of our letters patents, which you and your children ſhall enjoy without any contradiction, as is due in reaſon: And if it be requiſite to ratify them anew, we will do it, and will order that your ſon be put into poſſeſſion of all, for we deſire to honour and favour you in greater matters than theſe. And be ſatisfied we will take the due care of your ſons and brothers, which ſhall be done when you are departed; for the employment ſhall be given to your ſon, as has been ſaid. We therefore pray you not to delay your departure.

"Given at Valentia de la Torre, on the 14th of March 1502."

This Their Majeſties writ, becauſe the admiral had reſolved not to trouble himſelf any more with the affairs of the Indies, but to eaſe himſelf upon my brother, wherein he was in the right; for he ſaid, that if the ſervices he had already done were not ſufficient to deſerve to have thoſe villainous people puniſhed, all he could do for the future would never obtain it, ſince he had already performed the main thing he undertook before he diſcovered the Indies, which was to ſhew that there was a continent and iſlands weſtward; that the way was eaſy and navigable, the advantage viſible, and the people gentle and unarmed. All which ſince he had verified himſelf in perſon, there now remained nothing but for Their Highneſſes to purſue what was begun, ſending people to diſcover the ſecrets of thoſe countries; for now the gate was opened, any one might follow the coaſt, as ſome did already, who improperly call themſelves diſcoverers; not conſidering they have not diſcovered any new country, but that for the future they purſue the firſt diſcovery, the admiral having ſhewn them the iſlands and province of Paria, which was the firſt land of the continent diſcovered. Yet the admiral having always had a great inclination to ſerve Their Catholic Majeſties, and particularly the Queen, he was content to return to his ſhips, and undertake the voyage we ſhall ſpeak of; for he was convinced there would daily be found out great wealth, as he writ to Their Highneſſes the year 1499, ſpeaking of the diſ-

covery in this manner: It is not to be diſcontinued; for, to ſay the truth, becauſe one time or other ſomething material will be found. As has ſince appeared by New Spain and Peru, though at that time, as generally happens to moſt men, no body gave credit to what he ſaid, and yet he ſaid nothing but what proved true, as Their Catholic Majeſties teſtify, in a letter of theirs writ at Barcelona on the 5th of September 1498.

## CHAP. LXXXVIII. — *How the Admiral went from Granada to Seville, to fit out a Fleet for another Diſcovery.*

THE admiral having been well diſpatched by Their Catholic Majeſties, ſet out from Granada for Seville in the year 1501, and being there, ſo earneſtly ſolicited the fitting out his ſquadron, that in a ſmall time he had rigged and provided four ſhips, the biggeſt of ſeventy, the leaſt of fifty tons burthen, and one hundred and forty men and boys, of which number I was one.

We ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1502, and ſailed to St. Catherine's, whence we parted on Wedneſday the 11th of the ſame month, and went to Arzilla to relieve the Portugueſe, who were reported to be in great diſtreſs; but when we came thither, the Moors had raiſed the ſiege. The admiral therefore ſent his brother D. Bartholomew Colon, and me, with the captains of the ſhips, aſhore, to viſit the governor of Arzilla, who had been wounded by the Moors in an aſſault. He returned the admiral thanks for the viſit and his offers, and to this purpoſe ſent ſome gentlemen to him, among whom ſome were relations to Donna Philippa Moniz, the admiral's wife in Portugal. The ſame day we ſet ſail, and arriving at Gran Canaria, on the 20th of May, caſt anchor among the little iſlands; and on the 24th went over to Maſpalomas in the ſame iſland, there to take in wood and water for our voyage. The next night we ſet out for the Indies, and it pleaſed God the wind was ſo fair, that without handling the ſails, on Wedneſday the 15th of June we arrived at the iſland Matinino with a rough ſea and wind. There, according to the cuſtom of thoſe that ſail from Spain to the Indies, the admiral took in freſh wood and water, and made the men waſh their linen, ſtaying till Saturday, when we ſtood to the weſtward, and came to Dominica, ten leagues from the other. So running along among the Caribbee iſlands, we came to Santa Cruz, and on the 24th of the ſame month ran along the ſouth ſide of the iſland of St. John. Thence we took the way for St. Domingo, the admiral having a mind to exchange one of his ſhips for another, becauſe it was a bad ſailer, and beſides, could carry no ſail, but the ſide would lie almoſt under water, which was a hindrance to his voyage, becauſe his deſign was to have gone directly upon the coaſt of Paria, and keep along that ſhore, till he came upon the ſtreight, which he certainly concluded was about Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But ſeeing the fault of the ſhip, he was forced to repair to St. Domingo to change it for a better.

And to the end the commendary Lores ſent by Their Majeſties to call Bovadilla to an account for his male-adminiſtration, might not be ſurprized at our unexpected arrival, upon Wedneſday the 29th of June, being near the port, the admiral ſent Peter de Terreros, captain of one of the ſhips to him, to ſignify what occaſion he had to change that ſhip; for which reaſon, as alſo becauſe he apprehended a great ſtorm was coming, he deſired to ſecure himſelf in that port, adviſing him not to let the fleet ſail out of the port for eight days to come; for if he did it would be in great danger. But the aforeſaid governor would not permit the admiral to come into the harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the fleet that was bound for Spain, which

conſiſted of eighteen ſail, and was to carry Bovadilla, who had impriſoned the admiral and his brothers, Francis Roldan, and all the reſt who had been in rebellion againſt them and done them ſo much harm, all whom it pleaſed God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the admiral's good advice. And I am ſatisfied it was the hand of God; for had they arrived in Spain, they had never been puniſhed as their crimes deſerved; but rather been favoured and preferred, as being the biſhop's friends. This was prevented by their ſetting out of that port for Spain; for no ſooner were they come to the eaſt point of the iſland Hiſpaniola, but there aroſe ſo terrible a ſtorm, that the admiral of the fleet ſunk, in which was Bovadilla, with moſt of the rebels, and made ſuch havock among the reſt, that of eighteen ſhips, only three or four were ſaved. This happened upon Thurſday the laſt of June, when the admiral having foreſeen the ſtorm, and being refuſed admittance into the port, for his ſecurity, drew up as cloſe to the land as he could, thus ſheltering himſelf, not without much diſſatisfaction among his men; who, for being with him, were denied that reception which had been allowed to ſtrangers, much more to them that were of the ſame nation; for they feared they might be ſo ſerved, if any misfortune ſhould befal them for the future. And though the admiral was concerned on the ſame account, yet it more vexed him to behold the baſeneſs and ingratitude uſed towards him in that country he had given to the honour and benefit of Spain, being refuſed to ſhelter his life in it. Yet his prudence and judgment ſecured his ſhips, till the next day the tempeſt increaſing, and the night coming on very dark, three ſhips broke from him every one its own way; the men aboard each of them, though all of them in great danger, concluded the others were loſt; but they that ſuffered moſt were thoſe aboard the ſhip called Santo, who to ſave their boat, which had been aſhore with the captain Terreros, dragged it a-ſtern, where it over-ſet, and were at laſt forced to let it go to ſave themſelves. But the caraval Bermuda was in much more danger, which running out to ſea, was almoſt covered with it, by which it appeared the admiral had reaſon to endeavour to change it; and all men concluded that, under God, the admiral's brother was the ſaving of her, by his wiſdom and reſolution; for as has been ſaid above, there was not at that time a more expert ſailor than he. So that after they had all ſuffered very much, except the admiral, it pleaſed God they met again upon Sunday following in the port of Azua, on the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, where every one giving an account of his misfortunes, it appeared that Bartholomew Colon had weathered ſo great a ſtorm, by flying from land like an able ſailor; and that the admiral was out of danger, by lying cloſe to the ſhore like a cunning aſtrologer, who knew whence the danger muſt come. Well might his enemies blame him therefore, ſaying, he had raiſed that ſtorm by art magic, to be revenged on Bovadilla and the reſt of his enemies that were with him, ſeeing that none of his four ſhips periſhed; and that of eighteen which ſet out with Bovadilla, only one called La Aguja, or the The Needle, the worſt of them all, held on its courſe for Spain, where it arrived ſafe, having on board four thouſand peſos in gold, worth eight ſhillings a peſo, belonging to the admiral, the other three that eſcaped, returning to St. Domingo ſhattered, and in a diſtreſſed condition.

## CHAP. LXXXIX. — *How the Admiral departed from Hiſpaniola, and diſcovered the Iſlands of Guanaia.*

THE admiral in the port of Azua gave his men a breathing time after the ſtorm; and it being one of the diverſions uſed at ſea, to fiſh when there is nothing elſe to do,

do, I will mention two ſorts of fiſh among the reſt, which I remember were taken there; the one of them was pleaſant, the other wonderful. The firſt was a fiſh called Saavina, as big as half an ordinary bell, which lying aſleep above water, was ſtruck with a harping iron from the boat of the ſhip Biſcaina, and held ſo faſt, that it could not break looſe; but being tied with a long rope to the boat, drew it after it as ſwift as an arrow; ſo that thoſe aboard the ſhip ſeeing the boat ſcud about, and not knowing the occaſion, were aſtoniſhed it ſhould do ſo without the help of the oars, till at laſt the fiſh ſunk, and being drawn to the ſhip's ſide, was there hauled up with the tackle. The other fiſh was taken after another manner, the Indians call it Manati, and there are none of the ſort in Europe: it is as big as a calf, nothing differing from it in the colour and taſte of the fleſh, but that perhaps it is better and fatter; wherefore thoſe that affirm there are all ſorts of creatures in the ſea, will have it, that theſe fiſhes are real calves, ſince within they have nothing like a fiſh, and feed only on the graſs they find along the banks. To return to our hiſtory; the admiral having a little refreſhed his men, and repaired his ſhips, left port Azua, and went to that of Braſil, which the Indians call Giacchemo, to ſhun another ſtorm that was coming. Hence he ſailed again on the 14th of July, and was ſo becalmed, that inſtead of holding on his courſe the current carried him away to certain iſlands near Jamaica, which are very ſmall and ſandy, and he called them Los Poros, or The Wells, becauſe not finding water in them, they dug many pits in the ſand, and took up that water for their uſe. Then ſailing ſouthward for the continent, we came to certain iſlands, where we went aſhore upon the biggeſt only, called Guanaia, whence thoſe that make ſea charts, took occaſion to call all thoſe iſlands of Guanaia, which are almoſt twelve leagues from the continent, near the province now called Honduras, though then the admiral called it Cape Caſinas. But theſe men making ſuch charts without having ſeen the world, they commit vaſt miſtakes; which ſince it now comes in my way, I will here ſet down, though it interrupts the courſe of our hiſtory. Theſe ſame iſlands and continent are by them twice ſet down in their charts, as if they were different countries; and whereas Cape Gracias a Dios, and that they call Cape ————, are but one and the ſame, they make two of it. The occaſion of this miſtake was, that after the admiral had diſcovered theſe countries, one John Diaz de Solis, (from whom the river De la Plata, that is, of Silver or Plate, was called Rio de Solis, becauſe he was there killed by the Indians,) and one Vincent Yanez, who commanded a ſhip the firſt voyage, when the admiral diſcovered the Indies, ſet out together to diſcover in the year 1508, deſigning to follow along that coaſt the admiral had diſcovered in his voyage from Veragua weſtward; and he following almoſt the ſame track, they put into the coaſt of Cariai, and paſſed by Cape Gracias a Dios, as far as Cape Caſinas, which they called Honduras, and the aforeſaid iſlands they called Guanaias, giving the name of the biggeſt to them all. Thence they proceeded on further, without owning the admiral had been in any of thoſe parts, that the diſcovery might be attributed to them, and to have it believed they had found large countries; notwithſtanding that, Peter de Ledeſma, one of their pilots, who had been before with the admiral in his voyage to Veragua, told them, he knew that country, and that he had been there with the admiral diſcovering it, from whom I afterwards had this. But the nature of the charts plainly demonſtrates it; for the ſame thing is twice ſet down, and the iſland is in the ſame ſhape, and at the ſame diſtance, they having at their return brought a true draft of that country, only ſaying, it lay beyond that which the admiral had diſcovered. So that the ſame country is twice deſcribed in one chart; which, if it pleaſe God, time will make appear, when that coaſt is better known; for they will find but

one

one country of that ſort, as has been ſaid. But to return to our diſcovery, being come to the iſland of Guanaia, the admiral ordered his brother Bartholomew Colon to go aſhore with two boats, where they found people like thoſe of the other iſlands, but not of ſuch high foreheads. They alſo ſaw abundance of pine-trees and pieces of lapis calaminaris, uſed to mix with copper, which ſome ſeamen taking for gold, kept hid a long time.

The admiral's brother being aſhore in that iſland, very deſirous to know ſomething of it, fortune ſo ordered it, that a canoe as long as a galley, and eight feet wide, all of one tree, and like the others in ſhape, put in there, being loaded with commodities brought from the weſtward, and bound towards New Spain. In the midſt of it was a covering like an awning made of palm-tree leaves, not unlike thoſe of the Venetian gondolas, which kept all under it ſo cloſe, that neither rain nor ſea water could wet the goods. Under this awning were the children, the women, and all the goods, and though there were twenty-five men aboard this canoe, they had not the courage to defend themſelves againſt the boats that purſued them. The canoe being thus taken without any oppoſition, was carried aboard, where the admiral bleſſed God, for that it had pleaſed him at once to give him ſamples of the commodities of that country, without expoſing his men to any danger. He therefore ordered ſuch things to be taken, as he judged moſt ſightly and valuable; ſuch as ſome quilts, and ſhirts of cotton without ſleeves, curiouſly wrought and dyed of ſeveral colours, and ſome ſmall clouts to cover their privities, of the ſame ſort; and large ſheets in which the Indian women aboard the canoe wrapped themſelves, as the Mooriſh women at Granada uſed to do; and long wooden ſwords with a channel on each ſide where the edge ſhould be, in which there were ſharp edges of flint fixed with thread, and a bituminous ſort of matter, which cut naked men as if they were of ſteel, and hatchets to cut wood like thoſe of ſtone the other Indians uſe, but that theſe were made of good copper; alſo bells of the ſame metal, plates and crucibles to melt the metal. For their proviſion they had ſuch roots and grain as they in Hiſpaniola eat, and a ſort of liquor made of maize, like the Engliſh beer; and abundance of cacao-nuts, which in New Spain paſs for money, which they ſeemed to value very much; for when they were brought aboard among their other goods, I obſerved that when any of theſe nuts fell, they all ſtooped to take it up, as if it had been a thing of great conſequence; yet at that time they ſeemed to be in a manner beſides themſelves, being brought priſoners out of their canoe aboard the ſhip, among ſuch ſtrange and fierce people, as we are to them; but ſo prevalent is avarice in man, that we ought not to wonder that it ſhould prevail upon the Indians above the apprehenſion of the danger they were in. I muſt add, that we ought to admire their modeſty; for it falling out, that in getting them aboard, ſome were taken by the clouts they had before their privities, they would immediately clap their hands to cover them; and the women would hide their faces, and wrap themſelves up, as we ſaid the Mooriſh women do at Granada. This moved the admiral to uſe them well, to reſtore their canoe, and give them ſome things in exchange for thoſe that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old man, whoſe name was Giumbe, that ſeemed to be the wiſeſt and chief of them, to learn ſomething of him concerning the country, and that he might draw others to converſe with the Chriſtians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we ſailed where his language was underſtood. Therefore, as a reward for this his ſervice, when we came where he was not underſtood, the admiral gave him ſome things, and ſent him home very well pleaſed, which was before he came to Cape Gracias a Dios, on the coaſt of Orecchia, whereof mention has been made already.

CHAP.

CHAP. XC. — *How the Admiral would not go to New Spain, but ſail to the Eaſtward to find out the Streight in the Continent.*

"NOTWITHSTANDING the admiral had heard ſo much from thoſe in the canoe concerning the great wealth, politeneſs, and ingenuity of the people weſtward towards New Spain; yet thinking that thoſe countries lying to the leeward, he could ſail thither when he thought fit from Cuba, he would not go that way at this time, but held on his deſign of diſcovering the ſtreight in the continent, to clear a way into the South Sea, which was what he aimed at in order to come at the countries that produce ſpice, and therefore reſolved to ſail eaſtward towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he imagined the ſaid ſtreight to be, as in effect it was; yet was he deceived in the matter; for he did not conceit it to be an iſthmus, or narrow neck of land, but a ſmall gulph running from ſea to ſea. Which miſtake might proceed from the likeneſs of the names; for when they ſaid the ſtreight was at Veragua and Nombre de Dios, it might be underſtood either of land or water; and he took it in the moſt uſual ſenſe, and for that he moſt earneſtly deſired. And yet though that ſtreight is land, yet it was and is the way to the dominion of both ſeas, and by which ſuch immenſe riches have been diſcovered and conveyed: for it was God's will, a matter of ſuch vaſt concern ſhould not be otherwiſe found out, that canoe having given the firſt information concerning New Spain.

There being nothing therefore in thoſe iſlands of Guanaia worth taking notice of, he, without further delay, ſailed in order to ſeek out the ſtreight towards the continent, to a point he called Caſinas, becauſe there were abundance of trees that bear a ſort of fruit that is rough, as a ſpungy bone, and is good to eat, eſpecially boiled; which fruit the Indians of Hiſpaniola call Caſinas. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of all about the country, the admiral would not loſe time to go into a great bay the land makes there, but held on his courſe eaſtwards along that coaſt, which runs along the ſame way to cape Gracias a Dios, and is very low and open. The people neareſt to Cape Caſinas wear thoſe painted ſhirts or jerkins before mentioned, and clouts before their privities, which were like coats of mail, made of cotton ſtrong enough to defend them againſt their weapons, and even to bear off the ſtroke of ſome of ours.

But the people higher eaſtward, towards Cape Gracias a Dios, are almoſt black, of a fierce aſpect, go ſtark naked, are very ſavage, and, as the Indian that was taken ſaid, eat man's fleſh, and raw fiſh juſt as it is taken. They have their ears bored with ſuch large holes, that they may put a hen's egg into them, which made the admiral call that coaſt de las Orejas, or of the Ears. There on Sunday, the 14th of Auguſt 1502, Bartholomew Colon went aſhore in the morning with the colours, the captains, and many of the men, to hear maſs; and on Wedneſday following, when the boats went aſhore to take poſſeſſion of the country for Their Catholic Majeſties, above a hundred men ran down to the ſhore, loaded with proviſions; who, as ſoon as the boats came aſhore, came before the lieutenant, and on a ſudden retired back without ſpeaking a word. He ordered they ſhould give them horſe-bells, beads, and other things; and by means of the aforeſaid interpreter, inquired concerning the country; though he having been but a ſhort time with us, did not underſtand the Chriſtians, by reaſon of the diſtance of his country from Hiſpaniola, where ſeveral perſons aboard the ſhips had learnt the Indian language. Nor did he underſtand thoſe Indians; but they being pleaſed with what had been given them, came the next day to the ſame place, above two hundred of them loaded with ſeveral ſorts of proviſions, as

hens

hens of that country, which are better than ours, geeſe, roaſted fiſh, red and white beans, like kidney beans, and other things like thoſe they have in Hiſpaniola. The country was green and beautiful, though low, producing abundance of pines, oaks, palm trees of ſeven ſorts, and mirobalans of thoſe of Hiſpaniola they call hobi; and almoſt all ſorts of proviſions that iſland affords were here to be found. Abundance of leopards, deer, and others, as alſo all ſorts of fiſh there are in the iſlands and in Spain. The people of this country are much like thoſe of the iſlands, but that their foreheads are not ſo high, nor do they ſeem to have any religion. There are ſeveral languages among them, and for the moſt part they go naked, but cover their privities; ſome wear ſhort jumps down to their navel without ſleeves; their arms and bodies have figures wrought on them with fire, which make them look oddly; and ſome have lions, others deer, and other caſtles with towers, and other things painted on their bodies. Inſtead of caps, the better ſort of them wear red and white cloths of cotton; and ſome have locks of hair hanging on their foreheads. But when they are to be fine againſt a feſtival day, they colour their faces, ſome black, and ſome red; others draw ſtreaks of ſeveral colours; others paint their noſe, and others black their eyes; and thus they adorn themſelves to appear beautiful, whereas in truth they look like devils.

## CHAP. XCI. — *How the Admiral left the Coaſt he called de las Orejas, and by Cape Gracias a Dios came to Cariari, and what he did and ſaw there.*

THE admiral ſailed along the ſaid coaſt de las Orejas eaſtward to Cape Gracias a Dios, which was ſo called, becauſe there being but ſixty leagues to it from Cape Caſinas, we laboured ſeventy days by reaſon of the currents and contrary winds upon the tack to gain it, ſtanding out to ſea, and then making the ſhore, ſometimes gaining and ſometimes loſing ground, as the wind was ſcant or large when we came about. And had not the coaſt afforded ſuch good anchoring, we had been much longer upon it; but being clear, and having two fathom water half a league from the ſhore, and two more at every league's diſtance, we had always the conveniency of anchoring at night when there was but little wind; ſo that the courſe was navigable by reaſon of the good anchoring, but with difficulty.

When on the 14th of September we came up to the cape, perceiving the land turned off to the ſouth, and that we could conveniently continue our voyage with thoſe Levant winds that reigned there, and had been ſo contrary to us, we all in general gave thanks to God, for which reaſon the admiral called this Cape Gracias a Dios. A little beyond it, we paſſed by ſome dangerous ſands that ran out to ſea, as far as the eye could reach.

It being requiſite to take in wood and water, on the 16th of September the admiral ſent the boats to a river that ſeemed to be deep, and to have a good entrance, but the coming out proved not ſo; for the winds freſhing from ſea, and the waves running high againſt the current of the river, ſo diſtreſſed the boats, that one of them was loſt with all the men in it; wherefore the admiral called it the river de la Deſgratia, that is, of the Diſaſter.

In this river, and about it, there were canes as thick as a man's leg; and on Sunday the 25th of September, ſtill running ſouthward, we came to an anchor near a little iſland called Quiriviri, and a town on the continent, the name whereof was Cariari, where were the beſt people, country, and ſituation, we had yet ſeen; as well becauſe it was high, full of rivers, and abounding in trees, as becauſe the iſland was thick

thick wooded, and full of foreſts of palm, mirobalan, and other ſorts of trees. For this reaſon, the admiral called it Hucite. It is a ſmall league from the town the Indians call Cariari, which is near a great river, whither reſorted a great multitude of people from the adjacent parts; ſome with bows and arrows; others with ſtaves of palm tree, as black as a coal, and hard as a horn, pointed with the bones of fiſhes; others with clubs; and they came together as if they meant to defend their country. The men had their hair braided and wound about their heads; the women ſhort like ours. But perceiving we were peaceable people, they were very deſirous to barter their commodities for ours; theirs were arms, cotton jerkins, and large pieces like ſheets, and guaninis, which is pale gold they wear about their necks, as we do relics. Theſe things they ſwam with to the boats, for the Chriſtians went not aſhore that day nor the next; nor would the admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that we might not be taken for men that value their goods, but gave them ſome of ours. The leſs they ſaw us value the exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of ſigns from land. At laſt, perceiving nobody went aſhore, they took all the things that had been given them, without reſerving any, and tying them together, left them in the ſame place where the boats firſt went aſhore, and where our men found them on the Wedneſday following, when they landed. The Indians about this place believing that the Chriſtians did not confide in them, they ſent an ancient man of an awful preſence with a flag upon a ſtaff, and two girls, the one about eight, the other about fourteen years of age, who, putting them into the boat, made ſigns that the Chriſtians might ſafely land. Upon their requeſt, they went aſhore to take in water, the Indians taking great care not to do any thing that might fright the Chriſtians; and when they ſaw them return to their ſhips, they made ſigns to them to take along with them the young girls, with their guaninis about their necks; and at the requeſt of the old man that conducted them, they complied and carried them aboard. Wherein thoſe people ſhewed more friendly than others had done; and in the girls appeared an undauntedneſs. For though the Chriſtians were ſuch ſtrangers to them, they expreſſed no manner of concern, but always looked pleaſant and modeſt; which made the admiral treat them well, cloathed, fed, and ſet them aſhore again, where the fifty men were, and the old man that had delivered them, received them again with much ſatisfaction. The boats going aſhore again that ſame day, found the ſame people with the girls, who reſtored all the Chriſtians had given them. The next day, the admiral's brother going aſhore to learn ſomething of thoſe people, two of the chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms between them, made him ſit down upon the graſs; and he, aſking ſome queſtions of them, ordered the ſecretary to write down what they anſwered; but they ſeeing the pen, ink, and paper, were in ſuch a conſternation, that moſt of them ran away, which, as was believed, they did for fear of being bewitched; for to us they ſeemed to be ſorcerers, or ſuperſtitious people, and that not without reaſon; becauſe, when they came near the Chriſtians, they ſcattered ſome powder about them in the air, and burning ſome of the ſame powder, endeavoured to make the ſmoak go towards the Chriſtians; beſides, their refuſing to keep any thing that belonged unto us, ſhewed a jealouſy; for, as they ſay, "A knave thinks every man like himſelf." Having ſtaid here longer than was convenient, conſidering the haſte we were in, after repairing the ſhips, and providing all we wanted, upon Sunday the 2d of October the admiral ordered his brother to go aſhore with ſome men to view that Indian town, and learn ſomething of their manners, and the nature of the country. The moſt remarkable things they ſaw were, in a great wooden palace covered with canes, ſeveral tombs, in one of which there was a dead body dried

up and embalmed; in another, two bodies, wrapped up in cotton ſheets without any ill ſcent; and over each tomb was a board, with the figures of beaſts carved on it; and on ſome of them, the effigies of the perſon buried there, adorned with guaninis, beads, and other things they moſt value. Theſe being the moſt civilized Indians in thoſe parts, the admiral ordered one to be taken, to learn of him the ſecrets of the country; and of ſeven that were taken, two of the chiefeſt were picked out, and the reſt ſent away with ſome gifts, and civil entertainment, that the country might not be left in an uproar, telling them, they were to ſerve as guides upon that coaſt, and then be ſet at liberty. But they believing they were taken out of covetouſneſs, that they might ranſom themſelves with their goods and things of value, the next day abundance of them came down to the ſhore, and ſent four aboard the admiral, as their ambaſſadors, to treat about the ranſom, offering ſome things, and freely giving two hogs of the country, which, though ſmall, are very wild. The admiral therefore, obſerving the policy of this people, was more deſirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learned ſomething of them, but would not give ear to their offers. He therefore ordered ſome trifles to be given to the meſſengers, that they might not go away diſſatisfied, and that they ſhould be paid for their hogs, one of which was hunted after this manner. Among other creatures that country produces, there is a kind of cats of a greyiſh colour, and as big as a ſmall greyhound, but have a longer tail, and ſo ſtrong, that whatſoever they clap it about is as it were tied with a rope. Theſe run about the trees like the ſquirrels, leaping from one to another; and when they leap, they do not only hold faſt with their claws, but with their tail too, by which they often hang, either to reſt them, or ſport. It happened that one Balleſter brought one of theſe cats out of a wood, having knocked him off a tree, and not daring to meddle with it when down, becauſe of its fierceneſs, he cut off one of his fore legs, and carrying it ſo wounded aboard, it frighted a good dog they had, but put one of the hogs they had brought us into a much greater fear; for as ſoon as the ſwine ſaw the cat, it run away, with ſigns of much dread, which we were ſurprized at, becauſe before this happened, the hog ran at every body, and would not let the dog reſt upon the deck. The admiral therefore ordered it to be put cloſe to the cat, which preſently wound her tail about its ſnout, and with that fore-leg it had left, faſtened on its pole to bite it, the hog for fear grunting moſt violently. By this we perceived that theſe cats hunt like the wolves or dogs in Spain.

## CHAP. XCII. — *How the Admiral went from Cariari to Caravaro and Veragua, till he came to Portovelo, all along a very fruitful Coaſt.*

UPON Wedneſday the 5th of October the admiral ſailed, and came to the bay of Caravaro, which is ſix leagues in length, and above three in breadth, where there are many ſmall iſlands, and two or three channels to get in or out at any time. Within theſe iſlands the ſhips ſail as it were in ſtreets between iſlands, the leaves of the trees ſtriking againſt the ſhrouds. As ſoon as we anchored in this bay, the boats went to one of the iſlands, where there were twenty canoes upon the ſhore, and the people by, as naked as they were born, and had only a gold plate about their neck, and ſome an eagle of gold. Theſe, without ſhewing any tokens of fear, the two Indians of Cariari interpreting, gave a gold plate for three horſe-bells; it weighed ten ducats, and they ſaid there was great plenty of that metal up the continent, not far from them.

The next day, being the 7th of October, the boats went aſhore upon the continent, where meeting ten canoes full of people, and they refuſing to chaffer away their gold

plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the admiral might learn ſomething of them with the aſſiſtance of two interpreters. The gold plate one of them wore weighed fourteen ducats, and the other's eagle twenty-two. Theſe ſaid, that a day or two's journey up the country, there was abundance of gold found in ſome places which they named. In the bay a vaſt deal of fiſh was taken, and aſhore there were abundance of thoſe creatures above mentioned at Cariari; alſo great plenty of their food, ſuch as roots, grain, and fruit. The men, who are painted all over, face and body, of ſeveral colours, as red, black, and white, go naked, only covering their privities with a narrow cotton cloth.

From this bay of Caravaro, we went to another cloſe by it, called Aburena, which in ſome meaſure is like the other.

On the 17th we put out to ſea to continue our voyage; and being come to Guaiga, a river twelve leagues from Aburena, the admiral commanded the boats to go aſhore, which as they were doing, they ſaw above a hundred Indians on the ſtrand, who aſſaulted them furiouſly, running up to the middle into the water, brandiſhing their ſpears, blowing horns, and beating a drum in warlike manner, to defend their country, throwing the ſalt water towards the Chriſtians, chewing herbs and ſpurting it towards them. Our men not ſtirring, endeavoured to appeaſe them, as they did; for at laſt they drew near to exchange the gold plates they had about their necks, ſome for two, and ſome for three horſe-bells, by which means we got ſixteen gold plates, worth a hundred and fifty ducats. The next day, being Friday the 19th of October, the boats went to land again to barter; yet before any Chriſtian went aſhore, they called to ſome Indians, who were under ſome bowers they had made that night to defend their country, fearing the Chriſtians would land to do them ſome wrong. Though they called never ſo much, yet none of them would come, nor would the Chriſtians land without knowing firſt what mind they were in; for, as afterwards appeared, they waited in order to fall on them as ſoon as they landed. But perceiving they came not out of the boats, they blew their horns, beat the drum, and making a great noiſe, ran into the water, as they had done the day before, till they came almoſt to the boats, making ſigns as if they would caſt their javelins if they did not return to their ſhips. The Chriſtians, offended at this their proceeding, that they might not be ſo bold, and deſpiſe them, wounded one with an arrow in the arm, and fired a cannon, at which they were ſo frighted, that all ran away to land. Then four Chriſtians landed, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their arms behind them, and exchanged three gold plates, ſaying, they had no more, becauſe they came not provided for to trade, but to fight.

All the admiral looked for in this journey was to get ſamples of what thoſe parts afforded; and therefore, without farther delay, he proceeded to Catiba, and caſt anchor in the mouth of a great river. The people of the country were ſeen to gather, calling one another with horns and drums; and afterwards ſent a canoe with two men in it to the ſhips, who having talked with the Indians that were taken at Cariari, preſently came aboard the admiral, without any apprehenſion of fear; and by the advice of thoſe Indians, gave the admiral two plates of gold they had about their necks, and he in return gave them ſome baubles of ours. When theſe were gone aſhore, there came another canoe with three men wearing plates hanging at their necks, who did as the firſt had done. Amity thus ſettled, our men went aſhore, where they found abundance of people, with their king, who differed in nothing from the reſt, but that he was covered with one leaf of a tree, becauſe at that time it rained hard; and to give his ſubjects a good example, he exchanged a plate, and bid them barter for theirs;

which in all were nineteen of pure gold. This was the firſt place in the Indies where they ſaw any ſign of a ſtructure, which was a great maſs of wall, or imagery, that to them ſeemed to be of lime and ſtone: the admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a memorial of that antiquity.

He went away eaſtward, and came to Cobravo, the people of which place lie near the rivers of that coaſt; and becauſe none came down to the ſtrand, and the wind blew freſh, he held on his courſe, and went on to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians ſaid the gold was gathered, and the plates made.

The next day he came to a town, called Cubiga, where the Indians of Cariari ſaid the trading country ended, which began at Carabora, and ran as far as Cubiga, for fifty leagues along the coaſt.

The admiral, without making any ſtay, went on till he put into Porto Bello, giving it that name, becauſe it is large, beautiful, well peopled, and encompaſſed by a well cultivated country. He entered this place on the 2d of November, paſſing between two ſmall iſlands, within which the ſhips may lie cloſe to the ſhore, and turn it out if they have occaſion. The country about that harbour, higher up, is not very rough, but tilled, and full of houſes, a ſtone's throw or a bow ſhot one from the other; and it looks like the fineſt landſcape a man can imagine. During ſeven days we continued there, on account of the rain and ill weather, there came continually canoes from all the country about to trade for proviſions and bottoms of fine ſpun cotton, which they gave for ſome trifles, ſuch as points and pins.

## CHAP. XCIII. — *How the Admiral came to Port Baſtimentos, or Nombre de Dios, and continued his Voyage till he put into Retrete.*

ON Wedneſday the 9th of November, we ſailed out of Porto Bello, eight leagues to the eaſtward; but the next day were forced back four leagues by ſtreſs of weather, and put in among the iſlands near the continent, where is now the town of Nombre de Dios; and becauſe all thoſe ſmall iſlands were full of grain, he called it Puerto de Baſtimentos, that is, the Port of Proviſions.

There a boat well manned, purſuing a canoe, the Indians imagining our men would do them ſome harm, and perceiving the boat was within leſs than a ſtone's throw of them, they all threw themſelves into the water to ſwim away, as in effect they did; for though the boat rowed hard, it could not, in half a league the purſuit laſted, overtake any of them; or if it did happen to overtake one, he would dive like a duck, and come up again a bow ſhot or two from the place. This chace was very pleaſant, ſeeing the boat labour in vain, which at laſt returned empty.

Here we continued till the 23d of November, refitting the ſhips, and mending our caſks; and that day we ſailed eaſtward to a place called Guiga, there being another of the ſame name between Veragua and Cerago. The boats going aſhore, found above three hundred perſons on it, ready to trade for ſuch proviſions as they have, and ſome ſmall things of gold they wore hanging at their ears and noſes.

But without making any ſtay here, on Saturday the 24th of November we put into a ſmall port, which was called Retrete, that is, Retired Place, becauſe it could not contain above five or ſix ſhips together, and the mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty paces over, and on both ſides of it rocks appearing above water as ſharp as diamonds; and the channel between them was ſo deep that they found no bottom, though, if the ſhips inclined never ſo little to either ſide, the men might leap aſhore, which was it that ſaved the ſhips in that narrow place, which was the fault of thoſe who

who went in boats to view it, they being covetous to deal with the Indians, and perceiving the ſhips would lie there conveniently for it, cloſe to the ſhore. In this place we continued nine days with bad weather; and at firſt the Indians came very familiarly to trade for ſuch as they had, but when they ſaw the Chriſtians ſteal privately out of their ſhips, they retired to their houſes, becauſe the ſeamen, like covetous diſſolute men, committed a thouſand inſolencies; inſomuch that they provoked the Indians to break the peace, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between them. They increaſing daily, took courage to come up to the ſhips, which, as we ſaid, lay with their ſides cloſe to the ſhore, thinking to do ſome harm, which deſign of theirs had turned to their own detriments, had not the admiral always endeavoured to gain them by patience and civility: but at laſt, perceiving their inſolence, to ſtrike a terror into them, he cauſed ſome pieces of cannon to be fired, which they anſwered with ſhouts, threſhing the trees with ſtaves, and threatening by ſigns, ſhewing they did not fear the noiſe, for they thought it had been only a thundering to terrify them. Therefore to abate their pride, and make them not contemn the Chriſtians, the admiral cauſed a ſhot to be made at a company of them that was got together upon a hillock, and the ball falling in the midſt of them, made them ſenſible there was a thunderbolt as well as thunder; ſo that for the future they durſt not appear even behind the mountains. The people of this country were the propereſt they had yet ſeen among the Indians, for they were tall and ſpare, without any great bellies, and well countenanced.

The country was all plain, bearing little graſs, and a few trees; and in the harbour there were vaſt great crocodiles or alligators, which go out to ſtay and ſleep aſhore, and ſcatter a ſcent as if all the muſk in the world were together; but they are ſo ravenous and cruel that if they find a man ſleeping, they drag him to the water to devour him, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked. Theſe alligators are found in many other parts of the continent, and ſome do affirm they are the ſame as the crocodiles of the Nile.

## CHAP. XCIV. — *How the Admiral being drove by Streſs of Weather, ſtood again to Weſtward to get Intelligence concerning the Mines, and enquire concerning Veragua.*

ON Monday the 5th of December, the admiral perceiving the violent eaſt and north-eaſt winds did not ceaſe, and that there was no trading with thoſe people, he reſolved to go back to be ſatisfied concerning what the Indians ſaid of the mines of Veragua, and therefore that day he returned to Porto Bello, ten leagues weſtward; and continuing his courſe the next day, was aſſaulted by a weſt wind which was oppoſite to his new deſign, but favourable to that he had for three months paſt. But he, believing this wind would not laſt long, did not alter his courſe, but bore up againſt the wind for ſome days, becauſe the weather was unſettled; and when the weather ſeemed a little favourable to go to Veragua, another wind would ſtart up and drive him towards Porto Bello; and when we were moſt in hopes to get into port we were quite beat off again, and ſometimes with ſuch thunder and lightning that the men durſt not open their eyes, the ſhips ſeemed to be juſt ſinking, and the ſky to come down. Sometimes the thunder was ſo continued, that it was concluded ſome ſhip fired its cannon to deſire aſſiſtance. Another time there would fall ſuch ſtorms of rain that it would laſt violently for two or three days, inſomuch that it looked like another univerſal deluge. This perplexed all the men and made them almoſt deſpair, ſeeing they could not get half an hour's reſt, being continually wet, turning ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another,

another, ſtruggling againſt all the elements and dreading them all; for in ſuch dreadful ſtorms, they dread the fire in flaſhes of lightning, the air for its fury, the water for the terrible waves, and the earth for the hidden rocks and ſands which ſometimes a man meets with near the port where he hoped for ſafety, and not knowing them, chuſes rather to contend with the other elements in whom he has leſs ſhare.

Beſides all theſe terrors there occurred another no leſs dangerous and wonderful, which was a ſpout riſing from the ſea, on Tueſday the 13th of December, which if they had not diſſolved by ſaying the goſpel of St. John, it had certainly ſunk whatſoever it fell upon; for as has been ſaid, it draws the water up to the clouds like a pillar and thicker than a butt, twiſting it about like a whirlwind. That ſame night we loſt ſight of the ſhip called Caino, and had the good fortune to ſee it again after three dreadful dark days, though it had loſt its boat and been in great danger, being ſo near land as to caſt anchor, which it loſt at long run, being forced to cut the cable. Now it appeared that the currents on that coaſt follow the wind, running weſtward with the eaſt wind, and the contrary, the water ſtill going after the prevailing wind. The ſhips being now almoſt ſhattered to pieces with the tempeſt, and the men quite ſpent with labour, a day or two's calm gave them ſome reſpite, and brought ſuch multitudes of ſharks about the ſhips, that they were dreadful to behold, eſpecially for ſuch as are ſuperſtitious; becauſe, as it is reported, that ravens at a great diſtance ſmell out dead bodies; ſo ſome think theſe ſharks do, which, if they lay hold of a man's arm or leg, cut it off like a razor, for they have two rows of teeth in the nature of a ſaw. Such a multitude of theſe was killed with the hook and chain, that being able to deſtroy no more, they lay ſwimming upon the water, and they are ſo greedy that they do not only bite at carrion, but may be taken with a red rag upon the hook. I have ſeen a tortoiſe taken out of the belly of one of theſe ſharks, and it afterwards lived aboard the ſhip; but out of another was taken the whole head of one of his own kind, we having cut it off and thrown it into the water, as not good to eat, no more than they are themſelves, and that ſhark had ſwallowed it; and to us it ſeemed contrary to reaſon, that one creature ſhould ſwallow the head of another of its own bigneſs, which is not to be admired, becauſe their mouth reaches almoſt to their belly, and the head is ſhaped like an olive. Though ſome looked upon them to forbode miſchief, and others thought them bad fiſh, yet we all made much of them, by reaſon of the want we were in, having been now above eight months at ſea, ſo that we had conſumed all the fiſh and fleſh brought from Spain; and what with the heat and moiſture of the ſea, the biſcuit was ſo full of maggots, that, as God ſhall help me, I ſaw many that ſtaid till night to eat the pottage or brewice made of it, that they might not ſee the maggots; and others were ſo uſed to eat them, that they did not mind to throw them away when they ſaw them, becauſe they might loſe their ſupper if they were ſo very curious.

Upon Saturday the 17th, the admiral put into a port three leagues eaſt of Pennon, which the Indians called Huiva. It was like a great bay, where we reſted three days, and going aſhore, ſaw the inhabitants dwell upon the tops of trees, like birds, laying ſticks acroſs from bough to bough, and building huts upon them rather than houſes. Though we knew not the reaſon of this ſtrange cuſtom, yet we gueſſed it was done for fear of the griffins there are in that country, or of enemies; for all along that coaſt, the people at every league diſtance are great enemies to one another.

We ſailed from this port on the 20th with fair weather, but not ſettled; for as ſoon as we were got out to ſea, the tempeſt began to rage again, and drove us into another port, whence we departed again the third day, the weather ſeeming ſomewhat mended, but

but like an enemy that lies in wait for a man, ruſhed out again and forced us to Pennon, where when we hoped to put in, the wind ſtarted up ſo contrary that we were drove again towards Veragua. Being at anchor in the river, the weather became again ſo ſtormy that all the favour we had from it was that it allowed us to get into that port, where we had been before on Thurſday the 12th of the ſame month. Here we continued from the ſecond day in Chriſtmas till the 3d of January the following year 1503, when having repaired the ſhip called Gallega and taken aboard abundance of Indian wheat, water, and wood, we turned back towards Veragua with bad weather, and contrary winds, which changed croſsly juſt as the admiral altered his courſe. And this was ſo ſtrange and unheard-of a thing, that I would not have repeated ſo many changes, if, beſides by being then preſent, I had not ſeen the ſame written by James Mendez, who ſailed with the canoes of Jamaica, whereof I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and writ an account of this voyage; and the letter the admiral ſent by him to Their Catholic Majeſties, which is printed, will inform the reader how great our ſufferings were, and how much fortune perſecuted him ſhe ought moſt to favour. But to return to the changes of weather and of our courſe, which put us to ſo much trouble between Veragua and Porto Bello, for which reaſon that coaſt was called Coſta de Contraſſes, that is, coaſt of thwartings.

Upon Thurſday, being the feaſt of the Epiphany, we caſt anchor near a river which the Indians call Yebra, and the admiral named Belem or Bethlem, becauſe we came to that place upon the feaſt of the three kings. He cauſed the mouth of that river, and of another weſtward to be ſounded; the latter the Indians call Veragua where he found but ſhoal water, and in that of Belem, four fathom at high water. The boats went up this river to the town, where they were informed the gold mines of Veragua were. At firſt the Indians were ſo far from converſing, that they aſſembled with their weapons to hinder the Chriſtians landing. The next day, our boats going to the river of Veragua, the Indians there did as the others had done, and that not only aſhore, but ſtood upon their guard with their canoes in the water. But an Indian of that coaſt who underſtood them a little, going aſhore with the Chriſtians and telling them we were good people and deſired nothing but what we paid for, they were ſomewhat pacified, and trucked twenty gold plates, ſome hollow pieces like joints of reeds, and ſome grains never melted; which to make their value the more, they ſaid were gathered a great way off upon uncouth mountains; and that when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry women along with them, which ſame thing the people of Hiſpaniola ſaid when it was firſt diſcovered.

## CHAP. XCV. — *How the Admiral went into the River of Belem, and reſolved to build a Town there, and leave his Brother the Lieutenant in it.*

ON Monday the 9th of January, the admiral's ſhip, and that called Biſcania went up the river, and the Indians came preſently to truck for ſuch things as they had, particularly fiſh, which at certain times of the year comes out of the ſea up theſe rivers in ſuch quantities as ſeems incredible to ſuch as do not ſee it; and they exchanged ſome little gold for pins, and thoſe things they moſt valued they gave for beads or hawks-bells. Next day the other two ſhips came in, which they had not done at firſt, becauſe there being but little water at the mouth of the river, they were forced to ſtay for the flood; though there the ſea never riſes or falls above half a fathom.

Veragua

Veragua being famed for mines and extraordinary wealth, the third day after our arrival, the admiral's brother went up the river with the boats to the town of Quibio, ſo the Indians call their king; who hearing of the lieutenant's coming, came down the river in his canoes to meet him. They met in very friendly manner, giving one another interchangeably ſuch things as they valued moſt; and having diſcourſed a long time together every one went away peaceably. Next day the ſaid Quibio came aboard to viſit the admiral, and having diſcourſed together about an hour, the admiral gave him ſome things, and his men trucked bells for ſome gold, and ſo he returned without any ceremony the ſame way he came.

We being thus very eaſy and ſecure, on Wedneſday the 24th of January the river of Belem ſuddenly ſwelled ſo high, that before we could provide againſt it, or carry a cable aſhore, the fury of the water came ſo impetuouſly againſt the admiral's ſhip that it broke one of its two anchors, and drove her with ſuch force againſt the ſhip Gallega, which lay aſtern of it, that it brought the foremaſt by the board, and were both carried away foul of one another in utmoſt danger of periſhing. Some judged the mighty rains to have been the cauſe of this mighty flood, they having never ceaſed all the winter in that country; but had that been it the river would have ſwelled by degrees, and not all on a ſudden, which made it to be believed ſome great ſhower had fallen on the mountains of Veragua, which the admiral called St. Chriſtopher's, becauſe the higheſt of them was above the region of the air where meteors are bred; for no cloud was ever ſeen above, but all below it. To look to it is like an hermitage, and lies at leaſt twenty leagues up the country, in the midſt of woody mountains, whence we believed that flood came which was ſo dangerous, that though it brought water enough to carry the ſhips out to ſea, the wind was then ſo boiſterous, that they muſt have been ſhattered to pieces at the mouth of the river, diſtant half a mile from whence they broke looſe. This tempeſt laſted ſo long that we had time enough to refit and caulk the ſhips. The waves broke ſo furiouſly upon the mouth of the river, that the boats could not go out to diſcover along the coaſt, to learn where the mines lay, and chuſe a place to build a town; the admiral having reſolved to leave his brother there with moſt of the men, that they might ſettle and ſubdue that country, whilſt he went Spain to ſend ſupplies of men and proviſions: upon this proſpect, the weather growing calmer, on Monday the 6th of February he ſent his brother with ſixty-eight men by ſea to the mouth of Veragua river, a league diſtant from Belem weſtward, and he went a league and a half up the river, to the cacique's town, where he ſtaid a day enquiring out the way to the mines.

On Wedneſday they travelled four leagues and a half, and came to lie near a river, which they paſſed forty-four times, and the next day advanced a league and a half towards the mines ſhewed them by Indians ſent by Quibio to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither, every man gathered ſome gold about the roots of the trees which were there very thick and of a prodigious heig[ht]. This ſample was much valued, becauſe none of thoſe that went had any tools to di[g] or had ever gathered any. Therefore the deſign of their journey being only to g[et] information of the mines, they returned very well pleaſed that ſame day to Veragua and the next to the ſhips. True it is that, as was afterwards known, theſe mines were not thoſe of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town whoſe people are enemies to thoſe of Veragua, to do whom a diſpleaſure, Quibio ordered the Chriſtians to be conducted thither, and that they might go away to thoſe, and leave his.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCVI. — *How the Admiral's Brother went to ſee ſome Towns of that Province; with an Account of the Country, and Cuſtoms of thoſe People.*

ON Thurſday the 14th of February 1503, the admiral's brother went into the country with forty men, a boat following with fourteen. The next day they came to the river of Urira, ſeven leagues from Belem weſtward. The cacique came out a league from his town to meet him, with twenty men, and preſented him with ſuch things as they feed on, and ſome gold plates were exchanged here. Whilſt they were here the cacique and chief men never ceaſed putting a dry herb into their mouths and chewing it, and ſometimes they took a ſort of powder they carried with that herb, which looks very odd. Having reſted here a while, the Chriſtians and Indians went together to the town, where abundance of people came out to them, and aſſigned them a great houſe to lie in, giving them much to eat. Soon after came the cacique of Dururi, which is a neighbouring town, with a great many Indians, who brought ſome gold plates to truck; all theſe Indians ſaid there were caciques up the country who had plenty of gold and abundance of men armed like ours. Next day the lieutenant ordered the reſt of his men to return by land to the ſhips, and he, with thirty he kept with him, held on his journey towards Zobraba, where the fields for above ſix leagues were all full of maize, like corn fields. Thence he went to Cateba, another town; at both places he was well entertained, abundance of proviſions given him, and ſome gold plates trucked, which, as has been ſaid, are like the paten of a chalice, ſome bigger and ſome leſs, weighing twelve ducats, more or leſs; they wear them about their necks, hanging by a ſtring as we do relicks. The lieutenant being now very far from the ſhips without finding any port along that coaſt, or any river bigger than that of Belem to ſettle his colony, he came back the ſame way on the 24th of February, bringing above ——— ducats in gold he had exchanged for. As ſoon as he returned, preſently order was taken for his ſtay, and eighty men being appointed to remain with him, they agreed by ten and ten, or more or leſs in a gang, and began to build houſes upon the bank of the aforeſaid river of Belem, about a cannon ſhot from the mouth of it, within a trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the river, at a mouth of which there is a little hill. Beſides theſe houſes, which were all of timber and covered with palm tree leaves which grew along the ſhore, another large houſe was built, to ſerve as a ſtorehouſe and magazine, into which ſeveral pieces of cannon, powder, and proviſions were put, and other neceſſaries for the ſupport of the planters. But for wine, biſcuit, oil, vinegar, cheeſe and much grain, which was all they had to eat, theſe things were left in the ſafeſt place, aboard the ſhip called Gallega that was to be left with the lieutenant, that he might make uſe of it either at ſea or aſhore, having all its cordage, nets, hooks, and other fiſhing tackle; for as we have ſaid, there is vaſt plenty of fiſh in that country in every river, ſeveral ſorts at certain times running along the coaſt in ſhoals, on which the people of the country feed more than upon fleſh; for though there be ſome ſorts of beaſts they are not enough to maintain them. The cuſtoms of the Indians are for the moſt part much like thoſe of Hiſpaniola and the neighbouring iſlands; but theſe people of Veragua and the country about it, when they talk to one another and eat turn their backs, and are always chewing an herb, which we look upon to be the occaſion that their teeth are decayed and rotten. Their food is fiſh, which they take with nets and hooks made of tortoiſe-ſhell, which they cut with a thread as if they were ſawing; the ſame they uſe in the iſlands. They have another way of catching ſome very ſmall fiſhes, which in Hiſpaniola they call Titi. Theſe at certain times being drove to the ſhore

by the rains, are ſo perſecuted by the bigger fiſh, that they are forced up to the ſurface of the water, where the Indians take as many as they will of them in little mats, or ſmall nets, and wrap them up in leaves of trees as apothecaries do their drugs, and having dried them in an oven, they keep a long time. They alſo catch pilchards almoſt in the ſame manner; for at certain times theſe fiſhes fly from the great ones ſo violently and in ſuch fear, that they leap out two or three paces upon the dry land, ſo that there is no more to do but to take them as they do the others. Theſe pilchards are taken after another manner; for in the middle of their canoes, from ſtem to ſtern, they raiſe a partition of palm-tree leaves two yards high, and plying about the river they make a noiſe, and beat the ſhore with their oars, and then the pilchards, to fly from the other fiſh, leap into the canoe, and hitting againſt thoſe leaves fall in, by which means they take as many as they pleaſe. Several ſorts of fiſh paſs along the coaſt in ſhoals, whereof wonderful quantities are taken, which they keep roaſted a long time. They have alſo abundance of maize, which is a ſort of grain growing in an ear, or hard head like millet, whereof they make white and red wine, as beer is made in England, and mix of their ſpice with it as pleaſes their palate; it has a pleaſant taſte like a ſharp briſk wine: they alſo make another ſort of wine of certain trees like palms; and I believe they are of that kind, but that they are ſmooth, and have ſuch prickles on the trunk as the thorn. From the pith of this palm, which is like palmitoes ſqueezed, they draw a juice, whereof they make wine, boiling it with water and ſpice; and this they make great account of. They make another wine of the fruit we ſaid is found in the iſland Guadaloupe, which is like a great pine-apple: it is planted in great fields, and the plant is a ſprout growing out at the top of the fruit itſelf, like that which grows out of a cabbage or lettuce. One plant laſts three or four years, and bears. They make wine of other ſorts of fruit, particularly of one that grows upon very high trees, and is as big as a large lemon; and every one has two, three, and ſome nine ſtones like nuts, but they are not round, but long, or like a cheſnut. The rind of this fruit is like a pomegranate, and when firſt taken from the tree it reſembles it exactly, ſave only that it wants the prickly circle at the top. The taſte of it is like a peach: of theſe ſome are better, ſome worſe, as is uſual among other fruit. There are of them in the iſlands, and the Indians call them Mamei.

CHAP. XCVII. — *How, for the greater Security of the Chriſtian Colony, Quibio, and ſeveral of the principal Men, were made Priſoners; and how, through the Careleſſneſs of his Keepers, he made his Eſcape.*

ALL things were now ſettled for the Chriſtian colony, and ten or twelve houſes built and thatched, and the admiral ready to ſail for Spain, when he fell into greater danger for want of water, than he had been before by the inundation. For the great rains of January being over, the mouth of the river was ſo choaked up with ſand, that whereas when they came in there was about ten feet water, which was ſcant enough, when we would have gone out there were not two feet, ſo that we were ſhut up without any help, it being impoſſible to get the ſhips over the ſand; and though there had been ſuch an engine, the ſea was ſo boiſterous, that the leaſt wave which beats upon the ſhore was enough to beat the ſhips in pieces, eſpecially ours, which were at this time like a honey-comb, being all worm-eaten through and through. We had nothing left but to have recourſe to God, and beg rain of him, as before we prayed for fair weather; for the rain we knew would ſwell the river, and clear the ſand from

the mouth of it, as is uſual in thoſe rivers. It being in the mean while diſcovered by means of the interpreter, that Quibio, the cacique of Veragua, intended to ſet fire to the houſes, and deſtroy the Chriſtians, becauſe all the Indians were againſt their planting upon that river; it was therefore thought fit, as a puniſhment to him, and a terror and example to others, to make him a priſoner, with all his chief men, and ſend them into Spain, and that his town ſhould remain at the diſpoſal of the Chriſtians.

To this purpoſe the lieutenant, on the 30th of March, went with ſeventy-ſix men to the town or village of Veragua; and becauſe I call it a town or village, it is to be obſerved, that in thoſe parts their houſes are not cloſe together, but they live as in Biſcay, at ſome diſtance from one another. When Quibio underſtood that the lieutenant was come near, he ſent him word not to come up to his houſe, which ſtood upon a hill above the river of Veragua; and the lieutenant, that he might not fly for fear of him, reſolved to go with only five men, ordering thoſe he left behind to come after him, two and two, at ſome diſtance from one another; and when they heard a muſquet fired, they ſhould beſet the houſe, that none might eſcape. Being come up to the houſe, Quibio ſent another meſſenger, bidding him not go in, for he would come out to talk to him, though he was wounded with an arrow, which they do that their women may not be ſeen, being wonderful jealous of them. Accordingly he came and ſat at the door, bidding only the lieutenant come near him, who did ſo, ordering the reſt to fall on, as ſoon as he laid hold of his arm. He aſked the cacique ſome queſtions concerning his indiſpoſition and the affairs of the country, by the aſſiſtance of an Indian he had, whom we had taken not far off, above three months ſince, and he willingly went along with us. This man was then much afraid, for knowing that Quibio deſigned to deſtroy all the Chriſtians, and not knowing our ſtrength, he thought that might eaſily be done by the great multitude of people there was in that province. But the lieutenant minded not his fear, and pretending to look where the cacique was wounded, he took him by the arm, and though they were both very ſtrong, yet the lieutenant took ſuch good hold, that he loſt it not till the other four came up, which done, one of them fired a muſquet, and on a ſudden all the Chriſtians running out of their ambuſh beſet the houſe, in which there were thirty people, great and ſmall, moſt of which were taken, and never a one wounded, for they ſeeing their king taken, would make no reſiſtance. Among theſe there were ſome wives and children of Quibio, and other men of note, who offered great wealth, ſaying, there was a great treaſure in the adjoining wood, and they would give it all for their ranſom. But the lieutenant not regarding their promiſes, ordered Quibio, with his wives and children, and the principal men, to be carried aboard, before the country took the alarm, ſtaying himſelf there with moſt of the men, to go after his kindred and ſubjects who were fled. Then having conſulted with the captains and chief men, whom they ſhould intruſt to conduct the priſoners to the mouth of the river; he at laſt delivered them to John Sanchez de Cadiz, a pilot, and a man in good reputation, he offering to carry them, the cacique being bound hands and feet; and this pilot being charged to take ſpecial care that the cacique ſhould not eſcape, he anſwered, he would give them leave to pull off his beard if he got from him. So he took him into his cuſtody, and went down the river of Veragua. Being come within half a league of the mouth of it, and Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, John Sanchez out of compaſſion, looſed him from the ſeat of the boat to which he was tied, and held the rope in his hand. A little after, Quibio obſerving he did not mind him, threw himſelf into the water; and John Sanchez not being able to hold faſt the rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the water. Night coming on, and thoſe in the boat

being all in a confuſion, they could not ſee or hear where he got aſhore, ſo that they heard no more of him than if a ſtone had fallen into the water. That the like might not happen with the reſt of the priſoners, they held on their way to the ſhips with much ſhame for their careleſſneſs and overſight. The next day the lieutenant perceiving the country was very mountainous and woody, and that there were no regular towns, but one houſe here, and another at a great diſtance, and that it would be very difficult to purſue the Indians from place to place, he reſolved to return to the ſhips with his men, not one of them being either killed or wounded. He preſented the admiral with the plunder of Quibio's houſe, worth about three hundred ducats in gold plates, little eagles, and ſmall quills, which they ſtring and wear about their arms and legs, and in gold twiſts which they put about their head in the nature of a coronet. All which things, deducting only the fifth part for Their Catholic Majeſties, he divided among thoſe that went upon the expedition: And to the lieutenant, in token of victory, was given one of thoſe crowns or coronets abovementioned.

CHAP. XCVIII. — *How after the Admiral was gone from Belem to return to Spain, Quibio aſſaulted the Chriſtian Colony, in which Engagement there were many killed and wounded.*

ALL things being provided for the maintenance of the colony, and the rules and methods for them to be governed by, ſettled by the admiral, it pleaſed God to ſend ſo much rain, as ſwelled the river and opened the mouth of it; wherefore the admiral reſolved to depart with all ſpeed for Hiſpaniola, to ſend ſpeedy ſupplies to this place. Having waited for a calm that the ſea might not beat upon the mouth of the river, we went out with three ſhips, the boats going a-head and towing us. Yet never a one went out ſo cleverly, but his keel raced upon the ſand, and had been in danger notwithſtanding the calm, but that thoſe are looſe moving ſands. Then we preſently took in all we had unladed to lighten the ſhips that they might get out. As we lay waiting for a fair wind upon the open coaſt, a league from the mouth of the river, it pleaſed God miraculouſly to give us an occaſion of ſending the admiral's boat aſhore, as well for water as for other neceſſary affairs, that by the loſs of theſe both thoſe aſhore, and thoſe in the ſhips might be ſaved, which happened thus. When Quibio and the Indians ſaw that the ſhips were without, and could not relieve them that were left behind, they aſſaulted the Chriſtian colony at the ſame time that the boat came to the ſhore. They having not been diſcovered by reaſon of the thickneſs of the wood, when they came within ten paces of our men's houſes, fell on with great ſhouts, caſting javelins at thoſe they ſpied, and at the very houſes, which being covered with palm-tree leaves, were eaſily ſtruck through and through, and ſo ſometimes they wounded thoſe within. Having thus ſurprized our men, thinking of no ſuch thing, they wounded four or five before they could put themſelves into a poſture of defence. But the lieutenant being a man of great reſolution, he went out againſt the enemy with a ſpear, encouraging his men, and falling furiouſly on the Indians with ſeven or eight that followed him, ſo that he made them retire to the wood, which (as we ſaid) was cloſe to the houſes. Thence they returned and ſkirmiſhed, caſting their javelins and then retiring, as the Spaniards uſe to do in the ſport they call Juego de Canas, many of them flying from the Chriſtians after they had felt the edge of their ſwords, and the teeth of a dog, who furiouſly fell in among them; ſo that at length they fled, having killed one Chriſtian and wounded ſeven, one of which was the lieutenant, who was hurt with a javelin in the breaſt; from which danger two Chriſtians took care to preſerve themſelves;

themſelves; which ſtory I will relate to ſhew the comicalneſs of the one, who was an Italian of Lombardy, and the gravity of the other who was a Spaniard. The Lombard running haſtily to hide himſelf in a houſe, James Mendez, of whom mention will be made hereafter, ſaid to him, turn, turn back Sebaſtian, whither are you going? He anſwered, let me go you devil, for I am going to ſecure my perſon. The Spaniard was captain James Triſtan, whom the admiral ſent aſhore in the boat, who never went out of it with his men, though the fray was juſt by the river; and being blamed by ſome for not aſſiſting the Chriſtians, he anſwered, he ſaid he did it that thoſe aſhore might not run to the boat and ſo all periſh, becauſe if the boat were loſt, the admiral would be in danger at ſea, and therefore he would do no more than he had been commanded, which was to take in water, and to ſee whether there was any need of his aſſiſtance. Reſolving therefore to take in the water immediately, that he might carry the admiral an account of what had happened, he went up the river for it, where the ſweet did not mix with the ſalt, though ſome adviſed him not to go, for the danger there was of the Indians and their canoes; to which he anſwered, he did not fear that danger, ſince he was ſent for that purpoſe by the admiral. Accordingly he went up the river, which is very deep within, and ſheltered on both ſides with abundance of trees, which come to the edge of the water and ſo thick that there is ſcarce any going aſhore, except in ſome places which are the fiſhermen's paths, and where they hide their canoes. As ſoon as the Indians perceived he was got about a league from the colony up the river, they ruſhed out from the thickeſt on both ſides the river in their canoes, and making a hideous noiſe, blowing their horns, aſſaulted him boldly on all ſides with great odds on their ſide, becauſe their canoes being ſwift, and one man being enough to command and turn them which way they pleaſe, eſpecially thoſe that are little and belong to the fiſhermen, three or four men came in each of them, one of whom rowed, and the reſt caſt their javelins at thoſe in the boat; I call them javelins becauſe of their bigneſs, though they have no iron heads, but only points of fiſh bones. There being but ſeven or eight men in our boat who rowed, and the captain with three or four men for fight, they could not cover themſelves againſt the many javelins they threw at them, and therefore they were forced to quit their oars to take up their targets. But there was ſuch a multitude of Indians, who poured in on all ſides, coming up and retiring in good order, as they thought fit, that they wounded moſt of the Chriſtians, eſpecially the captain, who was hurt in many places; and though he ſtood unmoved encouraging his men, it availed him nothing; for he was beſet on all ſides, and could not ſtir, nor make uſe of his muſquets, till at laſt they ſtruck a javelin into his eye, and he fell down dead; and all the reſt came to the like fate, except one John de Noia of Seville, who by good luck in the height of the fray fell into the water, and diving got to the ſhore, and made his way through the thickeſt of the wood to the colony, to carry the news of what had happened. This ſo terrified our men, that ſeeing they were but a few, ſome of their companions being killed and others wounded, and that the admiral was at ſea without a boat, and in danger not to return to a place whence he might ſend them relief, they reſolved not to ſtay there; and accordingly would have gone away immediately without any orders, had not the mouth of the river hindered, the bad weather having ſhut it up again; for neither could the ſhip they had left them get out, nor durſt any boat attempt it, becauſe the ſea beat ſo violently, ſo that there was no ſending the admiral advice of what had happened. He was in no leſs danger himſelf, riding in an open road, having no boat and but few men, ſo many having been killed: ſo that we were all in the ſame trouble and confuſion, as they were within, who conſidering what had

had happened and ſeeing thoſe that had been killed in the boat drive down the river covered with wounds, and followed by the country crows, looked upon theſe things as ill omens, and dreaded coming to the ſame end; and the more becauſe they perceived the Indians were puffed up with their ſucceſs, inſomuch that they gave them not a minute's reſpite by reaſon of the ill ſituation of the colony; and there is no doubt but that they muſt have all ſuffered, had they not adviſed to remove to an open ſtrand eaſtward, where they made a work round them with the caſks and other things, and planting the cannon in convenient places defending themſelves, the Indians not daring to come out of the wood, becauſe of the miſchief the bullets did among them.

## CHAP. XCIX. — *How the Indians that were kept Priſoners aboard made their Eſcape, and the Admiral was informed of the ill Succeſs of his Men.*

WHILST theſe things happened, the admiral waited ten days with much trouble, and ſuſpecting what might fall out, till the ſea would ſettle, that he might ſend another boat to know what it was that detained the firſt; but fortune thwarting him in all things, would not allow us to hear of one another; and to add to our affliction, it happened that the ſons and kindred of Quibio, whom we kept priſoners aboard the ſhip Bermuda, to carry them to Spain, found means to eſcape thus. At night they were kept under hatches, and the ſcuttle being ſo high that they could not reach it, the watch forgot to faſten it with a chain as they uſed to do, eſpecially becauſe ſome ſeamen lay upon it. The priſoners, therefore, one night gathering the ſtones that were in the hold under the ſcuttle, and raiſing themſelves on them, ſet their ſhoulders againſt it, and forced it open, tumbling thoſe that lay on it over and over; and ſome of the principal men leaping out, caſt themſelves into the ſea. The ſeamen taking the alarm, many of them could not get out; and the ſcuttle being faſtened with the chain, better care was taken; but thoſe that remained in deſpair, becauſe they could not get off with their companions, hanged themſelves with the ropes they could come at, and ſo were found the next morning, their feet and knees dragging upon the bottom of the hold, the place not being high enough for them to hang without touching, ſo that all the priſoners aboard that ſhip eſcaped or died. Though this loſs was not material to the ſhips, yet beſides that it increaſed the number of miſfortunes, it was feared it might be hurtful to thoſe aſhore; becauſe Quibio would willingly have made peace with them to get his children, and now there being no hoſtage left, there was cauſe to ſuſpect he would make war with the greater fury. Being thus afflicted amidſt ſo many troubles and diſaſters, having nothing to truſt to but our anchors and cables, without knowing any thing from ſhore, there wanted not thoſe, who ſaid, that ſince thoſe Indians only to obtain their liberty, had ventured to leap into the ſea above a league from ſhore, they to ſave themſelves, and ſo many more, would be content to ſwim aſhore, provided that boat which remained would carry them as far as where the waves did not break. I ſay one boat remained, which was that of the ſhip Bermuda, for that of the Biſcaina we ſaid before was loſt in the fray, ſo that they had only that one boat at preſent among the three ſhips. The admiral hearing theſe ſeamen's honeſt propoſal, allowed of it, and ſo the boat carried them within a muſquet ſhot of land, not being able to go nearer without great danger becauſe of the great waves that broke on it. There one Peter de Ledeſma, a pilot of Seville, threw himſelf into the water, and with a good heart got aſhore, where he learnt the condition our men were in, and how they all unanimouſly

mouſly ſaid, they would not upon any account remain there in that forlorn condition, and therefore deſired the admiral not to ſail till he had taken them off, for to leave them there was ſacrificing of them, and the more becauſe there were already diviſions among them, and they obeyed neither the admiral's brother nor the captains, and all their care was upon the firſt fair weather, to ſecure a canoe and go aboard, becauſe this could not be conveniently done with only one boat that was left them; and if the admiral would not receive them, they would endeavour to ſave their lives aboard that ſhip which was left them, and rather truſt fortune than be at the mercy of the Indians, who would inhumanly butcher them. With this anſwer Peter de Ledeſma returned to the boat which waited for him, and thence to the ſhips, where he gave the admiral an account how matters ſtood.

## CHAP. C. — *How the Admiral brought off the Men he had left at Belem, and ſtruck over to Jamaica.*

THE admiral underſtanding the rout, the confuſion and deſpair thoſe aſhore were in, he reſolved to ſtay and bring them off, though not without great danger, becauſe his ſhips lay in an open road, out of all ſhelter, and without hopes of eſcaping, had the weather grown more boiſterous. But it pleaſed God in eight days he continued there, the weather mended ſo much, that thoſe aſhore with their boat and large canoes faſt bound together, that they might not overſet, began to gather their goods, and every one ſtriving to be none of the laſt, they uſed ſuch diligence, that in two days nothing was left aſhore but the hulk of the ſhip, which by reaſon of the worms was unfit for ſervice. Thus rejoicing we were all together again, we ſailed up that coaſt eaſtward; for though all the pilots were of opinion that we might return to St. Domingo ſtanding away to the north, yet only the admiral and his brother knew it was requiſite to run a conſiderable way up that coaſt, before they ſtruck acroſs that gulph that is between the continent and Hiſpaniola, which our men were much diſpleaſed at, thinking the admiral deſigned directly for Spain, whereas he neither had proviſions, nor were his ſhips fit for that voyage. But he knowing beſt what was fit to be done, we held on our courſe till we came to Porto Bello, where we were forced to leave the ſhip Biſcaina, it was ſo leaky, being all worm-eaten through and through. And holding along up the coaſt, we paſſed by the port we called Retrete, and a country near which there were abundance of ſmall iſlands, which the admiral called Las Barbas, but the Indians and pilots call that the territory of the cacique Pocoroſa: hence we held on ten leagues to the laſt land we ſaw of the continent, called Marmora, and on Monday the 1ſt of May 1503, we ſtood to the northward, the wind and currents eaſt, which made us lie as near the wind as we could. And though all the pilots ſaid, we ſhould be eaſt of the Caribbee iſlands, yet the admiral feared he ſhould not make Hiſpaniola, which proved ſo; for upon Wedneſday the 10th of the ſame month of May, we were in ſight of two very ſmall and low iſlands, full of tortoiſes, as was all the ſea about, inſomuch that they looked like little rocks, for which reaſon thoſe iſlands were called Tortugas or Tortoiſes. Sailing on northwards, on Friday following about evening, thirty leagues from thoſe iſlands, we came to thoſe called Jardin de la Reina, or The Queen's Garden, which is a great number of iſlands on the ſouth ſide of Cuba. Being here at an anchor, ten leagues from Cuba, with men and trouble enough, becauſe they had nothing to eat but biſcuit, with ſome little oil and vinegar, labouring day and night at the pump, becauſe the ſhips were ſo worm-eaten they were ready to ſink, a great ſtorm aroſe in the night, and the ſhip Bermuda not being

being able to ride it out, ran foul of us, and broke our ſtem and its own ſtern, and though with much difficulty, becauſe of the roughneſs of the ſea and high wind, it pleaſed God they got looſe from one another; and though we caſt all our anchors, none would hold but the ſheet-anchor, whoſe cable, when day appeared, we found held but by a thread, which if the night had laſted an hour longer, muſt have given way, and all that place being full of rocks, we could not miſs ſplitting upon ſome of thoſe that were aſtern us. But it pleaſed God to deliver us here, as he had done from many other dangers. And ſo ſailing hence with much toil, we came to an Indian town on the coaſt of Cuba, called Mataia, where having got ſome refreſhment, we ſailed for Jamaica; for the eaſt winds and great currents ſetting weſtward, would not permit us to ſtand for Hiſpaniola, eſpecially the ſhips being ſo worm-eaten, that as has been ſaid, we never ceaſed day and night working at three pumps in each of them, and if any one broke, whilſt it was mending, we were forced to ſupply the want of it with kettles. For all this, the night before Midſummer-eve the water was ſo high in our ſhip, that there was no draining of it, for it came almoſt up to the deck; and with much labour we held out in that manner till day appearing, we put into a harbour in Jamaica called Puerto Bueno, or Good Harbour, which, though good to take ſhelter againſt a ſtorm, had no freſh water, nor any town near it. Having made the beſt ſhift we could, on the day after the feaſt of St. John, we ſet out for another harbour eaſtward, called Santa Gloria, or Holy Glory, which is incloſed with rocks. Being got in, and no longer able to keep the ſhips above water, we run them aſhore as far in as we could, ſtranding them cloſe together board and board, and ſhoring them up on both ſides, fixed them ſo that they could not budge; and in this poſture the water came up almoſt to the deck, upon which, and the poop and fore-caſtle, were ſheds made for the men to lie in, to ſecure ourſelves, that the Indians might not hurt us, becauſe the iſland was not then inhabited or ſubdued by Chriſtians.

## CHAP. CI. — *How the Admiral ſent Canoes from Jamaica to Hiſpaniola, to give Advice that he was caſt aſhore there with his Men.*

BEING thus fortified in our ſhips about a bow ſhot from land, the Indians who, were a peaceable good natured people, came in their canoes to ſell proviſions, and ſuch things as they had, for our commodities. Therefore, that there might not be ſome diſorder committed among the Chriſtians, and that they might not take more in exchange than was fitting, and the others might have their due, the admiral appointed two perſons to overſee the buying of ſuch things as they brought, and to divide daily among the men what was exchanged, becauſe there was nothing left aboard to ſubſiſt on, as well becauſe moſt of the proviſions were ſpent, as for that the reſt were ſpoiled, and ſome loſt when the men came away from Belem, where the haſte and confuſion hindered things being brought off as they ſhould. That we might be ſupplied with ſuſtenance, it pleaſed God to direct us to that iſland, which abounds in proviſions, and is inhabited by Indians, who are willing enough to trade, and therefore they reſorted from all parts to barter ſuch commodities as they had. For this reaſon, and that the Chriſtians might not diſperſe about the iſland, the admiral choſe to fortify himſelf upon the ſea, and not ſettle a dwelling aſhore; becauſe we being naturally diſobedient, no command or puniſhment would have kept the men from running about the country, and into the houſes of the Indians, to take from them what they found, and thus they would have angered their wives and children, which would have cauſed

quarrels and made them our enemies, and the taking their proviſions by force would have reduced us to great want and diſtreſs. This could not happen now, becauſe the men were aboard, and there was no going aſhore without leave, which pleaſed the Indians, who ſold two hutties, which are little creatures like rabbits, for a bit of tin, and cakes of bread they call Zabi, for two or three red or yellow glaſs beads; and when they brought a quantity of any thing, they had a hawk's-bell, and ſometimes we gave a cacique or great man a little looking glaſs or red cap, or a pair of ſciſſars to pleaſe them. This good order kept the men plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and the Indians were well pleaſed with our company. But it being requiſite to find ſome means to return to Spain, the admiral ſometimes conſulted with the captains and principal men about the means of getting out of that confinement, and at leaſt returning to Hiſpaniola; for to ſtay there in hopes ſome ſhips might arrive was a mere folly, and to think to build a veſſel was impoſſible, having neither tools nor workmen fit to do any thing to the purpoſe, but what would take up a long time, and not produce ſuch a veſſel as was fit to ſail againſt the winds and currents that prevail among thoſe iſlands; and therefore it had been only time loſt, and would rather have proved our ruin than relief. Therefore after many conſultations, the admiral reſolved to ſend to Hiſpaniola to give an account that he was caſt aſhore on that iſland, and deſired a ſhip might be ſent him with proviſions and ammunition. To this purpoſe he made choice of two perſons that might perform it faithfully and courageouſly, I ſay courageouſly, becauſe it ſeemed impoſſible to go over from one iſland to the other in canoes, and there was no other way for it: theſe being boats, as has been ſaid above made of one ſingle tree hollowed, and ſo contrived, that when they are loaded, they are not a ſpan above water. Beſides, they muſt be indifferently large for that paſſage, becauſe little ones would be more dangerous, and the biggeſt by reaſon of their own weight were not fit for a long voyage, or to perform what was deſigned. Two canoes fit for the purpoſe being choſe, the admiral in July 1503, ordered James Mendez de Segura, his chief ſecretary, to go in one of them with ſix Chriſtians and ten Indians to row, and in the other he ſent Bartholomew Fieſco, a Genoeſe gentleman, with a like number of men; that as ſoon as James Mendez got over to Hiſpaniola, he might continue his journey to St. Domingo which was two hundred and fifty leagues from the place where we were, and Fieſco might return to bring the news that the other was ſafe arrived, and we might not be left in fear leſt ſome diſaſter had befallen him, which there was much cauſe to fear; conſidering, as has been ſaid, how unfit a canoe is to live upon a rough ſea, eſpecially when there were Chriſtians in it; for if there were none but Indians the danger had not been ſo great, becauſe they are ſo dextrous, that though a canoe overſets, when they are half way over, they turn it up again, ſwimming, and get into it. But honour and neceſſity putting men upon bolder attempts than this, the perſons abovementioned took their way along the coaſt of Jamaica to the eaſtermoſt point of it, which the Indians call Aoamaquique, from a cacique of that province ſo called, thirty three leagues from Maima, where we were. There being thirty leagues diſtance between the two iſlands, and nothing in the way but one little iſland or rock eight leagues from Hiſpaniola, it was requiſite to expect a calm, in order to croſs over ſo great a ſea in ſuch poor veſſels, which it pleaſed God they ſoon had. Every Indian having put aboard his calabaſh of water and carrabi, or ſuch proviſions as they uſe, and the Chriſtians with ſwords and targets, and the neceſſary ſuſtenance, they put out to ſea; and the admiral's brother, who went to that point of Jamaica to ſee that the Indians of the iſland ſhould no way hinder them, ſtaid there, till night coming on, he loſt ſight

of them, and then returned eaſily towards the ſhips, in his way perceiving the people of the country to converſe and be friendly with us.

## CHAP. CII. — *How the Brothers called Porras, with many of the Men, mutinied againſt the Admiral, ſaying they would go to Spain.*

WHEN the canoes were gone for Hiſpaniola, the men left aboard the ſhips began to fall ſick, as well by reaſon of the hardſhips endured during the voyage, as the change of diet; for at preſent they had no Spaniſh proviſions, nor wine, nor fleſh, except ſome of thoſe hutties we have ſpoke of, they happened to get in exchange. So that thoſe who were found, thinking it very hard to be ſo long confined, did not forbear to mutter among themſelves in private; ſaying, the admiral would return into Spain no more, becauſe Their Catholic Majeſties had turned him off, nor much leſs into Hiſpaniola, where he had been refuſed admittance at his coming from Spain, and that he had ſent thoſe in the canoes into Spain to ſolicit his own affairs, and not to bring ſhips or other ſuccours, and that he deſigned whilſt they were ſoliciting Their Catholic Majeſties, to ſtay there to fulfil his baniſhment; for otherwiſe Bartholomew Fieſco had been come back by this time, as was given out he was to do. Beſides they knew not, whether he and James Mendez were drowned by the way; which, if it had happened, they ſhould never be relieved, if they did not take care for it themſelves, ſince the admiral did not ſeem to look to it for the reaſon aforeſaid, and becauſe of the gout, which had ſo ſeized all his limbs, that he could ſcarce ſtir in his bed, much leſs undergo the fatigue and danger of going over to Hiſpaniola in canoes. For which reaſons, they ought with a good heart to fix their reſolution, ſince they were well, before they fell ſick with the reſt; that it would not be in the admiral's power to hinder them; and being once in Hiſpaniola, they would be ſo much the better received by how much the danger they left him in was greater, becauſe of the hatred and enmity borne him by the commendary Lares, then governor of that iſland; and that when they went into Spain they might go to the biſhop D. John de Fonſeca, who would favour them, as would the treaſurer Morales, who kept for his miſtreſs the ſiſter of thoſe Porraſes, the ring-leaders of the mutineers, and chief fomenters of the ſedition, who did not doubt but they ſhould be well received by Their Catholic Majeſties, before whom all the fault would be laid upon the admiral, as had been in the affairs of Hiſpaniola with Roldan; and Their Majeſties would rather ſeize him and take all he had, than be obliged to perform all that was agreed upon between them and him. Theſe and the like arguments they uſed among themſelves, and the perſuaſions and ſuggeſtions of the aforeſaid brothers, one of whom was captain of the ſhip Bermuda, and the other comptroller to the ſquadron, prevailed with forty eight men to join in this conſpiracy, taking Porras for their captain; and every one provided what he could againſt the day and hour appointed; and being all ready with their arms, on the 2d of January in the morning, the aforeſaid captain Francis de Porras came upon the quarter-deck of the admiral's ſhip, and ſaid to him, My lord what is the meaning, that you will not go into Spain, and will keep us all here periſhing? The admiral hearing theſe unuſual inſolent words, and ſuſpecting what the matter might be, very calmly anſwered, he did not ſee which way they could go, till thoſe that were gone in the canoes ſent a ſhip. That no man was more deſirous to be gone than he, as well for his own private intereſt, as for the good of them all, for whom he was accountable; but that if he had any thing elſe to propoſe, he would again call together the captains and principal men to conſult,

as

as had been done ſeveral times before. Porras replied it was no time to talk, but that he ſhould embark quickly or ſtay there by himſelf; and ſo turning his back, added in a loud voice, I am going to Spain with thoſe that will follow me; at which time all his followers, who were preſent began to cry out, We will go with you, we will go with you, and running about, poſſeſſed themſelves of the forecaſtle, poop, and round-tops, all in confuſion; and crying, Let them die; others, for Spain, for Spain; and others What ſhall we do, captain? Though the admiral was then in bed ſo lame of the gout that he could not ſtand; yet he could not forbear riſing and ſtumbling out at this noiſe. But two or three worthy perſons, his ſervants, laid hold of, and with labour laid him in his bed, that the mutineers might not murder him. Then they ran to his brother, who was courageouſly come out with a half pike in his hand; and wreſting it out of his hands, put him in to his brother, deſiring captain Porras to go about his buſineſs, and not do ſome miſchief they might all ſuffer for; that he might be ſatisfied they did not oppoſe his going; but if he ſhould kill the admiral, he could not expect but to be ſeverely puniſhed, without hopes of any benefit. The tumult being ſomewhat appeaſed, the conſpirators took ten canoes, that were by the ſhip's ſide, and which the admiral had bought all about the iſland, and went aboard them as joyfully as if they had been in ſome port of Spain; upon this many more, who had no hand in the plot, in deſpair to ſee themſelves as they thought forſaken, taking what they could along with them, went aboard the canoes with them, to the great ſorrow and affliction of thoſe few faithful ſervants, who remained with the admiral, and of all the ſick, who thought themſelves loſt for ever, and without hopes of ever getting off. And it is certain, that had the people been well, not twenty men had remained with the admiral, who went out to comfort his men with the beſt words the poſture of his affairs would ſuggeſt; and the mutineers, with their captain Francis de Porras, in their canoes, went away for the eaſt point of the iſland, whence James Mendez and Fieſco went over for Hiſpaniola; and whereſoever they came, they inſulted the Indians, taking away their proviſions and what elſe they pleaſed by force; and telling them, they might go to the admiral and he would pay them, but in caſe he did not, they might kill him, which was the beſt thing they could do; becauſe he was not only hated by the Chriſtians, but had been the cauſe of all the miſchief had befallen the Indians of the other iſland, and would do the ſame by them, if they did not prevent it by his death, for that was his deſign in ſtaying there. Thus travelling to the eaſtermoſt point of Jamaica, the firſt calm they ſet out for Hiſpaniola, carrying ſome Indians in every canoe to row. But the weather not being well ſettled, and their canoes overloaded, they reſolved to return to Jamaica before they were four leagues at ſea, the wind turning againſt them, and they being able to make but little way. Beſides, they not being ſkilful at managing the canoes, it happened a little water flaſhed in over the ſides; to remedy which, they lightened, throwing all they carried over-board; ſo that nothing remained but their arms, and as much proviſion as would ſerve them back. The wind ſtill freſhing, and they thinking themſelves in ſome danger, it was reſolved to murder the Indians, and throw them into the ſea; this they accordingly executed upon ſome of them; and others, who for fear of death, truſting in their ſkill in ſwimming, leaped over into the water, and being very weary would hang by the canoes to breathe a little, had their hands cut off, and were wounded in other parts; ſo that they butchered eighteen, leaving only a few alive to ſteer the canoes, becauſe they knew not how to do it. And had not the need they had of them prevented it, they had completed the greateſt act of cruelty imaginable, leaving not one of them alive, after they had by in-

treaties and deceitfully, drawn them to their aſſiſtance in that dangerous voyage. Being come to ſhore, they differed in opinions; for ſome ſaid it was better to go to Cuba, and that from that place where they were, they might take the eaſt winds and currents upon their quarter, and ſo run over without any trouble in a ſhort time, and ſo croſs over from thence to Hiſpaniola, not knowing they were ſeventeen leagues aſunder: others ſaid it was better to return to the ſhips, and make their peace with the admiral, or take from him by force what commodities and arms he had left; others were for ſtaying till another calm, to attempt the ſame paſſage again. This being thought the beſt advice, they ſtaid in that town of Aoamaquique above a month, waiting for fair weather, and deſtroying the country. When the fair weather came, they embarked again twice, but made nothing of it, the wind being contrary. Being thus diſappointed of that paſſage, they ſet out towards the weſt from one town to another, with an ill-will, without canoes or any comfort, ſometimes eating what they found, and taking it where they could by force, according to their ſtrength, and that of the caciques, through whoſe territories they paſſed.

CHAP. CIII.—*What the Admiral did after the Mutineers were gone from him, and the Advantage he made of an Eclipſe.*

TO return to what the admiral did: after the rebels were gone he took great care that the ſick ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch things as were proper for their recovery, and that the Indians ſhould be ſo civilly treated that they might not forbear bringing proviſions to exchange for our commodities; which things were ſo well managed, and with ſuch application by him, that the Chriſtians ſoon recovered, and the Indians continued ſome days providing all things plentifully. But they being a people that take little pains in ſowing, and we eating more in one day than they did in twenty, beſides having no longer any inclination to our commodities, and making little account of them, they began in ſome meaſure to take the advice of the mutineers, ſince they ſaw ſo great a part of our men againſt us, and therefore brought not ſuch plenty of proviſions as we ſtood in need of. This brought us to great diſtreſs; for if we would have taken it by force, the greateſt part of us muſt have gone aſhore in warlike manner, and have left the admiral aboard in great danger, he being very ill of the gout; and if we expected they ſhould bring it of their own accord, we muſt live in miſery, and give ten times as much for it as we did at firſt, they knowing how to make their bargains, as being ſenſible of the advantage they had over us. But God, who never forſakes thoſe that have recourſe to him, as the admiral had, put him in the way how he ſhould be furniſhed with all he wanted, which was thus. He bethought himſelf that within three days there would be an eclipſe of the moon in the firſt part of the night; and then ſends an Indian of Hiſpaniola who was with us, to call the principal Indians of that province, ſaying he would talk with them about a matter of concern. Being come that day before the eclipſe was, he ordered the interpreter to tell them, that we were Chriſtians and believed in God, who dwelt in heaven and took care of the good and puniſhed the wicked: that he ſeeing the rebellion of the Spaniards, had not permitted them to go over to Hiſpaniola as James Mendez and Fieſco had done, but had made them run through all thoſe ſufferings and dangers all the iſland had heard of: that as for the Indians, ſeeing how negligent they were in bringing proviſions for our commodities, he was angry with them, and had decreed to puniſh them with plague and famine; which becauſe perhaps they would not believe, God had appointed to give them a manifeſt

manifeſt token of it in the heaven, that they might plainly know the puniſhment was to come from him. Therefore, he bid them that night obſerve when the moon appeared, and they ſhould ſee her riſe angry and of a bloody hue, to denote the miſchief God intended ſhould fall on them. Having ſaid this to them, the Indians went away, ſome afraid and others looking upon it as an idle ſtory; but the eclipſe beginning as the moon was riſing, and increaſing the higher ſhe was, the Indians took notice of it, and were ſo frighted that they came running from all parts loaded with proviſions, crying and lamenting, and prayed the admiral by all means to intercede with God for them, that he might not make them feel the effects of his wrath, and promiſing for the future carefully to bring him all he wanted. The admiral ſaid he would ſpeak with God, and ſhut himſelf up whilſt the eclipſe laſted, they ſtill crying out to him to aſſiſt them; and when the admiral ſaw the eclipſe began to go off, and the moon would ſoon ſhine, he came out of his cabin, ſaying he had prayed to his God for them, and promiſed him in their names they would be good for the future, and uſe the Chriſtians well, bringing them proviſions and other neceſſaries; and that therefore God forgave them, and as a token of it they ſhould ſee the angrineſs and bloody colour of the moon would go off. This proving ſo, juſt as he ſpoke it, they gave the admiral many thanks, and praiſed God, continuing ſo till the eclipſe was quite paſſed. From that time forwards they always took care to provide all that was neceſſary, ever praiſing the God of the Chriſtians; for they believed the eclipſes they had ſeen at other times, had denoted miſchiefs to befal them; and being ignorant of the cauſe of them, and that they happened at certain times, not believing it poſſible to know on earth, what was to happen in the heavens, they certainly concluded the God of the Chriſtians had revealed it to the admiral.

## CHAP. CIV. — *Of another Mutiny among thoſe that remained with the Admiral, which was quelled by the coming of a Veſſel from Hiſpaniola.*

EIGHT months being paſſed after James Mendez and Bartholomew Fieſco went away, and there being no news of them, the admiral's men were very much caſt down, ſuſpecting the worſt; ſome ſaying they were loſt at ſea; others that they were killed by the Indians in Hiſpaniola; and others, that they had died with ſickneſs and hardſhips; for from the point of that iſland, which lay next Jamaica, there was above one hundred leagues to St. Domingo whither they were to go for relief, the way by land being over uncouth mountains, and by ſea againſt the prevailing winds and currents. To confirm their ſuſpicion, ſome Indians aſſured them they had ſeen a canoe overſet and carried on the coaſt of Jamaica by the current, which it is likely had been ſpread abroad by the mutineers to make thoſe that were with the admiral deſpair of getting off. They therefore concluding for certain that no relief would come to them, one Bernard, an apothecary of Valencia, with two companions, whoſe names were Zamora and Villatoro, and moſt of thoſe that had remained ſick, ſecretly conſpired together to do the ſame the others had done before. But almighty God, who knew how dangerous this ſecond ſedition muſt be to the admiral, was pleaſed to put a ſtop to it by the coming of a veſſel ſent by the governor of Hiſpaniola. It came to an anchor one evening near the ſhips that were a-ground; and the captain of it, whoſe name was James de Eſcobar, came in his boat to viſit the admiral, ſaying, the commendary and governor of Hiſpaniola ſent him his commendations; and not being able ſo ſoon to ſend a ſhip fit to carry off all thoſe men, had ſent him in his name to viſit him, and preſenting him a caſk of wine, and two flitches of bacon,

returned

returned to his caraval, and without taking any letter, ſailed away that very evening. The men, ſomewhat comforted with his coming, took no notice of what they had conſpired to do; though at the ſame time they much wondered that the caraval had ſtole away ſo privately, and in ſuch haſte; and they ſuſpected, that perhaps the governor of Hiſpaniola would not have the admiral go thither. He being aware of it, told them he had ſo ordered it, becauſe he would not go away without carrying them all off, which that caraval was not big enough to perform; he being willing to prevent any diſorders his ſtay might occaſion, from the mutineers. But the governor of Hiſpaniola was afraid that if the admiral returned to Spain, Their Catholic Majeſties would reſtore him to his government, and ſo he ſhould be forced to quit it; for which reaſon he would not provide, as he might have done, for the admiral's voyage to Hiſpaniola; and therefore had ſent that little caraval to ſpy and obſerve the condition the admiral was in, and to know whether he could contrive with ſafety to have him deſtroyed, which he knew by what had happened to James Mendez, who ſent an account of his voyage in writing, by the caraval, which was as follows.

## CHAP. CV.—*An Account of what happened to James Mendez and Fieſco, in their Voyage.*

JAMES MENDEZ and Fieſco, ſetting out from Jamaica, that day they found the weather ſettled calm, and ſo held on till night, encouraging and perſuading the Indians to row with thoſe paddles they uſe inſtead of oars; and the weather being violently hot, they would ſometimes leap into the water and ſwim, and then come freſh again to row. Thus holding on their way, at ſunſet they loſt ſight of land, and half the Chriſtians and Indians taking their watch together at night to row, and take care the Indians ſhould not prove treacherous, they advanced all that night without ſtaying, ſo that when day appeared they were all weary enough. But the commanders encouraging their men, and ſometimes rowing to give a good example; after eating to recover their ſtrength, and the fatigue of the night, they fell to their labour again, ſeeing nothing but ſky and water. And though this was enough to afflict them ſufficiently, yet we may ſay of them that they were in Tantalus his condition, who having water within a ſpan of his mouth, could not quench his thirſt; ſo they were in diſtreſs; for through the ill-management of the Indians, and the great heat of the foregoing day and night, all the water was drank up without any regard to the future: and all heat and labour being intolerable without drink, the higher the ſun aſcended the ſecond day after they ſet out, the more the heat and thirſt increaſed, ſo that by noon they had no ſtrength left. And, as upon ſuch occaſions, the head is bound to ſupply the defect of the hands and feet; ſo by good fortune, the captains found two caſks of water, wherewith now and then relieving the Indians, they kept them up till the cool of the evening, encouraging them, and affirming they ſhould be ſoon near a ſmall iſland called Nabazza, which lay in their way eight leagues diſtant from Hiſpaniola. This with their extraordinary thirſt, and the labour of rowing two days and a night quite caſt them down, believing they had loſt their way; for according to their reckoning they had run twenty leagues, and ought now to be in ſight of the iſland. But it was wearineſs that deceived them, as well becauſe a canoe that rows well cannot in a day and night row above ten leagues, as by reaſon the currents are againſt them that go from Jamaica to Hiſpaniola, which they always judge to be more that ſuffer moſt by it. Night being come, having thrown one into the ſea who died with thirſt, and others lying ſtretched out on the bottom of the canoe, they were ſo afflicted

afflicted in mind, and ſo weak and ſpent, that they hardly made any way. Yet taking ſometimes ſea water to refreſh their mouths, which we may ſay was the comfort given our Saviour when he ſaid, I thirſt; they gently held on their way till the ſecond night came on without ſight of land: but they being of thoſe God intended to ſave, it pleaſed him, that in that time of need, when the moon began to riſe, James Mendez perceived ſhe got up over-land, for a little iſland covered her in the nature of an eclipſe. Nor could they have ſeen it otherwiſe, becauſe it was ſmall, and at that time of night. Comforting them chearfully, and ſhewing them the land, he ſo encouraged them, ſupplying them in their great thirſt with a little water out of the barrels, that the next morning they found themſelves near the ſmall iſland, we ſaid was eight leagues from Hiſpaniola, and called Nabazza. They found it to be all round a hard rock, and about half a league in circumference. Landing there the beſt they could, they all gave God thanks for that mercy; and there being no ſpring nor tree, they went about taking up rain-water with their calabaſhes, which lay in holes among the rocks; which it pleaſed God to give them ſuch plenty of, that they filled their bellies and veſſels; and though the wiſer ſort adviſed the others to uſe moderation in drinking, yet thirſt made ſome of the Indians exceed all meaſure, whereof ſome died there, and others got deſperate diſtempers. Having reſted that day till evening, diverting themſelves, and eating ſuch things as they found along the ſhore; for James Mendez had all utenſils to ſtrike fire, rejoicing to be in ſight of Hiſpaniola; and fearing ſome bad weather might ſtart up, they made ready to put an end to their voyage, and accordingly about ſun-ſetting, in the cool of the evening, they ſet out towards Cape St. Michael, the neareſt land of Hiſpaniola, where they arrived the next morning, being the fourth day after they ſet out. When they had reſted here two days, Bartholomew Fieſco, who was a gentleman that ſtood upon his honour, would have returned as the admiral had commanded him; but the men who were ſailors, and Indians, being ſpent and indiſpoſed with their paſt labour, and drinking ſea-water, and thought they had been delivered out of the whale's belly, their three days and nights anſwering to thoſe Jonas lay there, he could not get a man to go with him. James Mendez, as being moſt in haſte, was gone up the coaſt of Hiſpaniola in his canoe, notwithſtanding he ſuffered under a quartan ague, cauſed by his great ſufferings at ſea and at land; in that condition, travelling over mountains and bad roads, he came to Xaragua, which is a province in the weſt of Hiſpaniola, where the governor then was, who ſeemed to rejoice at his coming, though afterwards he was tedious in diſpatching him, for the cauſes above mentioned, till after much importunity, it was obtained of him, that he ſhould give James Mendez leave to go to St. Domingo, there to buy and fit out a veſſel with the admiral's money; which ſhip being by him got ready, was ſent to Jamaica at the latter end of May 1504, and ſailed for Spain, according to the admiral's direction, to give Their Catholic Majeſties an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage.

## CHAP. CVI. — *How the Mutineers ſet themſelves againſt the Admiral, and would hear of no Agreement.*

NOW to return to the admiral, who with all his company had now received ſome comfort and certain hopes of being delivered, by the account of James Mendez his arrival, and the coming of the caraval; he therefore thought fit to make it known to the mutineers, that their jealouſy ceaſing, they might return to their duty. He therefore ſent two men of note, who had friends among them, and knowing they would not believe, or at leaſt not ſeem to believe the coming of the caraval, he ſent them part of

the bacon, the captain of it had presented him. These two being come where captain Porras was, with those he confided most in, he came out to meet them, that they might not move or persuade the men to repent them of the crime they had committed, imagining, as the truth was, that the admiral sent them a general pardon. Yet it was not in the power of the brothers so to curb their men, but that they heard the news of the coming of the caraval, the health of those that were with the admiral, and the offers he made them. After several consultations among themselves, and the principal men, the result was, that they would not trust to the pardon the admiral sent them, but would go peaceably away to Hispaniola, if he would promise to give them a ship to go in, provided two came; and if there came but one, he should assign them half of it; and in the mean while, because they had lost their clothes and commodities they had to trade upon the sea, he should share what he had with them. To which the messengers answering, that those were no reasonable propósals, they interrupted them, saying, that since it was not granted them by fair means, they would have it by force. Thus they dismissed the admiral's messengers, misinterpreting his offers, and telling their followers, that he was a cruel revengeful man; and though they feared nothing for themselves, because the admiral durst not presume to wrong them, because of the favour they had at court, yet they had reason to fear he would be revenged on the rest, under colour of just punishment, and that for this reason: Roldan and his friends in Hispaniola had not trusted him, nor his offers, and it succeeded well with them, they finding so much favour, that they had him sent into Spain in irons. And that the coming of the caraval, with the news of James Mendez, might make no impression on them, they intimated to them, that it was no true caraval, but a phantom made by art magic, the admiral being very skilful in that art, alleging, it was not at all likely, that if it had really been a caraval, the men aboard it would not have had some further discourse with those about the admiral, but would have vanished so soon. Nay, it was more probable, that had it been a caraval, the admiral himself would have gone aboard it, with his son and brother. With these, and other words to this purpose, they again confirmed them in their rebellion; and then brought them to resolve to repair to the ships to take what they found by force, and secure the admiral.

## CHAP. CVII. — *How the Mutineers being come to the Ships, the Admiral's Brother went out to fight them, overcame them, and took Porras their Captain.*

THE mutineers continuing obstinate in their wicked resolution, came to a town of the Indians within a quarter of a league of the ships, then called Maima, where afterwards the Christians built the town they called Seville; which the admiral understanding, and being informed of their design, he resolved to send his brother against them, to endeavour to reduce them by good words; but so attended, that if they offered him any wrong, he might be able to oppose them. To this purpose, the lieutenant drew out fifty men, well armed, and ready for any service. These being come to a small hill, a bow-shot from the town where the rebels were, sent those two before, who had gone on the first message, to require them to be peaceable, and that their captain should come peaceably to a conference. But they being nothing inferior in strength or number, and almost all seamen, persuaded themselves, that those who came with the lieutenant were weak men, and would not fight them; therefore they would not permit the messengers to talk to them, but with their naked swords, and the spears they had, all in a body, crying, Kill, kill, fell upon the lieutenant's party; six of the rebels, who were accounted the boldest, having taken an oath not to part,

but

but go directly againſt the lieutenant, for if he were killed, they made no account of the reſt; wherein it pleaſed God they were diſappointed; for they were ſo well received, that five or ſix of them dropped at the firſt charge, moſt of them being of thoſe that aimed at the lieutenant, who fell upon his enemies in ſuch manner, that in a very ſhort time, John Sanchez de Cadiz, from whom Quibio made his eſcape, was killed, as was John Barba, the firſt I ſaw draw his ſword when they ran into rebellion; and ſome others fell very much wounded, and Francis de Porras their captain was taken. Seeing themſelves ſo roughly handled, like baſe rebellious people, they turned their backs and fled as faſt as they could. The lieutenant would have purſued, had not ſome of the chief men about him been againſt it, ſaying, it was good to puniſh, but not ſo ſeverely, leſt when he had killed many of them, the Indians ſhould think fit to fall upon the victors, ſince he ſaw they were all in arms, waiting the event of the fray, without taking either ſide. The lieutenant approving of the advice, returned to the ſhips, carrying along with him the captain of the rebels and ſome other priſoners, where he was well received by the admiral, his brother, and thoſe that had remained with him, all of them giving thanks to God for that victory, which they attributed to him, and wherein the guilty had received their juſt puniſhment, and their pride been humbled, none being wounded on our ſide but the lieutenant in his hand, and one of the admiral's gentlemen of the chamber, who died of a ſmall wound he received with a ſpear in his hip. But to return to the rebels, Peter de Ledeſma, that pilot we mentioned above, who went with Vincent Yanez to Honduras, and ſwam aſhore at Belem, fell down certain rocks, and lay hid that day and the next, till the evening, no body aſſiſting him, or knowing where he was, except the Indians, who with amazement, not knowing how our ſwords would cut, with little ſticks opened his wounds, one of which was in his head, and his brains were ſeen through it; another on his ſhoulder, ſo large that his arm hung, as it were, looſe; and the calf of one leg almoſt cut off, ſo that it hung down to his ankle; and one foot, as if it had a ſlipper on it, being ſliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithſtanding all which deſperate hurts, when the Indians diſturbed him, he would ſay, Let me alone, for if I get up, &c.; and they at theſe words would fly in a great conſternation. This being known aboard the ſhips, he was carried into a thatched houſe hard by, where the dampneſs and gnats were enough to have killed him. Here inſtead of turpentine, they dreſſed his wounds with oil, and he had ſo many, beſides thoſe already mentioned, that the ſurgeon who dreſſed him ſwore, that for the firſt eight days he ſtill found out new ones, and yet at laſt he recovered, the gentleman of the chamber dying, in whom he apprehended no danger. The next day, being the 20th of May, all thoſe that had eſcaped ſent a petition to the admiral, humbly begging he would be merciful to them; for they repented them of what was paſt, and were ready to ſubmit themſelves to him. The admiral granted their requeſt, and paſſed a general pardon, upon condition the captain ſhould continue a priſoner as he was, that he might not raiſe another mutiny. And becauſe they could not be ſo eaſy and conveniently aboard the ſhips, and there might ariſe ſome provoking words among the common ſort, which would cauſe diſturbance, and rub up old ſores, which might be the cauſe of freſh tumults; and becauſe it would be a hard matter to quarter and maintain ſo many men conveniently, thoſe few there were beginning to ſuffer want, he reſolved to ſend them a commander with commodities to exchange, that he might go with them about the iſland, and contain them within the bounds of juſtice, till ſuch time as the ſhips came, which he daily expected.

CHAP. CVIII. — *How the Admiral went over to Hiſpaniola, and thence into Spain, where at Valladolid it pleaſed God to take him to himſelf.*

THE Chriſtians being all again returned to their duty, and the Indians for that ſame reaſon being more careful to ſupply them for their commodities, ſome days paſſed which made up a year ſince we arrived at Jamaica, after which there arrived a ſhip, which James Mendez had bought and fitted out at St. Domingo with the admiral's money, aboard which all the men, as well enemies as friends, were ſhipped, and ſetting ſail on the 28th of June, we proceeded on our voyage with much difficulty, the winds and currents, as we have ſaid before, being very contrary to go from Jamaica to St. Domingo, where we arrived in great need of reſt, on the 13th of Auguſt 1504, and the governor made a great reception for the admiral, lodging him in his own houſe; though this was a treacherous kindneſs; for on the other ſide, he ſet Porras, who had headed the mutineers, at liberty, and attempted to puniſh thoſe who had a hand in apprehending of him, and to try other cauſes and offences that belonged only to Their Catholic Majeſties, who had appointed the admiral captain-general of their fleet; and yet he fawned upon the admiral, uſing all demonſtrations of kindneſs in his preſence. This laſted till our ſhip was refitted, and another hired, on which the admiral, his kindred and ſervants embarked, moſt of the reſt remaining in Hiſpaniola. We ſailed on the 2d of September, and being but two leagues at ſea, the maſt of the ſhip came by the board; for which reaſon the admiral cauſed it to return into the harbour, and we in the other held on our courſe for Spain. Having run about the third part of the way, there aroſe ſuch a terrible ſtorm, that the ſhip was in great danger. The next day, which was the 19th of October, the weather being fair, and we very ſtill, the maſt flew into four pieces; but the courage of the lieutenant, and the admiral's ingenuity, though he could not riſe out of his bed for the gout, found a remedy for this misfortune, making a jury-maſt of a yard, and ſtrengthening the middle of it with ropes, and ſome planks they took from the poop and ſtern. In another ſtorm we ſpent our foremaſt, and yet it pleaſed God we ſailed ſeven hundred leagues in that condition, and arrived at the port of St. Lucar de Barremeda, and thence to Seville, where the admiral took ſome reſt after the fatigues he had gone through; and in May 1505, ſet out for The Catholic King's court; for the glorious Queen Iſabel had the year before exchanged this life for a better, which was no ſmall trouble to the admiral, ſhe having always favoured and ſupported him, whereas The Catholic King had proved unkind and averſe to his affairs, which plainly appeared by the reception he gave him; for though to appearance he ſhewed him a favourable aſpect, and pretended to reſtore him to his full power, yet he would have quite ſtript him of all, had not ſhame hindered him; which, as has been ſaid, has great power over noble ſpirits; and the King himſelf and Queen had both engaged their faith to him, when he went upon his laſt voyage. But the Indies daily more and more diſcovering what they were like to be, and the King perceiving how great a ſhare fell to the admiral, by virtue of the articles granted him, he ſtrove to have the abſolute dominion in himſelf, and to diſpoſe of all thoſe employments which belonged to the admiral, according to his own will and pleaſure. Hereupon he began to propoſe new terms to him, by way of equivalent, which God would not permit to take effect; becauſe juſt then King Philip I. came to reign in Spain; and at the time His Catholic Majeſty went from Valladolid to meet him, the admiral, much oppreſſed with the gout, and troubled to ſee himſelf put by his right, other diſtempers coming on him, gave up his ſoul to God upon Aſcenſion-Day, being the 20th of May

1506,

1506, at the aforeſaid city of Valladolid, having devoutly received all the ſacraments of the church, and ſaid theſe words laſt, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit;" which, through his infinite mercy, we do not queſtion but he received into his glory: to which may he admit us with him!

His body was afterwards conveyed to Seville, and there by the Catholic King's order magnificently buried in the cathedral, and an epitaph in Spaniſh cut on his tomb, in memory of his renowned actions, and diſcovery of the Indies. The words are theſe:

"A CASTILIA, YA LEON, NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON."

That is,

"Colon gave Caſtille and Leon a new World."

Words well worth obſerving, becauſe the like cannot be found either among the ancients or moderns.

It will therefore be ever remembered, that he was the diſcoverer of the Weſt Indies, though ſince then, Ferdinand Cortez and Francis Pizarro have found out many other provinces and vaſt kingdoms on the continent; for Cortez diſcovered the province of Yucatan, and the city of Mexico, called New Spain, then poſſeſſed by the great Montezuma, emperor of thoſe parts; and Francis Pizarro found out the kingdom of Peru, which is of a vaſt extent, and full of endleſs wealth, which was under the dominion of the great King Atabaliba. From which countries and kingdoms there came every year into Spain many ſhips laden with gold, ſilver, brazil, cochineal, ſugar, and many other commodities of great value, beſides pearls and other jewels, which are the cauſe that at this time Spain and its princes flouriſh and abound in wealth.

# THE DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS

## *MADE BY THE ENGLISH*

## IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF AMERICA, FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. TO THE CLOSE OF THAT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH;

INTERSPERSED WITH

Various Remarks on the Progreſs of our Trade and naval Power, and the Difficulties which the Nation had to ſtruggle with in their firſt Attempts*.

CHAP. I. —1. *The Hiſtory of Madoc, one of the Princes of Wales, and his ſuppoſed Diſcovery of America ſet in a true Light, and vindicated from ſome groundleſs Reflections made thereon by foreign Writers.*—2. *The generous Diſpoſition of King Henry VII. with reſpect to encouraging Diſcoveries; and the Voyages of John and Sebaſtian Cabot, in his Service, who firſt viſited the Continent of America.*—3. *The Voyage of Sebaſtian Cabot, for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, in which he ſailed along the Coaſt of that Part of North America, to which the Spaniards afterwards gave the Name of Florida.* —4. *The Voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, Vice Admiral of England, and Sebaſtian Cabot, to Brazil, and other Parts of the Weſt Indies.*—5. *The firſt Attempt of Mr. Hore, Merchant of London, to eſtabliſh a Colony in Newfoundland; the ſtrange Misfortunes he met with, and a memorable Inſtance of the Juſtice and Generoſity of King Henry VIII.* —6. *The ſeveral Voyages of Captain William Hawkins to Brazil, and a ſingular Proof of his Abilities and Integrity.*—7. *A ſuccinct Account of the Diſcoveries and maritime Expeditions to America, under the Reign of King Edward VI.*—8. *That Hiſtory continued during the Reign of Queen Mary, and her Conſort, King Philip.*—9. *The Methods taken for extending our Trade, and making Settlements in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*—10. *An Account of Sir Francis Drake's giving the Name of New Albion, to a Country lying in the northern Part of California, and the Importance of that Diſcovery.*—11. *The firſt Settlement of Newfoundland, with a ſhort Account of the Nature thereof, and the Advantages which have accrued from the Fiſhery upon its Coaſts to this Nation.*—12. *The firſt Attempt to ſettle Virginia, under the Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, with an Account of that Colony.*—13. *The ſeveral Voyages of Captain John Davis, and the great Diſcoveries made by him in North America.*—14. *Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition to Guiana; the Conſequences of that Expedition, and Remarks thereupon.*—15. *Other remarkable naval Tranſactions, within the Compaſs of that Reign, relating to this Subject.*—16. *A ſuccinct View of the State of our Trade to America, at the Time of the Death of Queen Elizabeth.*—17. *Remarks and Obſervations on the principal Events mentioned in the foregoing Section.*

1. THE glory of having firſt diſcovered far diſtant countries, and adding thereby to the knowledge and commerce of mankind, has always had charms ſufficient to invite different nations to put in their claims, even though they have not been extremely well founded. When America was firſt made known, it occaſioned abundance of enquiries; and, as it was natural, recalled to many

* HARRIS ii. 189.

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people's remembrances and conſiderations, ſtories which had before been deemed ſcarce worthy of notice: amongſt the reſt our nation put in; and the tale told in favour of us, as it is the earlieſt in point of time, ſeems to merit relation as well or better than any other. In ſhort, this ſtory aſſerts that Madoc Prince of Wales, was the firſt diſcoverer of America, and the detail of his expedition runs thus: He flouriſhed in the twelfth century, and was ſon of Owen Guyneth, Prince of North Wales; his brethren raiſing a civil war about the diviſion of his father's dominions, he choſe rather to go to ſea with a few of his friends, and ſeek out new habitations, than run the hazard of what might happen in this diſpute. Accordingly, about the year 1170, ſteering due weſt, and leaving Ireland on the north, he came to an unknown country, where he ſettled a colony; and returning thence into Wales, carried a ſecond ſupply of people, but was never heard of more.

That the country he went to was really America, is more, I think, than can be thoroughly proved; but that this tale was invented after the diſcovery of that country, on purpoſe to ſet up a prior title, is moſt certainly falſe. Meredith ap Rees, who died in 1477, and was a famous Welch poet, compoſed an ode in honour of this Madoc, wherein was contained an account of his diſcoveries. Now as this was ſeveral years before Colon made his firſt voyage, we may be ſure that this was really a Britiſh tradition, and no tale of late contrivance. Some foreign writers indeed, have ſuggeſted that this was a pure invention, deſigned to prejudice the reputation of the great diſcovery made by Colon; but in this they rather ſhew their malice to us than diſcover ours; for beyond all doubt the Welch had, and have ſtill, ſuch a tradition, and therefore ſome wiſer and better informed critics have endeavoured to prove that it was not America, but Greenland, to which our Welch Prince ſailed. In proof of which they have obſerved that this country was well known in the ninth and tenth centuries, though it was afterwards loſt.

But with ſubmiſſion to theſe great men, this ſtory does not at all anſwer their purpoſe; for it is evident, the courſe does by no means agree; ſince if he had ſailed to that country he could not have left Ireland to the north. I have ſeen a very ingenious diſcourſe upon this ſubject, in which is ſuggeſted, that Prince Madoc landed in ſome part of Florida; that in proceſs of time, the colony he planted there proceeded round by land, and reached the northern parts of Mexico, which country they conquered, and were thoſe foreign anceſtors of the Mexicans, of whom we have heard ſo much from the Spaniſh writers that have recorded the adventures of Cortes, and with which the reader is ſo well acquainted, that there is no need of our ſaying any thing more of them here, except it be this, that ſeveral Britiſh words have been diſcovered in the old Mexican tongue, and that no other European nation can ſhew a better founded tradition than this; for the truth of which, however, I am very far from contending.

2. If there had been really any deſire in the Engliſh nation to conteſt the title of the crown of Spain to the country of America, it might have been undoubtedly fixed upon a much better foundation; for, in the life of Don Chriſtopher Colon, written by his ſon in the reign of our King Henry the VIIIth, it is expreſsly ſaid, that this great man ſent his brother Bartholomew into England, to offer his diſcovery to King Henry VII. and he did accordingly preſent a map, dated the 13th of February 1488, to that monarch; and having explained to him his brother's deſign, and what he propoſed thereby, it was readily accepted; and Don Bartholemew was ſent to invite his brother into England, with an aſſurance that the King would grant him all he deſired. This agreement was four years before the voyage of Colon in the ſervice of Their

Catholic Majeſties, and therefore had we been ſo much inclined to hunt for titles to this new-found country, here had been a fair pretence. But King Henry the VIIth. was of another diſpoſition; and though he was a prince much addicted to encourage ſuch kind of uſeful undertakings, he ſcorned to aim at reaping the fruits of other princes' adventures; and therefore he contented himſelf, after miſſing by mere accident, Colon's diſcovery, with inviting other ſeamen of known reputation, to enter into his ſervice for like purpoſes.

Amongſt theſe was John Cabot citizen of Venice, who had been long ſettled at Briſtol, and who thought himſelf capable of performing as a ſeaman things, little, if at all ſhort of what Colon had done. He accordingly applied himſelf to the King, who, by patent inrolled, dated the 5th of March, in the eleventh year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1495, granted to the ſaid John Cabot, and his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sancias, authority to ſail with five ſhips of what burthen and ſtrength they thought fit, upon diſcoveries to the eaſt, weſt and north; giving them the full property of ſuch country or countries as they ſhould diſcover, with this reſervation only, that they ſhould return to Briſtol, and that they ſhould pay him the fifth part of the neat profits of their voyage; in conſideration of which they were to have the excluſive right to the countries ſo diſcovered, to which no other Engliſh ſubjects were to trade, but by their leave and licence. But the year before that patent was granted, that is in 1494, John Cabot, with his ſon Sebaſtian, had ſailed from Briſtol upon diſcovery, and had actually ſeen the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prima Viſta, or Firſt Seen. And on the 24th of June in the ſame year he went aſhore on an iſland, which, becauſe it was diſcovered on that day, he called St. John's; and of this iſland he reported very truly, that the ſoil was barren, that it yielded little, and that the people wore bear-ſkin cloaths, and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and ſlings; but that the coaſt abounded with fiſh; and upon this report of his, the beforementioned patent was granted.

3. The next voyage made for diſcovery was by Sebaſtian Cabot, the ſon of John, concerning which all our writers have fallen into great miſtakes, for want of comparing the ſeveral accounts we have of this voyage, and making proper allowances for the manner in which they were written; ſince I cannot find there was ever any diſtinct and clear account of this voyage publiſhed, though it was of ſo great conſequence. On the contrary, I believe that Cabot himſelf kept no journal of it by him; ſince in a letter he wrote on this ſubject, he ſpeaks doubtfully of the very year in which it was undertaken, though, from the circumſtances he relates, that may be very certainly fixed. On the 3d of February, in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Henry VII, a new grant was made to John Cabot, by which he had leave given him to take ſhips out of any of the ports of England, of the burden of two hundred ton, to ſail upon diſcoveries; but before this could be effected, John Cabot died; and Sebaſtian, his ſon, applied himſelf to the King, propoſing to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage, as he himſelf tells us; and for this purpoſe he had a ſhip manned and victualled at the King's expence at Briſtol, and three or four other ſhips were fitted out at the expence of ſome merchants of that city, particularly Mr. Thorne and Mr. Hugh Elliot. But whereas Sebaſtian Cabot himſelf ſays, that he made this voyage in the ſummer of 1496, he muſt be miſtaken, and he very well might, ſpeaking from his memory only; and to prove this I need only obſerve, that this date will not at all agree even with his own account of the voyage; for he ſays expreſsly it was undertaken after his father's death; who, as we have ſhewn, was alive in the February following;

ſo that it was the ſummer of the year 1497, in which he made this voyage; and what he afterwards relates of his return, proves this likewiſe.

But we have a direct and clear authority as to this fact, which is, that of Robert Fabian, who fixes this voyage of Sebaſtian Cabot's to the month of May 1497. And on the 11th of June, the ſame year, he ſailed as high as ſixty ſeven degrees thirty minutes, finding the ſea ſtill open, and he thought that he might this way have paſſed through into the South Seas, but his crew mutinied, which forced him to return into the latitude of fifty ſix degrees, and from thence he ran down to thirty eight degrees, along the coaſt of the continent of America, which, as he expreſsly ſays, was afterwards called Florida, where proviſions growing ſhort, he returned into England, touching by the way at Newfoundland. On his return, he ſays, he found the nation in much confuſion, and great preparations making for a war in Scotland, which agrees exactly with Grafton's Chronicle, who places theſe preparations under the mayoralty of William Purchaſe, that is, to the year before-mentioned; and Robert Fabian ſays farther, that in the 14th year of King Henry VII. there were three men brought to the king, taken in the new-found iſland, which he before mentioned, who were cloathed in beaſt-ſkins, eat raw fleſh, ſpoke a ſtrange uncouth tongue, and were very brutiſh in their behaviour; but he farther adds, that he ſaw theſe people himſelf two years afterwards, and that they were then cloathed like Engliſhmen, and he could not have known them to be otherwiſe, if he had not been informed that theſe were the men brought over by Sebaſtian Cabot.

Thus, with the utmoſt exactneſs I could uſe, I have ſet this matter in its true light, and have thereby ſhewn, that he was not only the firſt perſon who attempted a north-weſt paſſage; and ſhewed thereby that he underſtood Colon's principles, but was likewiſe the firſt diſcoverer of the continent of America, which Colon did not ſee till a year after, as well as the firſt diſcoverer of Florida, which country was not ſo called till the year 1512; when, as we have before ſhewn, it was viſited by John Ponce de Leon, who took poſſeſſion of it for the King of Spain, and uſually paſſes for the firſt diſcoverer. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Sebaſtian Cabot clearly affirms, that his voyage was made to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage; which notion of his gave light, as is acknowledged even by foreign authors, to Ferdinand Magellan; and induced him confidently to affirm, that ſuch a paſſage might be found by the South, which he happily effected twenty-two years after this attempt made to the north by Sebaſtian Cabot.

I cannot ſay that any great uſe can be made of this kind of knowledge, but there ſeems to be no reaſon why we ſhould not pique ourſelves upon knowing theſe matters with as much exactneſs as ſtrangers; who, by dipping into our accounts, pretend to great knowledge in theſe matters, and very often impoſe upon ſuch as will not rake into their own old muſty antiquities, but pay an implicit regard to the bold aſſertions of modern authors; by taking the contrary method, and reſolving to be ſatisfied, even in trifles, we come to judge accurately and truly of the deſerts both of our own and of foreign nations; ſo as to yield the preference to ſome, and maintain our juſt rights againſt others. As for inſtance, though we cannot diſpute with the Spaniards the actual diſcovery of America; yet, we may fairly deny, what the preſent geographer of His Catholic Majeſty aſſerts, that we rejected Colon's propoſal; and we may likewiſe call him to a ſevere account, for placing the voyages of Sebaſtian Cabot to Florida, twenty-ſix years later than he ſhould have placed them, from the accounts given by Ramuſio, Gomara, Peter Martyr, and other authors, whom he either had not read, or ought to have read, before he took upon him

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to write on this ſubject; of which, though he writes ſenſibly, yet this will not excuſe his writing untruths.

Sebaſtian Cabot is by many of our writers poſitively affirmed to be an Engliſhman, born at Briſtol; but the Italians as poſitively claim him for their countryman, and ſay he was born at Venice; which, to ſpeak impartially, I believe is the truth; for he ſays himſelf, that when his father was invited over to England, he brought him with him, though he was then very young. His voyage for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, gained him ſo great a reputation, that he was invited into Spain, and employed by Their Catholic Majeſties, Ferdinand and Iſabella, in a voyage for the diſcovery of the coaſts of Brazil, in which he had much better ſucceſs than Americus Veſpucius, who miſſed the river of Plate, whereas Cabot found it, and ſailed up it three hundred and ſixty miles, which gained him ſuch a character at the court of Their Catholic Majeſties, that, on his return, he was declared piloto maggiore, or grand pilot of Spain; and reſided ſeveral years at Seville with that character, and had the examination and approbation of all the pilots intruſted by that government.

4. Yet, after ſome years, he thought fit to return into England, and was employed by King Henry VIII, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Pert, who was vice-admiral of England; and built a fine houſe near Blackwall, called Poplar; which name ſtill remains, though the houſe is long ago decayed. This voyage of his was in 1516, on board a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tons, with another of the like ſize, in which he proceeded to the coaſt of Brazil, and afterwards viſited the Spaniſh iſlands of St. Domingo, and St. John de Porto Rico; in the latter of which they traded, and paid for what they had by the exchange of veſſels, made of pewter, as we learn from Oviedo; who, notwithſtanding, aſſerts that this veſſel was a privateer, whereas, in fact, ſhe was a frigate fitted out at King Henry the Eighth's expence for diſcovery.

It is a very great misfortune that we have not a clearer and more diſtinct account of this expedition; ſince it very plainly appears from the writers of thoſe times, that great expectations were raiſed by it, and that the miſcarriage occaſioned a good deal of noiſe and ſome reflections; but they did not fall upon Cabot, as appears from the following note, taken from a book, publiſhed by Mr. Richard Eden, whoſe collections led the way to thoſe of Mr. Hackluit, and which book was publiſhed in 1553. "If manly courage," ſaith he, (like unto that which hath been ſeen in your Grace as well in foreign realms, as alſo in this our country,) "had not been wanting in others, in theſe our days, at ſuch time our Sovereign Lord of noble memory, King Henry VIII., about the ſame year of his reign, furniſhed, and ſent out certain ſhips, under the governance of Sebaſtian Cabot, yet living, and one Sir Thomas Pert, whoſe faint heart was the cauſe that the voyage took none effect; if, I ſay, ſuch manly courage, whereof we have ſpoken, had not at that time been wanting, it might happily have come to paſs, that that rich treaſury called Perularia, which is now in Spain, in the city of Seville, and ſo named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the new-found land of Peru, might long ſince have been in the Tower of London, to the King's great honour and wealth of this realm." I do not find that this worthy gentleman left England after this; but, on the contrary, remained here, and promoted, to the utmoſt of his power, whatever deſigns were ſet on foot for the encouragement and extenſion of our commerce; ſo that, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, he may be truly reputed—The great maſter of Engliſh ſeamen, and the father of our colonies and commerce.

It was this great man that ſtill kept up an opinion, which, he had himſelf firſt entertained, that ſome paſſage there was into the South Seas, by the north-weſt; and upon this

this ſubject he wrote with ſo much good ſenſe and ſtrength of reaſon, that if the ſhips, which, while I am writing this paragraph, have ſailed in ſearch of this paſſage, ſhould ſucceed, the honour of the diſcovery will redound to him; and therefore it is but juſt to take this opportunity of reviving his reputation. His diſcourſes had ſuch an effect on King Henry VIII., a Prince of vaſt natural parts, great learning, and ſtrongly inclined to heroic undertakings, that he reſolved to ſend another ſhip, or more, on the diſcovery, which he did in the nineteenth year of his reign. Both Hall and Grafton, in their Chronicles, ſpeak of this; and tell us, that on mature deliberation, the King fitted out two fair ſhips, which ſailed from the port of London, on the 20th of May 1527; but not a word of the captain's name, or of the ſtrength of theſe ſhips; the only particular we have is, that the King ſent ſeveral cunning men on board them. We are to underſtand, by cunning men, perſons ſkilled in the mathematics; who, with the common ſort of people, paſſed now, and long after, for cunning men and conjurers.

The worthy Mr. Hackluit has taken abundance of pains to ſupply us with ſome circumſtances of this expedition, but to very little purpoſe; and, notwithſtanding all his inquiries from perſons who lived in and near thoſe times, could obtain no other ſatisfaction than this, that a canon of St. Paul's who was reputed a great mathematician, was one of the principal perſons concerned, and actually had took a ſhare in the voyage; but to this reverend perſon's name, both Sir Martin Frobiſher and Sir Richard Allien, who were Mr. Hackluit's authors, were ſtrangers; one of them, however, remembered the name of the biggeſt ſhip, which was Dominus Vobiſcum, or The Lord with them, which agrees very well with the other part of the ſtory, that the chief promoter of this voyage was a prieſt. Theſe ſhips ſailing very far to the north-weſt, the largeſt of them was caſt away in the mouth of a very large gulph, very probably in the entrance to Hudſon's Bay, and there periſhed; the other, having coaſted along the iſland of Cape Britton (ſo they wrote it then) returned in October following, and brought a large account of the places they had ſeen, and of the hardſhips they had undergone.

It appears from thence, that theſe early attempts to diſcover new countries, and extend our commerce, were attended with great difficulties, much beyond thoſe that were met with by the Spaniards and Portugueſe, which may be attributed to ſeveral different cauſes, and amongſt others theſe: Our ſhipping was then but mean, though both the kings whom Cabot ſerved appeared to be very deſirous of having a naval force, ſince Henry VII. had ſpent fourteen thouſand pounds in building one large ſhip, and his ſon Henry VIII. added ſeveral others to the navy; yet I think our ſhips were, generally ſpeaking, larger than thoſe of moſt of our neighbours; but very probably they were built abroad, and neither in form nor in materials were fit for thoſe ſeas to which they were navigated. The ſkill of our ſeamen could not be very great at this time; for as in all other practical caſes, ſo in this, nothing advances people ſo faſt as experience, and therefore I reckon that the want of this was a great deficiency in theſe times; we may add, that we purſued, with incredible diligence, thoſe diſcoveries that carried us into dangerous and diſagreeable climates, which was directly contrary to the practice of the Spaniards and Portugueſe; beſides thoſe voyages produced little or no advantage, ſo there was nothing to provoke the common, or even the trading, ſort of people, to engage in them: and laſtly, King Henry VIII. was bent upon finding a north-weſt paſſage, that he might have a way of his own to the Eaſt Indies, and not be obliged to follow the rout either of the Spaniards or of the Portugueſe.

5. It was this inclination of the King's that produced a ſpirit in the nation of diſcovering and ſettling in theſe northern parts, let the dangers be what they would, or the difficulties to be overcome ever ſo many or apparent; a very ſtrong inſtance of

which occurred in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and is the moſt remarkable paſſage in it to our purpoſe: one Mr. Hore, a merchant of London, a man of good family, conſiderable fortune, great courage, and very well verſed in moſt of the branches of the mathematics, was reſolved to undertake a voyage, and attempt a ſettlement on Newfoundland, and to go thither himſelf. He no ſooner made this intention of his known, than he received all the countenance and encouragement from the crown that he could expect; and as this gave much credit to the expedition, ſo, in a ſhort time, abundance of young gentlemen, of good fortunes and diſtinguiſhed families, offered to ſhare both the expence and danger of the undertaking.

Among theſe were Mr. Wickes, a weſt-country gentleman of five hundred marks a year; Mr. Tuck, a Kentiſh gentleman of fortune; Mr. Tuckfield, Mr. Thomas Butts, ſon of Sir William Butts, the King's firſt phyſician; Mr. Hardy, Mr. Biron, Mr. Carter, Mr. Raſtal, (brother to Serjeant Raſtal,) and ſeveral others; who went with Mr. Hore in the largeſt of his two ſhips, the Trinity, of the burden of one hundred and forty tons: in the leſſer ſhip went Mr. Armigall Wade, a young gentleman of great hopes, and much learning; Mr. Oliver Dawebney, of London, merchant; and other perſons of character, to the number of thirty, in both veſſels. About the end of April 1536, all things were ready; the Trinity and Minion fit to ſail, and the whole of both ſhips' company, to the number of one hundred and twenty, muſtered at Graveſend; after which they went with much ceremony on board.

They ſoon after ſailed, and arrived in the ſpace of two months at Cape Breton; from whence they ſailed round a great part of Newfoundland to Penguin iſland, in the latitude of about fifty degrees, as they computed; but which lies, truly, in fifty degrees forty minutes; where they found great plenty of thoſe fowls, from whence the iſland takes its name: they afterwards went on ſhore upon the eaſt-ſide of Newfoundland, and had an accidental view of a boat full of the ſavages that inhabited that country, whom they purſued both by ſea and land, but were not able to overtake them. They ſtaid here till their victuals began to grow very ſhort, and being then afraid to truſt themſelves at ſea in ſuch a condition, they delayed going on board till they were in ſuch diſtreſs that they actually eat one another; that is to ſay, ſome killed their companions privately in the woods, hid them, and then roaſted and eat their fleſh ſecretly, till this horrid practice coming to the knowledge of their captain, he, by a moſt judicious and pathetic ſpeech, brought them to reſolve rather to live upon graſs and herbs than ſubſiſt by this deteſtable method any longer.

But it fell out ſoon after, that a French ſhip put in there well manned and well victualled, of which our countrymen reſolved to take advantage, being weary of a country in which they had endured ſuch miſeries; and therefore, watching a fair opportunity, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the French ſhip, and, leaving their own, ſailed directly for the coaſt of England. They returned ſafely, and arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall about the end of October; and then the gentlemen, diſperſing themſelves, returned to London; but ſo much altered by their fatigues, that Sir William Butts, and his wife could not know their ſon, but by a particular mark upon his knee. We had never known a word of this ſtrange adventure, if it had not been for Mr. Richard Hackluit, who rode two hundred miles to gain theſe particulars from the mouth of Mr. Thomas Butts, the only perſon then living, who had a ſhare in that expedition; and no wonder, ſince it was fifty-three years afterwards that he obtained this communication. There is another circumſtance relating to this unfortunate enterprize, which muſt by no means be omitted.

Some months after, the Frenchmen came to England, with a dreadful complaint, that

that the Engliſh had ran away with their ſhip, and had left them to ſtarve, if they had not ſupported themſelves by fiſhing. King Henry examined very cloſely into the affair, and finding that extreme want was the ſole cauſe of an action, otherwiſe inexcuſable, he ſatisfied the French, to the full extent of their demands, out of his own coffers, and pardoned in his own ſubjects, that wrong which neceſſity forced them to commit. Theſe were very hard beginnings; and yet to theſe we owe our Newfoundland trade; and, I think, it is much to the honour of the Engliſh nation, that without having any of thoſe encouragements which the Spaniards met with from the very beginning, they continued to purſue thoſe expeditions for diſcovery; till in the end they met with thoſe rewards which they ſo well deſerved.

6. Within this dark period of time, for the accounts of our riſing navigation have been moſt imperfectly tranſmitted to poſterity, there were numbers of Engliſhmen, who, with very little proſpect of private advantages, ſpread themſelves, by the help of foreign ſhipping into all parts of the world; that, by their inquiries and obſervations, they might be able to underſtand how trade was managed, and maritime affairs conducted, in other countries; that, in time, by their informations, the like advantages might accrue to their own; of which voyages and travels, there are many ſhort notes collected in Hackluit, which do great honour to theſe times, and ought to perpetuate the memory of the worthy perſons, who, with ſo much labour and hazard, laid the foundation of our naval ſtrength and glory.

Theſe notices ſoon rouſed active and induſtrious perſons to try what uſe could be made of ſuch helps, and perhaps the reader will not think his time miſpent in reading an inſtance of this kind. Mr. William Hawkins, the father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, and the grandfather of Sir Richard Hawkins, both eminent ſeamen, was himſelf an officer in the navy of King Henry the Eighth, and for his merit much eſteemed by that Prince, made about the middle of his reign three proſperous voyages to Guinea and Brazil; in the laſt of theſe, having ſome dealings with a prince or chief of the Brazilians, he expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing England; but, at the ſame time, ſhewed a ſuſpicion of his not obtaining leave to come home again; to cure which, Captain Hawkins very readily offered to leave Mr. Martin Cockram, of Plymouth, who ſtood next to himſelf in eſteem with the Indians, as a hoſtage, which offer was readily accepted.

This Brazilian chief he brought over, and preſented to his maſter King Henry, who received him kindly, entertained him courteouſly, and diſmiſſed him generouſly, after a year's ſtay in England. But it ſo fell out, in his paſſage home, that, either through change of air, ſhortneſs of proviſions, or ſome other misfortune, the Indian chief died; which threw the Engliſh into great concern, from an apprehenſion that Mr. Cockram would be either puniſhed with death, or detained during life, upon account of this accident: but the thing fell out better; for upon hearing what the Engliſh had to alledge, the ſavages readily obſerving, that it was far from being likely that they would return to their country if they had treated their king amiſs, and that it was not in their power to preſerve his life, if attacked by ſickneſs, they freely ſet their hoſtage at liberty, kindly entertained the men, and furniſhed the ſhip with a ſufficient cargo for England, which encouraged other merchants to trade to the unſettled ports of Brazil, (by which I mean the ports not yet in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe,) and this from ſeveral places, *viz.* Briſtol, Southampton, and London, during all the latter part of this monarch's reign, who muſt be allowed to have had a very public ſpirit with regard to maritime concerns, for the improvement of which he ſpared neither pains nor treaſure.

7. In the time of King Edward the Sixth the court was ſplit into factions, which

neceſſarily occaſioned diſputes and diviſions among the people; ſo that the times were by no means favourable for new and great undertakings, or even for the improvement of thoſe branches of commerce, which were but newly opened; on the contrary, it ſeems that ſeveral perſons who were entruſted with offices by the lord high admiral, and ſuch as had the care and direction of the cuſtoms, laid heavy burdens upon thoſe that engaged in the Iceland and Newfoundland fiſheries; and took ſuch large ſums for licences, and under other pretences, as had like to have ruined the former, which was an old trade, and greatly diſcouraged the latter, which was a new one.

Upon complaint of this to parliament, the matter fell under a cloſe examination, as appears from ſome papers of Sir William Cecil, which are yet in being; for there are no Journals of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons ſo early as this time preſerved: but from the papers before mentioned, we are informed, that this complaint was made by the weſt-country members, and by a burgeſs from Yarmouth in Norfolk; and thereupon a law was made in the year 1548, and the ſecond of that Prince's reign, by which it was enacted, that every officer who ſhould, for the time to come, extort, procure, or receive any ſum of money from a merchant, maſter of a ſhip, factor, or fiſherman, for, or under colour of, granting him leave or licence to fiſh in the North Seas, on the coaſts of Iceland, or on the banks of Newfoundland, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit treble the ſum ſo extorted; and for the ſecond, ſhould ſuffer fine and ranſom at the King's pleaſure.

The ſame year the King was pleaſed to grant to Sebaſtian Cabot, his old ſervant, by the advice and counſel of his uncle, Edward Duke of Somerſet, the office of grand pilot of England, with a fee of one hundred ſixty-ſix pounds thirteen and four pence, to be paid him quarterly at the exchequer; which ſhews, that theſe kind of ſervices were ſtill regarded; and that in ſuch intervals of peace, as the miniſtry then had, they were mindful of the intereſt of their country, and inclined to do what lay in their power to promote navigation and commerce. But they were ſtill hurt by a too earneſt deſire to graſp at the whole trade of the Indies, which induced them to liſten to all the propoſals made for diſcovering either a north-eaſt or a north-weſt paſſage; and by bending all their ſtrength that way, neglected thoſe undertakings that were eaſier, and which might have been carried into execution at a much lighter expence. This was owing to Mr. Sebaſtian Cabot, who firſt ſtarted the notion of a paſſage into the South Seas by the north-weſt, and who fell very readily into the other project of finding a paſſage into the Indian Ocean by the north-eaſt.

He was at that time maſter of the great company erected for the benefit of commerce, under the title of Merchant-Adventurers for the Diſcovery of New Lands, and the great oracle, as he deſerved to be, of all the ſeafaring people; and this gave him an opportunity of puſhing that point which he had moſt at heart, the importance of which he underſtood better than any man, and in the execution of which nobody had gone farther, or managed an expedition with greater diſcretion. But this turn diverted the whole attention of the ſtate to this point, and this alone, as if nothing had been worth diſcovering but a paſſage to the Spice Iſlands; while in the mean time the Spaniards attacked and ſubdued a very great part of both the continents of America. If, inſtead of this, the endeavours of the ſeamen in that reign had been applied to the proſecuting what Cabot had ſo well begun, I mean the entire diſcovery of Florida, and the countries adjacent, it muſt have ended in a ſettlement on the Gulph of Mexico, which might probably have been attended with very great advantages.

It cannot however be denied, that the ſchemes which were proſecuted had a very fair appearance of ſucceſs, and I think it may be allowed alſo, by ſuch as take the pains

to peruſe Mr. Cabot's Inſtructions to Sir Hugh Willoughby, that no man ever conceived with greater ſtrength of judgment, or expreſſed himſelf in clearer terms, than he did. I might, to prove this, give an extract of theſe Inſtructions; but it would be beſide my preſent purpoſe, and giving the reader no more than what he may already find in Hackluit; whereas I aim at affording him new lights, without tranſcribing other people's labours, except where I am under a neceſſity of doing it. It muſt be admitted, that though the proſecution of theſe projects, for finding a north-eaſt and a north-weſt paſſage, were not either of them attended with ſucceſs, and though they conſumed a great treaſure, and, which is much more to be regretted, were attended with the loſs of ſeveral excellent captains and many able ſeamen, the profits which the nation reaped might be truly ſaid to countervail, in ſome meaſure, even the vaſt expences theſe voyages occaſioned.

As for inſtance: we opened, by our attempts to find a north-eaſt paſſage, the trade to Archangel; and, for ſome time, engroſſed the valuable commerce of the Ruſſian empire: and even to the north-weſt our diſcoveries were of great conſequence, and led us to a more diſtinct knowledge of that part of the world than any other nation has attained, inſomuch that I think it may be truly ſaid, it is of all our labours that which has ſhewn our excellency in point of ſeamanſhip moſt; and, if our preſent attempt for diſcovering a paſſage through Hudſon's Bay ſhould prove ſucceſsful, as I ſincerely believe it will, we ſhall have no reaſon to blame thoſe who from time to time have puſhed this deſign with ſo much vigour; becauſe I am thoroughly perſuaded, that whenever it is attended with ſucceſs, it will, in a very few years, repay this nation all that ſhe has expended for ages upon this account.

We may from hence ſee how much theſe expeditions for diſcovery are preferable to much more expenſive expeditions in purſuit of projects dictated by political views; for in theſe laſt we waſte ſhips, men, treaſure, and all to little or no purpoſe; whereas, with reſpect to the former, whether we ſucceed or not in our main point, we are ſure of making ſuch incidental advantages as, ſooner or later, make us ample amends for the pains we take; ſo that a maritime power cannot follow a wiſer courſe than to encourage all ſuch projects, or employ her naval force better than in attempting ſuch of them as have a probable appearance; becauſe this nouriſhes and keeps alive that active, penetrating, enterpriſing ſpirit, which is ſo neceſſary to a ſtate like ours, and which will always be attended with advantages upon the whole, though in many particular inſtances it may not be attended with ſucceſs. But it is now time to proceed from theſe reflections which naturally flow from the conſideration of what was done by our ſtateſmen in the reign of King Edward, to thoſe of the like kind that occupied the thoughts both of our politicians and people, in the reign of his ſiſter and ſucceſſor; in ſpeaking of which, though a beaten topic, I hope to ſtrike out ſeveral things that are new.

8. As there were ſeveral of King Edward's miniſters employed by Queen Mary, ſo we find that in the reign of this Princeſs the ſame meaſures were purſued, and the ſame attention ſhewn for new diſcoveries, and for giving all the aſſiſtance that was in the power of the Crown, to ſuch as engaged in theſe undertakings. But after the marriage between the Queen and King Philip of Spain took place, we began to grow much better acquainted with all circumſtances relating to the Weſt Indies than in former times, and it became faſhionable at Court to read and underſtand whatever had been publiſhed, in any language, relating to the conqueſts and diſcoveries of the Spaniards; but becauſe the number was not great of ſuch as could peruſe and underſtand thoſe works in the original languages, ſeveral perſons took pains to tranſlate them into Engliſh,

liſh, and to epitomiſe them, that they might be read with the greater facility; amongſt theſe were Mr. Richard Eden, who compoſed one of the firſt Collections of Travels that was ever publiſhed in our language, and which was afterwards reviſed, corrected, and augmented, by Mr. Edward Willes. Several other pieces of the ſame kind came abroad; and ſeveral of the Spaniſh officers that attended their King hither took a great deal of pains to ſet forth the exploits of their nation in the Weſt Indies; and our ſea officers, with whom they converſed, did not fail to make their advantage of theſe diſcourſes, and to gain ſuch knowledge of the ſituation things were in throughout all their dominions in America, as afterwards coſt the Spaniards very dear.

This intercourſe with that nation alſo furniſhed many Engliſhmen with opportunities of going to their ſettlements, and of obtaining ſuch lights with reſpect to their navigation and commerce, as proved afterwards of the higheſt uſe. But notwithſtanding all this, our trade and naval power ſuffered deeply by this connection between the two nations, which not only hindered, during that reign, thoſe voyages we had formely made to America from being purſued, but involved us likewiſe in a tedious, dangerous, and unneceſſary war with France; by which we not only loſt the important fortreſs of Calais, but alſo ſuffered deeply in our ſhipping; ſo that it appears by ſome fragments which ſtill remain of ſpeeches made in the Houſe of Commons, that loud complaints were made on this ſubject in parliament by the citizens of London eſpecially, whoſe loſſes were greater than thoſe of the reſt of the kingdom by thoſe miſtaken meaſures.

Yet ſuch branches of our commerce as did not immediately interfere with that of Spain were greatly favoured in this reign, in which the Ruſſian merchants were incorporated, and Sebaſtian Cabot appointed their governor for life; and a Ruſſian ambaſſador, who came over hither, was treated with great diſtinction both by the King and Queen; which procured us ſuitable returns, by the granting extraordinary privileges to ſuch merchants and ſubjects of England as traded in any part of that extenſive empire. The trade to Guinea, likewiſe, met with ſome countenance from the Court, by which means the ſhipping engaged therein was increaſed, and many more traders drawn to be concerned therein; ſo that as great a ſpirit in this reſpect appeared as could well be expected; while the trading corporations throughout the kingdom were expoſed to great inconveniences, by taking their ſhips for the public ſervice; for ſo, at that time, aſſiſting King Philip was called, though it was evidently againſt the intereſt of the nation; and it was our want of ſucceſs in that war which ſaved the balance of Europe, which muſt have been totally loſt, if he had compaſſed his deſign, and ruined the power of France; ſo that in fact, our naval force was employed againſt itſelf, of which the Queen's miniſters were ſenſible; but as for the Queen herſelf, ſhe was governed by an odd principle, which was that of making the beſt wife in the world to one of the worſt of huſbands: but, very luckily for the nation, ſhe was ſo ſenſible of the misfortunes that attended this injudicious war, and particulary of the loſs of Calais, that it broke her heart, and thereby made way for that great and glorious reign which reſtored the face of our affairs, revived our languiſhing commerce, re-eſtabliſhed our naval power, and, by the happy iſſue of a long and bloody, but neceſſary and proſperous, war againſt Spain, ſecured our own liberties and preſerved thoſe of Europe.

9. Queen Elizabeth ſucceeded to the crown by the death of her ſiſter, in the month of November 1558; and, from the very beginning of her reign, made the naval power of this nation her peculiar care. She began with putting the ſmall remains of the navy into the beſt condition poſſible; provided a ſafe harbour in the river Medway for their reception, and erected a new caſtle for their protection. She likewiſe took

care to have a ſmall ſquadron at ſea as ſoon as poſſible; and knowing that by a haſty breach with Spain ſhe might, and indeed muſt, expoſe her naval ſtrength to the danger of being cruſhed by a ſuperior force, ſhe very wiſely choſe to diſſemble her reſentments againſt that Crown, and to provide for the increaſe of the ſeamen and ſhipping of her kingdom, before ſhe diſcovered thoſe reſolutions which ſhe carried afterwards into execution with ſo much honour to herſelf, and ſo much advantage to her people. I the rather take notice of this, becauſe it is the only ſtroke of the Queen's policy which has eſcaped our hiſtorians, who either overlooked or miſunderſtood it; and therefore, as it very nearly concerns my ſubject, I ſhall ſet it in a full and clear light.

At the beginning of her reign the Queen had ſeveral enemies to deal with; ſome who declared openly againſt her, and others who ſecretly ſought her ruin. Among the former were the French, to whom at that time Scotland, in virtue of a marriage between Queen Mary and the French King, in ſome meaſure belonged. At the head of the latter was King Philip of Spain, one of the greateſt politicians that ever ſat upon a throne, who knew the value of England, had in ſome meaſure poſſeſſed it, and, which was not at all wonderful, had no mind to loſe it. His firſt project for keeping it was, by marrying Elizabeth, as he had done her ſiſter, in which finding himſelf deceived, his next project was to conquer it, from which he never departed. The Queen, when ſhe rejected the firſt, foreſaw the laſt, and reſolved to provide againſt it, which ſhe knew could no other way be done but by obtaining a great naval force.

To arrive at this, ſhe firſt of all contrived to amuſe Spain by carrying on the war with France, in which ſhe did the ſame thing her ſiſter did; and yet the one was the worſt, the other the wiſeſt meaſure that ever was taken. Queen Mary really meant to ruin and diſtreſs the French, and was above all things deſirous of recovering Calais; and this from a miſtaken zeal for the intereſt of the nation. Queen Elizabeth made an artificial war againſt France to increaſe her own naval ſtrength, by encouraging her ſubjects to take prizes, and that ſhe might have an opportunity of ſecuring Scotland; but, though exceſſively provoked, ſhe never thought of hurting France, and when offered Calais, ſhe refuſed it; and all this, becauſe ſhe knew the true intereſt of the nation. She knew that while ſhe continued to act againſt the French, ſhe ſhould have the Spaniards for ſeeming friends; that this war was not againſt the humour of her people, or againſt juſtice; that it would raiſe a vaſt number of ſeamen, becauſe every port in England fitted out privateers; and that it would raiſe the reputation of her naval power, by reducing Scotland: for all which ends, as ſhe wiſely provided, ſo ſhe met in them all the ſucceſs ſhe could deſire. She knew, however, that France was not her natural enemy; that from the diſputes about religion, which ran high in that kingdom, ſhe was in no danger from its power; and that whenever ſhe came to declare againſt Spain, ſhe ſhould ſtand in need of its aſſiſtance: for which reaſon ſhe made a very harmleſs war, and gave ſuch broad intimations of her being willing to compoſe all differences, as in due time produced a peace. She likewiſe knew that the poſſeſſion of Calais was a mere popular advantage; that, in reality, it was attended with an expence which could not well be afforded; that if ſhe was poſſeſſed of it, it would be a continual bone of contention with France; and that, how much ſoever it might be afterwards her intereſt to part with it, it would be an unpopular, and therefore an improper, and an imprudent thing to give it up. This that great Princeſs knew, and therefore ſhe wiſely refuſed it; but upon making a peace, ſhe reſerved her rights to it, and procured ſuch conceſſions from the French, as proved a continual check upon them, and were oftentimes of more uſe than the fortreſs itſelf.

In

In the mean time ſhe continued her care of the navy, and neglected nothing that might keep up and promote a maritime ſpirit among her people; ſhe ſought out and diſtinguiſhed the ſea-officers that had ſerved under her father; ſhe was continually fitting out, on one pretence or other, little ſquadrons, at a ſmall expence; ſhe gave the command of them to different officers, that ſhe might excite a ſpirit of emulation, but what principally conduced to aggrandize her power was the pleaſure ſhe ſhewed, whenever any occaſion offered, of rewarding her ſubjects, who undertook, at their own expence, ſuch expeditions as contributed to extend their commerce, and open new branches of trade. We have a ſtrong inſtance of this, in the countenance ſhe ſhewed to Captain John Hawkins, who between the years 1562 and 1568 made three voyages into the Weſt Indies, and in all but the laſt had very great ſucceſs, though he carried on his trade partly by force. She promoted the trade to Ruſſia, and through that empire to Perſia and the Indies, to the utmoſt of her power, and managed it with ſuch prudence and dexterity, that the reputation of her government was very high, in that and in other countries, in which the reſt of the kingdoms and the ſtates of Europe were hardly known. The trade to Guinea was likewiſe ſo much her care, that, finding the Portugueſe gave her ſubjects much diſturbance, ſhe enquired into the cauſes of thoſe diſputes, and took care to remedy them by a treaty with that crown.

All this time her differences with Spain ſubſiſted, and though there was no open war between the two crowns, yet there could ſcarce be ſaid to be either friendſhip or peace between their ſubjects; and the Queen, perhaps, was not very ſolicitous that there ſhould; for having now attained what ſhe aimed at, a very conſiderable naval force, and being willing to let the Spaniards ſee, that though ſhe declined a war, ſhe had no reaſon to be afraid of it, ſhe took advantage of the King of Spain's marriage with Anne of Auſtria, his niece, to give ſuch an inſtance of her generoſity and power, as did great honour to her adminiſtration; for ſhe cauſed that princeſs to be conducted to Spain by an Engliſh navy; this was a plain demonſtration that her ſparingneſs, upon other occaſions, was not the effects of any nearneſs of temper; but that, by a conſtant frugality, ſhe might have it always in her power to be royally magnificent upon proper occaſions.

But this extraordinary mark of civility was far enough from meeting a proper return, and the Spaniards went on in diſturbing the trade, and diſtreſſing the navigation of her ſubjects; which induced the Queen to ſuffer her ſubjects to uſe the beſt meaſures they could for redreſſing themſelves; in which they were not wanting. In the year 1572, Captain Francis Drake made his famous expedition into the Weſt Indies, with two ſhips, one called the Dragon, of ſeventy-five tons, the other the Swan, of twenty-five tons, and on board them both he had no more than ſeventy-three men; and yet, with this force, he ventured to declare war againſt the King of Spain, for the injuries he had received in his voyage with Captain Hawkins to the Weſt Indies. In this voyage he performed wonderful things; for, beſides taking ſeveral large ſhips, he fairly took the town of Nombre de Dios by ſtorm, gained an immenſe treaſure, and had a ſight of the South Seas; after which he returned ſafely to Plymouth, and made a fair diſtribution of the profits of his voyage among his owners.

This glorious event encouraged others to follow his example; ſo that, in a very ſhort time, the Engliſh privateers made various voyages into all parts of America, and every little port in England ſwarmed with ſeamen, who were perfect maſters of their profeſſion; and pilots capable of navigating ſhips to any part of the known world became ſo numerous, that there were daily new projects ſet on foot, which in the former age would have been thought impracticable; but in this were carried into execution at the

the charge of private perſons, without any expence to, or aſſiſtance from, the crown, though they had all the countenance and encouragement they could deſire: but amongſt all theſe, there was none ſo conſiderable in itſelf, ſo clear a proof of maritime ſkill, and ſo honourable, in every reſpect, to the nation, as the next expedition of Captain Francis Drake in 1577, in which he ſailed round the globe, as we have ſhewn at large in the firſt part of this work, and therefore need not repeat here. But one part, however, of that voyage ſo immediately concerns the ſubject of this chapter, and relates to ſo conſiderable a diſcovery, that, as we then promiſed, we ſhall, as in its proper place, ſpeak of and explain it more particularly here.

10. Captain Drake ſailed from Plymouth, with five ſmall ſhips, the biggeſt but of one hundred tons, on the 13th of December 1577, and it was the 5th of September following before he entered the South Seas, where having performed ſeveral glorious actions, and gained prodigious riches, he proceeded to the moſt northern of the Spaniſh ſettlements, with a view to diſcover, if poſſible, that paſſage which had been ſo much talked of from our Northern into the South Seas, by a ſtrait like that of Magellan's to the north-weſt. This was certainly a very wiſe and great undertaking, and a prodigious improvement upon the deſign of his voyage; for, as yet, no Engliſhman had had the opportunity, and perhaps it never entered into any man's head, to ſearch for ſuch a paſſage on this ſide; though it is moſt likely, that by this method it may be found. Our author's endeavours, however, were ſtrangely croſſed by the unexpected ſeverity of the weather, of which the reverend Mr. Francis Fletcher, who was chaplain in this voyage, gives us a large account; and, as it relates to a ſubject of great importance, and contains a multitude of curious circumſtances, though not delivered in the moſt poliſhed ſtile, we ſhall give it the reader, for the ſake of exactneſs, in his own words:

"From Guatulco we departed the day following, viz. April the 16th, ſetting our courſe directly into the ſea, whereupon we ſailed five hundred leagues in longitude to get a wind, and between that and June the 3d, one thouſand four hundred leagues in all, till we came in forty-two degrees of north latitude, wherein the night following we found ſuch an alteration of heat into extreme and nipping cold, that our men, in general, did grievouſly complain thereof, ſome of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not only the marks, but the ſtings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all; for beſides that the pinching and biting air was nothing altered, the very ropes of our ſhip were ſtiff, and the rain which fell was an unnatural and frozen ſubſtance; ſo that we ſeemed rather to be in the frozen zone, than any way ſo near unto the ſun, or theſe hotter climates.

"Neither did this happen for the time only, or by ſome ſudden accident, but rather ſeemed, indeed, to proceed from ſome ordinary cauſe, againſt the which the heat of the ſun prevails not; for it came to that extremity in ſailing but two degrees farther to the northward in our courſe, that though the ſeamen lacked not good ſtomachs, yet it ſeemed a queſtion to many amongſt us, whether their hands ſhould feed their mouths, or rather keep themſelves within coverts, from the pinching cold that did benumb them? Neither could we impute it to the tenderneſs of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremity of heat, by reaſon whereof we might be more ſenſible of the preſent cold, inſomuch that the dead and ſenſeleſs creatures were as well affected with it as ourſelves. Our meat, as ſoon as it was removed from the fire, would preſently, in a manner, become frozen up; and our ropes and tackling, in a few days, were grown to that ſtiffneſs, that what three men before were able with them

to perform, now ſix men, with their beſt ſtrength and utmoſt endeavours, were hardly able to accompliſh; whereby a ſudden and great diſcouragement ſeized upon the minds of our men, and they were poſſeſſed with a great miſlike, and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our general be diſcouraged, but as well by comfortable ſpeeches of the divine providence, and of God's loving care over his children, out of the Scriptures, as alſo by giving other good and profitable perſuaſions, adding thereto his own chearful example, he ſo ſtirred them up to put on a good courage, and to acquit themſelves like men, to endure ſome ſhort extremity; to have the ſpeedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtain the greater glory; that every man was thoroughly armed with willingneſs, and reſolved to ſee the uttermoſt, if it were poſſible, of what good was to be done that way.

"The land in that part of America bearing farther out into the weſt than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware, and yet the nearer ſtill we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did ſeize upon us. The 5th day of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the ſhore, which we then firſt deſcried, and to caſt anchor in a bad bay, the beſt road we could for the preſent meet with, where we were not without ſome danger, by reaſon of the many extreme guſts and flaws that beat upon us; which if they ceaſed and were ſtill at any time, immediately upon their intermiſſion there followed moſt vile, thick, and ſtinking fogs, againſt which the ſea prevailed nothing, till the guſts of wind again removed them, which brought with them ſuch extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or reſiſting againſt them. In this place was no abiding for us, and to go further north the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly diſcouraged all our men) would not permit us, and the winds being directly againſt us, having once gotten us under ſail again, commanded us to the ſouthward, whether we would or no; from the height of forty-eight degrees, in which now we were, to thirty-eight degrees, we found the land by coaſting it to be but low, and reaſonably plain; every hill (whereof we ſaw many, but none very high) though it were in June, and the ſun in the neareſt approach unto them, being covered with ſnow.

"In thirty-eight degrees thirty minutes, we fell in with a convenient and fit harbour, and June the 17th came to an anchor therein, where we continued to the 23d of July following; during all which time, notwithſtanding it was in the height of ſummer, and ſo near the ſun, yet we were continually viſited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; inſomuch, that if violent exerciſes of our bodies, and buſy employment about our neceſſary labours, had not ſometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us, ſtill, our winter clothes; yea, (had our neceſſity ſuffered us) to have kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in the whole fourteen days together, find the air ſo clear as to be able to take the height of ſun or ſtar.

"And here, having ſo fit occaſion (notwithſtanding it may ſeem to be beſides the purpoſe of writing the hiſtory of this our voyage) we will a little more diligently inquire into the cauſes of the continuance of the extreme cold in theſe parts; as alſo into the probabilities or unlikelihoods of a paſſage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touched) the tenderneſs of our bodies, coming ſo lately out of the heat, whereby the pores were opened, that made us ſo ſenſible of the colds we here felt. In this reſpect, as in many others, we found our God a provident father and careful phyſician to us; we lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts to reſtore and fortify nature, had it been decayed or weakened in us; neither was there wanting unto us the great experience of our general, who had often himſelf proved the

force of the burning zone, whoſe advice always prevailed much to the preſerving of a moderate temper in our conſtitutions; ſo that even after our departure from the heat, we always found our bodies not as ſponges, but ſtrong and hard, more able to bear out cold, though we came out of exceſs of heat, than a number of chamber-companions could have been, who lie on their feather-beds till they go to ſea, or rather, whoſe teeth in a temperate air do beat in their heads at a cup of cold ſack and ſugar by the fire.

"And that it was not our tenderneſs, but the very extremity of the cold itſelf, that cauſed this ſenſibleneſs in us, may the rather appear in that the natural inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long ſeaſon familiar intercourſe, as is to be related) who had never been acquainted with ſuch heat, to whom the country air and climate was proper, and in whom cuſtom of cold was as it were a ſecond nature, yet uſed to come ſhivering to us in their warm furs, crouding cloſe together, body to body, to receive heat one of another, and ſheltering themſelves under a lee bank if it were poſſible; and as often as they could, labouring to ſhroud themſelves under our garments to keep them warm: beſides, how unhandſome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itſelf, ſhewing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenneſs in thoſe months of June and July? the poor birds and fowls not daring (as we had great experience to obſerve it) ſo much as once to riſe from their neſts after the firſt egg laid, till it, with all the reſt, be hatched and brought to ſome ſtrength of nature able to help itſelf. Only this recompence has nature afforded them, that the heat of their own bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with great expedition, and in ſhorter time than is to be found in any other places. As for the cauſes of this extremity, they ſeem not to be ſo deeply hidden, but that they may, at leaſt in part, be gueſſed at; the chiefeſt of which we conceive to be the large ſpreading of the Aſian and American continents, which (ſomewhat northward of theſe parts) if they be not fully joined, yet ſeem they to come very near one to the other; from whoſe high and ſnow-covered mountains the north and north-weſt winds (the conſtant viſitants of theſe coaſts) ſend abroad their frozen nymphs to the infecting of the whole air with this inſufferable ſharpneſs; not permitting the ſun, no not in the pride of his heat, to diſſolve that congealed matter and ſnow which they have breathed out ſo nigh the ſun, and ſo many degrees diſtant from themſelves. And that the north and north-weſt winds are here conſtant in June and July, as the north wind is alone in Auguſt and September, we not only found it by our own experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof by continual obſervations of the Spaniards.

"Hence comes the ſqualidneſs and barrenneſs of the country; hence comes it, that in the midſt of their ſummer the ſnow hardly departeth even from their doors, but is never taken away from their hills at all; hence come thoſe thick miſts and moſt ſtinking fogs, which increaſe ſo much the more by how much higher the pole is raiſed, wherein a blind pilot is as good as the beſt director of a courſe; for the ſun ſtriving to perform his natural office in elevating the vapours out of theſe inferior bodies, draws neceſſarily abundance of moiſture out of the ſea; but the nipping cold (from the former cauſes) meeting and oppoſing the ſun's endeavours, force him to give over his work imperfect, and, inſtead of higher elevation, to leave, in the loweſt regions wandering upon the face of the earth and waters, as it were a ſecond ſea, through which its own beams cannot poſſible pierce, unleſs ſometimes when the ſudden violence of the winds doth help to ſcatter and break through it, which thing happeneth very ſeldom, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly been at Wardhouſe, in ſeventy-two degrees of

north latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no ſuch nipping cold there in the end of ſummer, when they departed thence, as they did now in theſe hotteſt months of June and July. And alſo from theſe reaſons we conjecture, that either there is no paſſage at all through thoſe northern coaſts (which is moſt likely) or, if there be, yet it is unnavigable. Add hereunto, that though we ſearched the coaſt diligently, even unto the forty-eighth degree, yet found we not the land to trend ſo much as one point, in any place, towards the eaſt, but rather running on continually north-weſt, as if it went directly to meet with Aſia; and even in that height, when we had a frank wind to have carried us through, had there been a paſſage, yet we had a ſmooth and calm ſea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have been, had there been an opening, of which we rather infallibly concluded than conjectured that there was none."

This ſhews us clearly Mr. Fletcher's opinion, and he gives us likewiſe a very large and full, to ſay the truth, a very tedious and trifling, account of their landing and ſtay here; of their being taken for gods by the natives, and of their attempting to offer ſacrifices to them, with which I ſuppoſe, the reader will eaſily diſpenſe; but after this he comes to the point, and tells us that theſe people behaved extremely well during their ſtay; and that their king, in teſtimony of his reſpect for, and ſubmiſſion to Captain Drake, preſented him with the enſigns of his regal dignity; which he received as a reſignation of his kingdom to the Queen his miſtreſs, in whoſe name, and on whoſe behalf, he took poſſeſſion of it, and ſet up a wooden croſs, with a braſs plate and a proper inſcription in teſtimony thereof. This country he called New Albion, and this for two reaſons; the firſt was, becauſe of its white cliffs; the other, that it might have ſome affinity, as Mr. Fletcher expreſſes it, in name with our own country, which was ſome time ſo called.

He afterwards acknowledges, that upon taking a view of the inland parts, they found them very rich and fertile, contrary to their expectations; but as to the people, he allows, that both on the coaſt and within land, their behaviour was perfectly uniform, and they had no reaſon to complain of them, but rather to commend and applaud them. It is very true that Mr. Fletcher's account of Sir Francis Drake's voyage is by much the largeſt, but I am far from eſteeming it the beſt: I inſerted ſo long a paſſage from it, that the reader might be able to judge of his performance as well as my ſentiments. He has given us a very extraordinary deſcription of the exceſſive cold they met with both at ſea and on ſhore, and diſcourſes on it more largely, to ſhew his capacity and judgment; yet I do not find that experience has at all confirmed this, as the reader will perceive by turning to the other voyages of Candiſh, and thoſe who followed him, and who went to California as well as Sir Francis Drake.

I mention this the rather, becauſe Candiſh was there ſo ſoon after Sir Francis Drake; for I find by the original account of his expedition, that he was there in November 1587, but do not find that he ſaid one word of its being cold; and though it may be objected, that he was in the ſouthern part of California only, yet the difference is ſo inconſiderable, that it is impoſſible to reconcile the two accounts, ſuppoſing them both to be exact. Again, in Sir Francis Drake's voyage, printed by Hackluit, it is only ſaid, that in the latitude of forty-two degrees, the men were extremely pinched with cold; and finding it increaſe as they ſailed farther north, it was reſolved to alter their courſe, and ſtand in for the land more to the ſouth; where they found a good bay, and a very gentle, friendly, and honeſt people; yet the truth of the matter is, that the Spaniards had, thirty ſeven years before, ſailed along this coaſt to the heighth of forty-four degrees, as far as Cape Mendocino; and they afterwards

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diſcovered Cape Blanco beyond that, which is a plain proof that the cold is not ſo intolerable as Mr. Fletcher would make it. But the real deſign of all his remarks is, to diſcourage all hopes of finding a paſſage this way into the North Seas, which however was not Sir Francis Drake's opinion, if we may credit what other writers have told us; and indeed ſo many abſurdities have been diſcovered in Mr. Fletcher's deſcription of New Albion, that Father Charlevoix makes no ſcruple of calling it a fabulous country, and from hence takes occaſion to make ſome reflections upon Sir Francis Drake, which that gentleman did not at all deſerve.

But to ſhew the reader the true deſign of dwelling ſo long upon this ſubject I muſt obſerve that his account diſcredits Drake's diſcovery extremely, which not only turns to the prejudice of that great man's character, but may likewiſe prove diſadvantageous to this nation, by giving them a very mean opinion of what ought to be conſidered as a very noble acquiſition. The diſcovery, as I conceive, conſiſted chiefly in his marching up into the country, which before that time it is probable, the Spaniards had never done; and with reſpect to our title to this country, I conceive it to ariſe from the good-will and voluntary ſubmiſſion of the people, facts as well proved as in the nature of things we can expect, and which certainly give us as good (if not a better) claim to New Albion, as the Spaniards can ſhew for any part of their poſſeſſions.

The country too, if we might depend upon what Sir Francis Drake or his chaplain ſays, may appear worth the ſeeking and the keeping, ſince they aſſert that the land is ſo rich in gold and ſilver, that upon the ſlighteſt turning it up with a ſpade or pick-ax, thoſe rich metals plainly appear mixed with the mould. It may be objected that this looks a little fabulous; but to this two ſatisfactory anſwers may be given; the firſt is, that later diſcoveries on the ſame coaſt confirm the truth of it, which, for any thing I can ſee, ought to put the fact out of queſtion; but if any doubts ſhould remain, my ſecond anſwer will overturn theſe. For I ſay next, that the country of New Mexico lies directly behind New Albion, on the other ſide of a narrow bay, and in that country are the mines of Santo Fe, which are allowed to be the richeſt ſilver mines in North America: here then is a very valuable country, to which we have a very fair title.

But perhaps it may be aſked, how ſhall we come at it, ſince, as things ſtand at preſent, it ſeems to be the country in the world moſt out of our reach? But if it had been ſo, I would not have given myſelf or the reader ſo much trouble about it; and therefore I am next to tell him, that if Mr. Arthur Dobbs's expedition for diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage ſucceeds, New Albion will be a country very much within our reach, and I dare ſay, prove to the full as habitable as the coaſt of Hudſon's Bay; and therefore I hope that this example will fully ſhew the uſe and value of good collections of voyages, becauſe it is impoſſible to foreſee all the advantages that may ariſe from any diſcovery or ſettlement at once, nor is it eaſy to pronounce, that any diſcovery, how unpromiſing ſoever in its firſt appearance, is abſolutely uſeleſs, and not worth minding.

This is a caution of a very ſerious nature, ſince there is nothing eaſier than for men of quick wits and tolerable learning in other reſpects, to ridicule voyages to cold, barren, deſart countries, and to repreſent that as folly and madneſs, which is in truth a moſt noble kind of public ſpirit, which if puſhed ſtill farther than it has ever been would be attended with conſequences of ſtill greater advantage to mankind, than thoſe that have flowed from it already; and yet theſe have been very beneficial to this and other nations, as any judicious man will very eaſily and clearly diſcern,

cern, by comparing the ſtate of thoſe nations, before they addicted themſelves to commerce, and ſince they have reaped the profits of it.

11. We have already ſhewn the right this nation has to Newfoundland; which is an iſland of a triangular figure, about the ſize of Ireland; and according to the beſt computation that can be made, about eight or nine hundred leagues in circumference: on the north it is ſeparated from the continent by the narrow ſtreights of Belliſle; on the weſt it has the Bay of St. Laurence; on the ſouth Cape Breton and the banks; and on the eaſt it has the ocean. It lies about ſix hundred leagues from the Land's-end in England, and the great bank is generally looked upon as half way to Virginia. There is no country in the world better furniſhed with harbours, and it is abundantly ſupplied with freſh water. The climate is very hot in ſummer, and very cold in winter, ſo that the ſnow lies upon the ground for four or five months at leaſt. This is the beſt account that we are able to give with certainty about it; for if we read the different relations written of this country, by perſons who ought to have been beſt acquainted with it, we ſhall find them ſo oppoſite and contradictory, that it will be very hard to judge from them, whether it be one of the beſt or worſt countries in the world.

But by conſidering the views with which theſe ſeveral accounts were written, and adverting to the ſituation of this country, between forty-ſeven and fifty-two degrees of northern latitude, we may be eaſily perſuaded that it is no paradiſe; and yet it is more to the ſouth than our own iſland; but lying off a continent very little better than frozen, the winds which blow over muſt bring along with them weather very different from ours. It is however, very certain, that filberds, ſtrawberries, ſome kinds of cherries, and other ſuch-like fruits grow here; and though corn and hay ſucceed but indifferently, yet there is great plenty of veniſon, wild-fowl and fiſh; ſo that with dry food in plenty from Europe, people may live here very comfortably even in winter, ſince the country produces fuel of ſeveral kinds in abundance.

The great advantage, however reſulting from our poſſeſſion of the place never depended much upon its produce; ſo far from it that one of the beſt writers upon the trade of this nation gave his opinion clearly, that it was more for our intereſt there ſhould be no ſettlements upon it at all; which, in my judgment, he has by unanſwerable arguments made good; but the value of Newfoundland to this crown and country reſults from the fiſhery upon its coaſts, and upon the banks near it, which has been and ſtill is, of ineſtimable benefit, for reaſons that ſhall be preſently given. It is very certain, that we did not proſecute our diſcoveries in and about this iſland, or attend to the advantages that might be made from the fiſhery, in many years after Cabot had taken poſſeſſion of it; but I do not however believe, that we ever left or deſerted it, as ſome writers would have us believe, and that we did not claim it again till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I am, on the contrary, perſuaded, that ſome of our fiſhing veſſels reſorted yearly to this coaſt, though perhaps not many; and this for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe the unſettled ſtate of our affairs kept the beſt part of our ſeamen one way or other in the public ſervice; and next, becauſe we had a great fiſhery, at that time, on the coaſt of Iceland.

But that we really kept poſſeſſion of the Newfoundland fiſhery all that time, may, I think, be undeniably proved by two arguments likewiſe: the one taken from the act of parliament before-mentioned, in the ſecond year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, which would have been needleſs, if this fiſhery had not ſubſiſted; and the other from the account given us of the ſtate of this fiſhery in 1578, by Mr. Parkhurſt, which

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is very curious, and yet little taken notice of. He tells us, that in this year there were about fifty ſail of Engliſh ſhips employed upon that coaſt; but he tells us likewiſe, that there were one hundred ſail of Spaniards, beſides twenty or thirty ſail of Biſcayneers, fifty of Portugueſe, and one hundred and fifty French. He adds another circumſtance, which is ſtill more to our purpoſe; and it is this, that wherever the Engliſh fiſhed, they were reputed lords of the harbour, and exerciſed an authority over other nations, by making uſe of their boats when they had occaſion for them; which makes it plain to me, that we conſtantly kept up our title, for otherwiſe it is impoſſible to give any reaſon why we ſhould have exerciſed this dominion where we were ſo far from being the moſt powerful. An immemorial cuſtom was foundation enough for ſuch a practice, and nothing but this could be eſteemed ſo.

He tells us alſo, that our own ſhips were the ſtrongeſt, largeſt, and beſt equipped; and that by this means, we protected our own trade and the trade of other nations, which is a confirmation of what I have obſerved; he ſays, that next to ours the Spaniards were the beſt equipped, and he computes the tonnage of theſe veſſels at about ſix thouſand, and the French at about ſeven thouſand ton; but the Portugueſe, he ſays, were the worſt equipped of all. As for the Biſcayneers they were chiefly employed in whale-fiſhing, and in making train-oil. The great conſequence of this trade to our nation aroſe from hence; that in the firſt place, it raiſed a vaſt number of ſeamen, and thoſe the beſt and ableſt that were any where bred, ſo that, even at this time, there could not be fewer than two thouſand employed therein. Next, it gave bread to a vaſt number of manufacturers and mechanics, ſuch as ſhip and boat builders, &c. Thirdly, it produced a great deal of money from the ſale of the fiſh. Fourthly, almoſt all the proviſions conſumed in Newfoundland, ſuch as bread, beef, pork, butter, cheeſe, linen, and woollen cloths, nets, hooks, and lines, were all furniſhed from England; to which we may add, that theſe veſſels being fitted out in March and returning in September, they not only brought home a number of people full of money, which they ſpent in England, but they alſo left us a certain proportion of ſtout able ſeamen, freſh men going out in their room, and becoming in a voyage or two as good mariners as themſelves.

Thus it clearly appears, how this bleak, barren, and inhoſpitable country came to be of ſuch conſequence; which was very ſoon diſcerned by the wiſe miniſtry of Queen Elizabeth, towards the cloſe of whoſe reign it grew to ſuch a height that we employed yearly two hundred ſail and upwards of fiſhing veſſels, and on board them upwards of eight thouſand ſeamen, a clear proof of the improvements that were then made in the ſpace of twenty years; and which confirms, beyond queſtion, what I remarked at the cloſe of the preceding paragraph, that all diſcoveries are of uſe, and every branch of navigation worth looking after, and keeping. If the reader conſults other accounts of Newfoundland, within this period of time, he will ſee that I have not been much aſſiſted by them, but that I have ſet the ſubject in a new light, from facts of which they have taken little or no notice.

But I come now to ſpeak of thoſe that are more generally known, and of the famous patent of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which is one of the firſt of them. This gentleman was a native of Devonſhire, had a good fortune, was well allied, had a competent knowledge both of military and maritime affairs, and a generous deſire to raiſe his private fortune by the purſuit of the public ſervice. It was with this view that he repreſented to Queen Elizabeth the expediency of ſettling all thoſe countries upon the continent of America, which had been formerly diſcovered by John and Sebaſtian Cabot, becauſe, otherwiſe, it was not at all unlikely that the French, who had often reviewed theſe

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places, would be deſirous of ſupplanting the Engliſh, and becauſe it was very far from being improbable that thoſe countries abounded with very rich minerals. Upon theſe ſuggeſtions very full letters patent were granted by the Queen to Sir H. Gilbert, his heirs and aſſigns, with free leave, not only to diſcover, but to plant and ſettle, and even to fortify and build caſtles, in any of theſe northern countries, not then in the poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian Prince, with authority to govern ſuch colonies, according to the known laws of the land, with ſeveral other clauſes equally well contrived for ſecuring this grant from becoming any way injurious to the public.

After obtaining this favour from the Queen, our worthy knight applied himſelf to his relations and friends, in order to frame a ſociety capable of carrying this deſign into execution; and he met with ſuch ſucceſs therein, that he thought himſelf very ſoon in a condition to undertake a voyage for this purpoſe; yet when it came to the point, things fell out very croſsly; for ſome of his aſſociates began to form particular projects inconſiſtent with his general ſcheme, and others abſolutely failed in performing their engagements; which however did not hinder this gallant gentleman from putting to ſea, with ſuch of his friends as had ſtuck cloſe to their promiſes; but the voyage proved very unfortunate, and was attended with the loſs of one of his beſt ſhips, in which was Mr. Miles Morgan, whom he much eſteemed, and ſeveral other perſons of worth and figure. This was a ſevere blow, which he was the leſs able to ſuſtain, as having already ſuffered extremely in his fortune, by the money he had been obliged to advance to ſupply other men's deficiencies; and therefore he was conſtrained to aſſign part of his patent to other perſons, who were to make ſettlements in the northern parts of America about the river of Canada; but theſe people proving likewiſe very dilatory, he found himſelf obliged to think of another expedition, in perſon; becauſe his patent was to expire, if within the ſpace of ſix years he had not actually gained poſſeſſions under it.

In the ſpring of the year 1583 he had again brought this deſign into ſome order, and to furniſh the neceſſary expences thereof he was obliged to ſell his eſtate, though he had great aſſiſtance from his friends; and ſeveral gentlemen of rank and fortune agreed to go with him in perſon; with this view a ſmall ſquadron was fitted out, conſiſting of the following veſſels, viz. the Delight (or George), of one hundred and twenty tons, admiral, in which went Sir Humphrey himſelf as general, William Winter captain and part owner, and Ricard Clark, maſter; the bark Raleigh, fitted out by Mr. Walter Raleigh, of two hundred tons, vice-admiral, Mr. Butler captain, and Robert Davis of Briſtol, maſter; the Golden Hind, of forty tons, rear-admiral, capt. Edward Hayes, commander and owner, and William Cox of Limehouſe, maſter; the Swallow of forty tons, Maurice Brown, captain; the Squirrel of ten tons, William Andrews, captain, and one Cade, maſter. In all theſe veſſels were ſhipped about two hundred and ſixty men, among whom were many ſhipwrights, maſons, carpenters, ſmiths, miners, and refiners. The reſolution of the proprietors was, that the fleet ſhould begin its courſe northerly, and follow as directly as they could the trade-way to Newfoundland, from whence, after having refreſhed and ſupplied themſelves with all neceſſaries, their intent was to proceed into the ſouth, and not to paſs by any river or bay, which, in all that large tract of land, ſhould appear worthy their looking into; they likewiſe agreed upon the manner of their courſe, and the orders to be obſerved in their voyage, which were delivered to the captains and maſters of every ſhip in writing.

The 11th of June they ſet ſail from Cauſet Bay, near Plymouth; but, on the 13th, their large ſhip the Raleigh, under pretence that her captain and a great number of her

her men were ſuddenly taken ill of a contagious diſeaſe, left the fleet and returned to Plymouth; ſome ſay in great diſtreſs, but others, that it was done with a deſign to break the voyage. After her departure the Golden Hind ſucceeded her in place as vice-admiral. The 30th of July they had the firſt ſight of land, as they computed it about fifty-one degrees, but with ſuch foggy weather, that they could not poſſibly perceive the land, nor take the ſun's height: from thence they followed the coaſt to the ſouth, with clear weather, till they came to the iſland called Baccalaos; here they met with the Swallow, which had been ſeparated from them in the fog, but were ſurprized to ſee her men in a different garb from what they had on when they left them; upon inquiry they found they had met a Newlander fiſhing bark returning homewards, which they had rifled of tackle, ſails, cables and proviſions, and the men of their apparel. Continuing the ſame courſe ſouthward, they came the ſame day, being the 3d of Auguſt, to the harbour of St. John, where they found the Squirrel, which had likewiſe been ſeparated from them, riding at anchor at the mouth of the harbour, having been refuſed entrance by the veſſels which were fiſhing within, to the number of thirty-ſix ſail of all nations. Sir Humphrey was preparing to make good his paſſage by force of arms; but having firſt ſent in his boat to inform the maſters of the fiſhing barks, that he had a commiſſion from the Queen to take poſſeſſion of theſe lands for the crown of England, they were ſatisfied, and ſubmitted to the levying a tax of proviſions from each ſhip, for ſupplying the wants of Sir Humphrey's ſmall ſquadron. Going into the harbour, the admiral's ſhip was by the careleſſneſs of the men run upon a rock, which lay viſible above water: but, by the aſſiſtance of the fiſhermen's boats, ſhe was got off again, with little or no damage.

On the 4th Sir Humphrey, whom they called the general, and his company were conducted on ſhore by the maſters of the Engliſh fiſhing veſſels, and their owners or merchants who were with them. On the 5th the general, having cauſed a tent to be ſet up view of all the ſhips in the harbour, to the number of between thirty and forty ſail, and being accompanied by all his captains, maſters, gentlemen, and ſoldiers, ſummoned all the merchants and maſters, both Engliſh and Foreigners, to be preſent at his taking a formal and ſolemn poſſeſſion of theſe territories. Being aſſembled, he cauſed his commiſſion, under the great ſeal of England, to be openly read before them, and to be interpreted to thoſe who were ſtrangers to the Engliſh tongue.

By virtue of this commiſſion, he declared that he took poſſeſſion of the harbour of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way, inveſted Her Majeſty with the title and dignity thereof; and having had (according to cuſtom) a rod, and turf of ſoil delivered to him, entered poſſeſſion alſo for himſelf, his heirs and aſſigns, for ever. He ſignified to thoſe who were preſent, and through them to all men, that from thenceforward they ſhould look upon thoſe territories as appertaining to the Queen of England, and himſelf, authorized under Her Majeſty to poſſeſs and enjoy them, with power to ordain laws for the government thereof, agreeable (as near as conveniently could be) to the laws of England; under which, all people coming thither for the future, either to inhabit, or by way of traffic, ſhould ſubmit and be governed. Some writers have attributed all this ſolemnity, which, however, was attended with many other ceremonies, to a high degree of vanity in our Weſt-country knight, and have ridiculed ſeverely his pretences to improve the trade of this kingdom and enlarge the Queen's dominions, by cutting a turf; in which, however, they injure this poor Gentleman's memory extremely, and ſhew how little they are qualified to give their readers a true account of things of this nature.

The plain reaſon of Sir Humphrey's conduct throughout this affair was his concern

for his grant, which was perpetual to him and his heirs, in caſe he took poſſeſſion of any countries within ſix years, and otherwiſe it was void: there were now but a few months to come. He had ſold his eſtate in England, and it concerned him very nearly to ſecure an eſtate ſomewhere elſe; and therefore it was not from any principle of vanity, but rather of prudence and good œconomy that he did this; as appears by his granting ſeveral parcels of land to perſons, who covenanted to pay a certain rent to him and his heirs, and to maintain poſſeſſion by themſelves and their aſſigns.

There now remained only to gather in the tax of proviſions granted by every ſhip which fiſhed upon the coaſt adjoining; and while ſome of the men were doing this, others were ſet to repair and trim the ſhips; and the remainder the general ſent to inquire into the commodities and ſingularities of the country, which were to be found by ſea or land. They found no inhabitants in the ſouth parts, which probably the natives had abandoned, upon their being ſo much frequented by Europeans. In the north there were ſavages of a very harmleſs diſpoſition; among other inquiries, the general had, in a particular manner, recommended a ſearch after metals. They had in their company a Saxon miner, who at firſt brought a ſort of ore to the general, which had more the reſemblance of iron than of any other metal. Soon after he found another ſort of ore, which he delivered with a ſhew of great ſatisfaction to Sir Humphrey, and aſſured him, upon the peril of his life, that if ſilver was what he and his companions ſought, there it was, and they need ſeek no farther. We learn all theſe circumſtances from Captain Edward Hayes, who ſeems, by his writing, to have been a very intelligent perſon; and therefore he inquired very ſtrictly about this ſilver mine, which procured him ſuch an anſwer from the general, as ſhewed that he was abſolutely ſatisfied on that head; and I muſt own I ſee no reaſon to doubt there being ſilver mines in this country, ſince we know they are generally found in cold climates, and in a hungry barren ſoil; and, as to the northern ſituation, we are certain that there are rich ſilver mines in New Mexico, a country not far to the ſouthward of Newfoundland; and ſilver ore has been found in Scotland, ſeveral degrees farther to the north than it is ſuppoſed to have been found here.

But though Sir Humphrey was very well ſatisfied with the account his Saxon gave him, yet he thought himſelf obliged to proceed in his diſcoveries ſouthward; for which, while he was providing, ſome of his men fell ſick, ſome deſerted, ſome died, and ſome fell to plundering and piracy: in ſhort, the number of his people was ſo leſſened, that he was conſtrained to leave the Swallow behind him. The captain of his admiral going home, Captain Brown of the Swallow took the command of the admiral, and the captain of the Squirrel deſerting likewiſe the expedition, Sir Humphrey went on board that little veſſel himſelf; as thinking her the fitteſt for obſerving and diſcovering the coaſt, becauſe ſhe could run into every creek, which a larger ſhip could not do. All things being now ready, and plenty of proviſions of all ſorts being put on board, they ſailed on the 20th of Auguſt from the harbour of St. John, with three ſhips, the Delight, the Golden Hind, and the Squirrel, and proper boats and pinnaces for diſcovery. Before their departure they made an exact obſervation of St. John's Harbour, and found it to be in the latitude of forty-ſeven degrees forty minutes north. The next night they reached Cape Race, which is twenty-five leagues diſtant; and from thence ſailed about eighty-ſeven leagues towards Cape Breton.

All this time they had the wind indifferently good, but never could get ſight of the land, being hindered by the currents; at laſt they unhappily fell into thoſe flats and ſhoals in which moſt of them periſhed. On the 27th the general ordered his

Drawn by A. de Humboldt. Galocks sc.

*Peak of Orizaba from the Forest of Xalapa.*

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men in the frigate to ſound, and found thirty-five fathom white ſand, in the latitude of forty-four degrees. The wind coming ſouth, the next evening they bore in with the land, all the night weſt north-weſt, contrary to the advice of Mr. Cox, maſter of the Golden Hind. On the 29th the wind blew vehemently at ſouth and by eaſt, with rain, and ſo thick a miſt, that they could not ſee a cable's length before them. Early in the morning they found themſelves in the midſt of ſhoals and ſands, among which they found ſometimes deep, ſometimes ſhoal water, every three or four ſhip's length. After they began to ſound, a ſignal was immediately given to the Delight to caſt about to the ſeaward, but it was too late; for ſhe ſtruck immediately, and her ſtern and hind-quarters preſently beat to pieces. Upon which the Golden Hind and the frigate caſt about eaſt ſouth-eaſt, bearing to the ſouth, which carried them to the ſeaward, and with much difficulty got clear of the ſhoals.

In the Delight periſhed Captain Maurice Brown, with near one hundred perſons: the captain might probably have ſaved his life, if he would have left the ſhip when ſhe firſt ſtruck, but he would not be the firſt to ſet an ill example. In the mean time fourteen perſons leaped into a ſmall pinnace of a ton and a half burden, no bigger than a Thames barge. They looked out ſome time for the captain, but not ſeeing him took in Mr. Clark, the maſter of the Delight, and one more: being now ſixteen in number, they cut the rope and committed themſelves to the mercy of the waves, without any proviſions, or a drop of freſh water, and nothing to work with but one ſingle oar. The boat ſeeming to be over-loaded, one Edward Headly, thinking it was better for ſome to periſh than all, propoſed to caſt lots, and that four of the number, upon whom the lot might fall, ſhould be thrown over-board to lighten the boat: but he was over-ruled by Mr. Clark; who, though it was propoſed that he ſhould be excepted from the number, perſuaded his comrades rather to ſubmit to Providence. The boat was driven before the wind ſix days and ſix nights, during which time theſe poor wretches had no other ſuſtenance than their own urine, and ſome weeds which ſwam on the ſurface of the water; and in this extremity of cold, wet, hunger, and thirſt, only Headly and one more periſhed the fifth day; but the other fourteen lived till they were driven the ſeventh day on ſhore, on the coaſt of Newfoundland; whence they got in a French ſhip to France, and ſo to England, before the year's end. During their ſeven days dangerous courſe they had the wind always at ſouth, which ſaved their lives; and it is very remarkable, that in half an hour after they were on ſhore it came about and blew full north.

After the loſs of the admiral the men being generally diſcouraged, and in want of neceſſaries, Sir Humphrey Gilbert propoſed returning to England, having, in his judgment, made diſcoveries ſufficient to procure aſſiſtance enough for a new voyage in the ſpring. His people, when he made this propoſal, were at firſt a little backward, but, upon hearing his reaſons, they ſubmitted; and, according to his advice, on the laſt of Auguſt they altered their courſe and returned back for England. On the 2d of September they paſſed in ſight of Cape Race, and had afterwards frequently very bad weather, with ſuch high ſeas, that they in the Hind often expected to ſee the Squirrel ſwallowed up; notwithſtanding which, Sir Humphrey would by no means be perſuaded to leave her. On the 9th, the ſtorms and ſwelling of the ſeas increaſing, he was again preſſed to leave the frigate, but his anſwer was, "we are as near to heaven by ſea as by land." About midnight the Squirrel being a-head of the Golden Hind, her lights were at once extinguiſhed, which thoſe in the Hind ſeeing, cried out, "our general is loſt!" and it was ſuppoſed ſhe ſunk that inſtant, for ſhe was never more heard of.

The Golden Hind arrived in ſafety at Falmouth, on the 22d of September, more fortunate than her companions; not only as ſhe returned, but as ſhe loſt but one man during the whole courſe of this unfortunate undertaking. Such was the end of this expedition, very diſaſtrous to its author; who loſt firſt his fortune, and then his life, by it; to which, if the ſallies of ſome diſtempered men's untimely wit could effect it, we might add his reputation alſo. Yet to this expedition I make no ſcruple of imputing all our ſucceeding colonies in America; and the grounds of this opinion of mine, which I muſt confeſs is new, I lay down thus:

12. We have before ſhewn that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a man of great intereſt and alliances: for, beſides his eldeſt brother Sir John Gilbert, and his younger brother Sir Adrian Gilbert, who were of the whole blood, he was, by the mother's ſide, brother alſo to Sir Walter Raleigh, who had a great concern in this undertaking; and who is on good grounds allowed to have been one of thoſe true, brave, and ſteady friends, who went to ſea with him in his firſt attempt, which there is juſt reaſon to believe was in 1579. This great man, after Sir Humphrey Gilbert's miſcarriage and loſs in his laſt voyage, procured his patent to be renewed to himſelf, which was dated the 25th of March 1584, and he reſolved immediately to carry it into execution; to which purpoſe he made choice of two very able ſea officers, Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Arthur Burlow; who, in two ſmall barks fit for diſcovery, ſailed from the weſt of England upon the 27th of April following, ſhaping their courſe for the Canaries, which they paſſed on the 10th of June, and proceeding from thence to the iſlands of America, they croſſed the gulph of Mexico, and ſoon after diſcovered the coaſt of Florida. Some authors who have written of this expedition, and who are pleaſed to ſpeak in very high terms of Sir Walter Raleigh's ſkill in maritime affairs, venture nevertheleſs to affirm, that the perſons he employed were ſo ignorant of navigation, that, by the computation of able ſeamen, they went above two thouſand leagues out of their way; but as I am very well ſatisfied they purſued Sir Walter's inſtructions, ſo I cannot help thinking this imputation of ignorance ought to be wiped away; and this may be very eaſily done, by ſhewing the true cauſe why this great and knowing ſeaman directed this courſe: he had obſerved that all the attempts hitherto had failed, by the adventurers purſuing their diſcoveries from the north, which was one reaſon why he choſe another rout; beſides which, he had a better and ſtronger motive; for, conſidering all the lands on the continent of America from the laſt ſettlements of the Spaniards to ſixty degrees north, as lying within his grant, he very prudently choſe to ſettle thoſe firſt, which lay neareſt thoſe Spaniſh ſettlements; and this was the clear and certain cauſe of his directing his ſervants to take this courſe; which was ſo far from being a proof of their ignorance, that it is a full and fair teſtimony of their maſter's extenſive knowledge.

It was on the 2d of July they fell in with the coaſt of Florida, in ſhoal water, where they ſmelled a moſt delightful odour, as if they had been in the midſt of a garden, abounding with the moſt fragrant flowers, by which they ſuppoſed they were near, though they ſaw no land. On the 4th they diſcovered the continent, and ſailed along the coaſt forty leagues, till they came on the 13th to a river, where they anchored, and, going on ſhore, took poſſeſſion in right of the Queen, and for the uſe of the proprietors. This place they afterwards found to be the iſland of Wokoken, on the coaſt of the country ſince called Virginia, in thirty-four degrees latitude; and in it they found deer, rabbits, hares, fowls, vines, cedars, pines, ſaſſafras, cypreſs, and maſtic trees. The author of the hiſtory of Virginia ſays, they anchored at the inlet of Roenocke, at preſent under the government of North Carolina. They went to

the tops of the hills which were neareſt the ſhore, from whence, though they were not high, they diſcovered the ſea on all ſides, and found it to be an iſland of twenty miles in length, and ſix in breadth. It was the third day before they ſaw any of the natives; but then a little boat with three of them appeared: one of them going aſhore, they rowed up to him, and he not only waited their coming without any ſigns of fear, but went on board, where they gave him a ſhirt and hat, with ſome wine and meat, which he expreſſed a liking to. After he had, with a ſeeming ſatisfaction, narrowly viewed the barks with all that were in them, he went in his own boat to above a quarter of a mile's diſtance, where he fiſhed, and in half an hour loaded his boat with fiſh, as deep as it could ſwim, and came again to the point of land; where, to ſhew his gratitude, he divided it into two parts; and, making ſigns that he deſigned it for the two ſhips equally, he departed.

The natives from the continent, after this, repaired to their ſhips frequently, and exchanged ſeveral ſorts of ſkins, white coral, and ſome pearls, for ſome tin things, and other baubles of inconſiderable value. The very next day after they ſaw the three Indians, ſeveral boats appeared in view; in one of which was the king of the country's brother, attended by forty or fifty men of a tolerable good appearance. They made him, and four of his chiefs, preſents of ſeveral toys, which he accepted of very kindly; but he took all himſelf, and gave them to underſtand that none there had a right to any thing but himſelf; two days afterwards they let him ſee their merchandize, of which nothing ſeemed to pleaſe him more than a pewter diſh, for which he gave twenty deer ſkins; and, making a hole in the rim of it, hung it over his neck for a breaſt-plate, making ſigns that it would defend him againſt the enemies' arrows. The next thing he bought was a copper kettle, for which he gave fifty ſkins. As long as he thought fit to traffic with them, none, but ſuch as like him wore plates of gold or copper on their heads, were allowed either to buy or ſell; but as ſoon as they had done, every man had his liberty. They offered very good exchange for hatchets, axes, and knives, and would have given any thing in truck for ſwords; but the Engliſh would not part with any. The king's brother came afterwards frequently on board, and would eat, drink, and be merry with them; and once he brought his wife and children with him, who afterwards came frequently with their followers only.

They often truſted the king's brother with goods upon his word, to bring the value at a certain time, which he never failed of doing. He had a ſtrong inclination to have a ſuit of armour and a ſword, which he ſaw in one of the ſhips; and would have left a large box of pearls in pawn for them, but they refuſed it; that he might not know they ſet a value upon them, till they could diſcover whence he got them. They underſtood from the natives, that their country, which they found to be very fruitful and productive of all things, in ſo very ſhort a time as is hardly credible, was called by the name of Wingandacoa, and their king Wingina. When they went on ſhore they were entertained with extraordinary civility, and once in particular by the king's brother's wife, at a little village in Roenocke. They were told of a great city where the king reſided, ſix days' journey on the continent, which, however, they did not ſee: they made no long ſtay, nor proceeded any farther on diſcovery, only juſt to the neighbouring parts, in their boats; and, being ſatisfied with what they had ſeen, returned to England about the middle of September, pleaſed with the advantage they had made in this ſhort and proſperous voyage; and, with the hopes of the future advantages they ſhould make, eſpecially as they found all things here entirely new and ſurpriſing.

They

They gave a very advantageous account of matters, by repreſenting the country ſo delightful and deſirable, ſo pleaſant, and abounding with all the neceſſaries of life; the climate and air ſo temperate, good and wholeſome, the woods and ſoil ſo charming and fruitful, and all other things ſo agreeable, that Paradiſe itſelf ſeemed to be there in its native luſtre. They gave particular accounts of the variety of good fruits, ſome whereof they had never ſeen before; eſpecially, that there were grapes in ſuch abundance as were never any where known; ſtately tall large oaks, and other timber; red cedar, cypreſs, pines, and other ever-greens and ſweet woods, for tallneſs and largeneſs exceeding all they had ever heard of. Wild fowl, deer, fiſh, and other game, in ſuch plenty and variety that no epicure could deſire more than this new world ſeemed naturally to afford. To make it yet more deſirable they reported, that the native Indians, who were then the only inhabitants, were ſo affable, kind and good-natured; ſo tractable in learning trades and faſhions; ſo innocent and ignorant in all manner of tricks and cunning, and ſo deſirous of the Engliſh, that they rather ſeemed ready to take any impreſſion, than any ways like to oppoſe the ſettling of the Engliſh near them.

Upon this fair repreſentation of the effects of their voyage, and of the noble diſcovery that had attended it, Queen Elizabeth was pleaſed to promiſe what aſſiſtance it ſhould be neceſſary for the crown to give for promoting and perfecting this ſettlement; and ſhe was likewiſe pleaſed to beſtow the name of Virginia upon this new-found country; but whether, as is commonly believed, in regard to its being diſcovered under a virgin Queen, or in alluſion to the uncorrupted ſtate of the land and its inhabitants, is a queſtion I will not pretend to decide; but perhaps the former was the ſenſe impoſed by Sir Walter, the completeſt courtier, ſhall I ſay, or rather the completeſt man of his time; and the latter the ſenſe in which the Queen would have had it underſtood: but however that matter be, we muſt not confound the Virginia of Sir Walter Raleigh with the province now ſo called; for, without all queſtion, it was in thoſe days a very different thing, and comprehended the whole country claimed by the crown of England, from the ſouthern limits of the new province of Georgia, to the utmoſt extent of our diſcoveries northwards, agreeable to the two patents granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and to his brother Sir Walter Raleigh.

It was not long before the proprietor reſolved to fit out a much more conſiderable fleet than had hitherto been employed in ſuch undertakings, that ſomething might be done worthy of the nation, on whoſe behalf this ſettlement was to be made, of the powerful Queen who had protected it, and of himſelf, who was the author and patron of this ſcheme; Sir Walter intended to have commanded in this expedition himſelf, and to have carried with him a ſufficient number of forces to have completed this deſign of making a ſettlement there; but being at that time jealous that his abſence might be prejudicial to his intereſt at court, which the earl of Leiceſter ſought all occaſions to leſſen, he committed the conduct of this ſecond enterprize to his lieutenant, Sir Richard Greenville; who, on the 8th of April, ſet ſail from Plymouth with ſeven ſhips fitted out by the company, of which himſelf and ſeveral gentlemen were members; and this company was the firſt of that kind that was eſtabliſhed in Europe: theſe King James incorporated, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Weſt Indies; which, for their mal-adminiſtration, was diſſolved by his ſon King Charles I.

On the 26th of June, 1585, Sir Richard Greenville anchored at Wokoken, and in Auguſt following they began to plant on the iſland of Roenocke, five miles diſtant from the continent, where Sir Richard landed one hundred and eight men, under

Governor

Governor Ralph Lane, and Captain Philip Amadas, who was conſtituted admiral of the new colony, though I do not find he had ſo much as a bark left with him.

Sir Richard did not remain above three weeks longer in thoſe ſeas; but having made ſome diſcoveries to the ſouthward, and having traded with the Indians for ſkins, furs, pearls, and other commodities, he ſailed on the 25th of Auguſt on his return to England, in which he took a very rich prize; ſo that this voyage appeared to the eyes of the nation no leſs proſperous than the former, and the new Virginia company began to entertain very ſanguine hopes of their undertaking. Let us now return to the firſt planters in Virginia, and give an account of what happened to the firſt colony the Engliſh eſtabliſhed there, or in any part of America. Sir Richard Greenville was no ſooner ſailed, than the people whom he left behind applied themſelves with diligence to what had been recommended to them by Sir Walter Raleigh, which was the diſcovering the continent, and with this view they travelled eighty miles ſouth, and one hundred and thirty north from that part of the main oppoſite to their iſland; but in theſe expeditions, venturing indiſcreetly too high up the rivers, and too far into the country, the Indian governors grew jealous of their deſigns, and began firſt to be weary of their company, and then to cut off their ſtragglers when they fell into their hands; and they alſo formed a conſpiracy to deſtroy the reſt, but were happily prevented.

The journals of the colony's proceedings were duly entered, and afterwards delivered to the company in England, who were not ſo careful as they ſhould have been to ſend them ſupplies of proviſions, and the Engliſh, not underſtanding the nature of the climate, neglected to gather food in ſeaſon as the Indians did, by which means they were reduced to great ſtreights. The natives never after kept faith with them, but watched all opportunities to cut them off. And as this obliged them to be more wary in their enterprizes on the main, ſo it hindered them from having any ſupply from thence; however, they endured all with incredible reſolution, and extended their diſcoveries near a hundred miles along the ſea-coaſts. They kept the Indians in awe by threatening them with the return of their companions and the reinforcement of men; but no ſhips coming from England in all that winter, nor in the ſpring following, nor in ſummer, they deſpaired of being able to ſupport themſelves any longer, the natives beginning to deſpiſe them, when they ſaw them as it were abandoned by their countrymen; and the Engliſh expected every day to be ſacrificed to their cruelty. In this diſtreſs their chief employment was to look out to ſea, in hopes of finding ſome means of eſcape, or recruit; and, when they were almoſt ſpent with want and watching, hunger and cold, in Auguſt they diſcovered Sir Francis Drake's fleet, who was returning from an expedition againſt the Spaniards in North America, and had been commanded by the Queen to viſit this plantation in his way, and ſee what encouragement or aſſiſtance they wanted.

The ſight of Sir Francis's fleet was moſt joyful to theſe poor people: their firſt petition to him, was to grant them a ſupply of men and proviſions, with a ſmall ſhip or bark to attend them, that, in caſe they could not maintain themſelves where they were, they might embark in it for England. Sir Francis granted their requeſt; and they ſet all hands to work to fit the ſhip he had given them, and furniſh her with all manner of ſtores for a long ſtay; but a ſtorm ariſing, which drove the veſſel from her anchor to ſea, and the ſhip ſuffering ſo much in it that ſhe was not fit for their uſe, they were ſo diſcouraged, that, notwithſtanding Sir Francis offered them another ſhip, they were afraid to ſtay, and earneſtly intreated him to take them with him, which he did: and this put an end to the firſt ſettlement.

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It was not at all owing to any negligence in Sir Walter Raleigh that this misfortune happened; for he continually preſſed the company to reflect on the neceſſity of ſupporting the colony in time, and ſo ſolicitous he was in this buſineſs, that, finding the fleet which was preparing under the command of Sir Richard Greenville went on but ſlowly, he propoſed that the firſt ſhip that was completely manned and equipped, ſhould be ſent, without ſtaying for the reſt, which was done; but when ſhe arrived at the iſland Roenocke, ſhe found it deſerted. A few days after came Sir Richard Greenville with his ſquadron of three ſmall veſſels, and found not a man upon the place, to his great diſappointment; however, he reſolved to ſettle again, and therefore left behind him fifty men, with directions to build a houſe, or rather fort, for their own ſecurity, furniſhing them beſides with all neceſſaries for two years, and giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they ſhould be conſtantly and regularly ſupplied.

This ſecond colony had no better fortune than the firſt, for the Indians, taking advantage of the ſmallneſs of their number, and the difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, attacked, and cut them off; ſo that when Mr. John White came thither with three ſhips and conſiderable ſupplies, on the 22d of June, 1587, he found their fort demoliſhed, ſome huts they had erected near it deſtroyed, and not far from them the bones of a dead man. In all theſe revolutions Manteo, the Indian, remained firm to the Engliſh intereſt, and it was from his information that Mr. White learned what was become of this laſt colony.

The misfortunes that had attended theſe two ſettlements, would certainly have diſcouraged a man of leſs conſtancy and fortitude than Mr. White; but he had a commiſſion to be governor, and Sir Walter had ſtrongly recommended to him the keeping poſſeſſion of the place. He therefore erected a new habitation, and, chuſing eleven of the moſt capable perſons that came along with him, conſtituted a regular ſociety, to which he gave the title of the Governor and Court of Aſſiſtants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia, hoping they might be able to retrieve the credit of this undertaking, and conduce to the improvement of the commerce and navigation of his country, and thereby anſwer the expectations of his honourable patron, whoſe name he had given to his new plantation. On the 13th of Auguſt, Manteo the faithful Indian, was chriſtened, and created by the governor Lord of Daſſumonpeak, an Indian nation ſo called, as a reward of his fidelity and ſervice to the Engliſh; and on the 18th of the ſame month was born the firſt child that was the iſſue of Chriſtian parents in that place, being the daughter of Mr. Ananias Dare: ſhe was after the name of the country chriſtened Virginia. Good government and induſtry ſoon rendered Mr. White and his men formidable to the Indians, who courted their friendſhip, and made leagues with the corporation, which they kept or broke as they thought themſelves too weak or too ſtrong for the Engliſh, who, as much as they ſeemed to thrive, underwent ſo many hardſhips for want of due ſupplies from Europe, that nothing but the invincible conſtancy, which is the diſtinguiſhing character of their nation, could have ſupported them in the midſt of ſo much miſery.

Yet ſo far were they from repenting of their undertaking, or deſiring to return, that they diſputed for the liberty of remaining at Roenocke, and obliged Mr. White their governor to return for England, and ſolicit the company to ſend them recruits of men and proviſions. Mr. White undertook to negociate their affairs; and, leaving one hundred and fifty men in the corporation, ſet ſail for England, where he arrived in ſafety, and was two years there before he could obtain a grant of the neceſſary ſupplies. At laſt he had three ſhips fitted out for him, with proviſions and more men for the colony. And on the 15th of Auguſt he arrived at Cape Hattaras; and, landing

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on the iſland Roenocke, found by letters cut on trees, in large Roman characters, that the Engliſh were removed, but he could not tell where. They ſaw the letters C.R.O. on ſeveral trees; and, ſearching farther, on one of the palliſadoes of the fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large capital letters the word Croatan, one of the iſlands forming the ſouth, about twenty leagues ſouthward of Roenocke. On this advice, they embarked in queſt of their fellows at Croatan; but they were ſcarce all of them aboard, before a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated the ſhips one from another. They loſt their anchors and cables, and durſt not venture in with the ſhore, ſo they all ſhifted for themſelves, and, with various fortunes, arrived in England and Ireland.

This dreadful blow proved the ruin of the third ſettlement, of which I do not find that the company took any farther care, or that any new attempt was made for preſerving the poſſeſſion of this country to the crown of England, which had been ſo highly magnified, and the advantages thereof painted in ſuch ſtrong colours at the beginning. Some have attributed this to Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles; but ſurely they were but indifferently acquainted with his hiſtory, ſince it was during the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign that he ſtood in the higheſt credit at court, and was moſt capable of procuring favour from it. But that I may not leave this ſubject altogether dark and imperfect, I ſhall venture to ſuggeſt what appears to me to be the true reaſon why there was no more care taken of ſo promiſing a ſcheme as this was of which we are writing. Sir Walter Raleigh, as very clearly appears from his manner of conducting it, had the public ſervice alone in view, which induced him to throw the concerns of this colony into the hands of a company, in which, no doubt, he thought he had provided for them effectually, and therefore turned his own thoughts and moſt vigorous endeavours to other purpoſes, in which he was ſo entangled, that he found it impoſſible to diſengage himſelf, when he ſaw their negligence, and foreſaw the conſequences of it, which were fatal to a ſettlement that coſt him ſo much pains, and of which he had once ſo great hopes.

13. But neither the buſineſs of planting, nor the profits reſulting from military expeditions, could hinder ſuch as were addicted to the ſtudy of maritime affairs from wiſhing to ſee the new paſſage to the Indies fairly opened. And notwithſtanding many attempts had been made to very little purpoſe, yet no conſiderable mariner, no man of reputation for coſmographical learning, could propoſe any reaſonable ſcheme for this purpoſe; but there were merchants enough ready to lend their aſſiſtance, and to lay down whatever money was requiſite for carrying it into execution. This freedom and readineſs of venturing their private fortunes for the public ſervice, was certainly very honourable and commendable, but they did ſtill more, for they did not only proſecute ſuch attempts like merchants, but adhered to them with a philoſophic firmneſs; ſo that when a man returned without ſucceſs, and plainly ſhewed that he had done his duty, and that there were ſtill hopes, they encouraged, they rewarded, they fitted him out again and again: but this was an age of public ſpirit; the people went eagerly into whatever great miniſters propoſed; moſt of thoſe miniſters had only the ſervice of their miſtreſs at heart; and the Queen herſelf was truly the mother of her people.

In ſuch a reign it was natural that wonders ſhould be done, and it happens very luckily for thoſe who celebrate theſe wonders, that they are able to maintain all that they aſſert, by inconteſtable evidence; an inſtance of which we ſhall give in a ſuccinct account of the voyages of Captain John Davis, for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage; which, however, ſhould not have been brought in here, but have been referred to another chapter, if we had not found them neceſſary to ſhew the limits of our diſ-

coveries in the northern parts of America; and having thus opened the true deſign of his attempts, we ſhall proceed to the narrative of them, in ſuch a manner, as to render the nature and ſucceſs of his enterprizes as clear as it is poſſible. In order to this, it is requiſite to obſerve, that before his firſt voyage was undertaken, there was a deſign of attempting to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage, formed by ſome traders of the weſt of England; who, when they underſtood that the like project had been ſet on foot at London, propoſed joining their forces, which was accepted, and Mr. William Sanderſon, merchant of London, who was both a principal man in the undertaking, and a large contributor towards the expence, recommended Captain John Davis, as a proper perſon to have the direction of this enterprize; and he was accordingly appointed commander of the Sunſhine of London, a bark of fifty tons, on board of which were three and twenty perſons, and, in conjunction with the Moonſhine, of Dartmouth, a veſſel of thirty-five tons, with nineteen perſons on board, they ſailed from the laſt mentioned port on their voyage for diſcovery, June 7, 1585.

On the 14th of the ſame month they were forced into one of the Sylley, or, as it is now written, the Scilly iſlands, where being detained for a fortnight, Captain Davis ſhewed his active and indefatigable genius, by making an accurate chart of them, which was a thing, at that time, very much wanted. On the 28th they ſailed from thence, and continued their courſe to the north-weſt, till on the 19th of July they came into a whirling tide, which ſet northwards, and ſailing about half a league into a very calm ſea, which bent ſouth-ſouth-weſt, they heard a mighty roaring, as if it had been the breach of ſome ſhore, which could not but be very terrible, ſince the weather was ſo foggy that they could not ſee from one ſhip to another, though at a very ſmall diſtance. Upon this the Moonſhine was ordered to hoiſt her boat out to ſound, but they could find no ground in three hundred fathoms and better; then the captain, the maſter, and Mr. Jane, who wrote this account, went towards the breach to ſee what it was, and it proved to be ſeveral iſlands of ice which were broke looſe, and floating in the ſea; they got out upon theſe, and walked upon them, and when they went back into their boat, they carried ſeveral large pieces of ice, which melted into very good freſh water.

On the 20th the fog breaking up they diſcovered the land, which looked like a ſugar-loaf, and made ſo uncomfortable, or rather ſo horrid an appearance, that Captain Davis called it the Land of Deſolation. On the 21ſt they were forced to bend their courſe ſouth again, to clear themſelves of the ice, which they did, and then ran along the ſhore. On the 22d the captain endeavoured to go aſhore, but was hindered by the ice; the water on the coaſt was very black, and though the ſeamen made uſe of their lines, they could catch no fiſh. On the 24th the captain cauſed the men's allowance to be increaſed, to encourage them; but it is very remarkable, that he aſſures us the weather was far from being cold, but like ours in April, very ſharp, when the wind blew from the ſhore; and on the contrary, very hot, when it blew from the ſea.

On the 25th they bore away north-weſt, and continued their courſe for four days: On the 29th they diſcovered land in the latitude of ſixty-four degrees fifteen minutes north, the ſea quite free from ice, and the weather very temperate. Upon viewing the coaſt they found many pleaſant bays and commodious ports, but judged it not a continued land, but rather an archipelago, and therefore they reſolved to go aſhore on one of theſe ſmall iſlands, in order to ſearch for wood and water, and to gain a better knowledge of the country; they were no ſooner on ſhore, than they found evident marks of the country's being inhabited, by there lying upon the ground a ſmall ſhoe, ſeveral pieces of leather ſewed with ſinews, a piece of fir and wool like beaver. They

went next upon another iſland, where, getting upon a high rock, they were ſeen by the people of the country, who ſet up thereupon a moſt hideous howling; when they perceived this, the Engliſh likewiſe made a noiſe, to give notice of what had happened to their own people; upon which Captain Bruton, of the Moonſhine, preſently came to their aſſiſtance, with a good number of his ſeamen; and preſently after their arrival there appeared ten boats full of the natives coming from a neighbouring iſland, and two of theſe canoes advanced ſo near the ſhore, that they could eaſily talk with thoſe that were in them; their language was much in the throat, and their pronunciation harſh and unpleaſant; one of them however, ſeemed inclined to come on ſhore, but firſt pointed to the ſun, and then ſtruck his breaſt ſo hard, that they could hear the blow; upon which, Mr. John Ellis, maſter of the Moonſhine, was appointed to treat with him; and he going to the ſea-ſide, pointing to the ſun, and ſtriking his breaſt, as the ſavage had done, he at length ventured on ſhore, and they threw him caps, ſtockings, gloves, and what elſe they thought might pleaſe him; but the night drawing on, they took their leaves on both ſides.

The next morning there came thirty-ſeven canoes rowing by their ſhips, calling them to come aſhore. The Engliſh however did not make great haſte; upon which one of he ſavages leaped on ſhore, and went to the top of a rock, where he danced and beat a drum, to ſhew his joy. The Engliſh then manned their boats, and came to them to the water-ſide, where they waited in their canoes; and after the formal ceremony of ſwearing by the ſun, the ſavages made no ſcruple of truſting them; but on the contrary, ſhewed all poſſible ſigns of kindneſs, and even of politeneſs; for when the author of this voyage offered to ſhake hands with one of them, he firſt took his hand and kiſſed it. They readily parted with any thing they were aſked for, and were content with whatever was given them, ſhewing no ſigns of greedineſs, much leſs of treachery or infidelity. They bought of them five of their canoes, and ſeveral of their ſtockings and gowns, which were made, ſome of ſeal and other of bird ſkins, all of them well dreſſed and neatly made; ſo that it plainly appeared they had various trades amongſt them. They had plenty of furs; and when they ſaw that the Engliſh admired them, they gave them to underſtand, by ſigns, that they would go up into their country and come down and bring them more, but the wind proving fair in the night, Capt. Davis, deſpiſing profit, on the 1ſt of Auguſt ſailed ſtill farther to the north-weſt; and on the 6th of the ſame month they entered into a very fair road, free from ice, in the latitude of ſixty-ſix degrees forty minutes, where they landed under a high mountain, the cliffs of which ſhone like gold.

Captain Davis, having taken a view of every thing, began to think of beſtowing names on the places he had diſcovered. He gave to the hill the name of Mount Raleigh; the road where the ſhip lay he called Totneſs Road; the ſound at the foot of the mountain, Exeter Sound; the north-foreland, Dier's Cape; and the ſouth-foreland, Walſhingham. Here they diſcovered four white bears of a prodigious bigneſs, two of which they killed and brought on board; the fore-paw of one of which meaſured fourteen inches. They ſaw a raven upon Mount Raleigh, and at the bottom of the hill they found ſome ſhrubs and flowers like primroſes; the coaſt however was very mountainous, and altogether barren, affording neither wood nor graſs, nor ſo much as earth; the mountains being all of ſtone, but the braveſt ſtone, ſays our author, that ever we ſaw. Yet this account concludes nothing againſt the fruitfulneſs of the inland part of the country, which might be very good for all that, and indeed probably was ſo, ſince the bears were very fat, and yet it appeared, upon open-

ing their ſtomachs, and upon viewing their dung, that they were not ravenous, but fed upon graſs.

They weighed on the 8th from Mount Raleigh, ſailing ſtill along the coaſt, which lay ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and eaſt-north-eaſt. On the 11th they came to the moſt ſoutherly point of this land, which they called the Cape of God's Mercy, and here they were ſurpriſed with a very thick fog; upon the breaking up of which, they found that they were ſhut into a very ſtreight or paſſage, in ſome places ſixty miles broad, in others ninety; the weather very fine and temperate, and the water of the ſame colour with that of the ocean, which filled them with hopes. They ſailed through this ſtreight for ſixty leagues, and then diſcovered ſeveral fair iſlands in the midſt of it, with an open paſſage on both ſides, through which they ſailed; one bark taking the north, the other the ſouth ſide; but the wind changing, and the weather growing foggy and foul, they were forced to lie by for five days, in thoſe which have been ever ſince called Davis's Streights. On the 14th they went aſhore, and ſaw evident marks of the country's being inhabited; for they found part of a ſtone wall and a human ſkull. On the 15th they heard a great howling on ſhore, which they ſuppoſed to be wolves, and therefore went aſhore to kill them; when they came to land they found the creatures they had taken for wolves were dogs, and they came inſtantly running to the boat to meet them, wagging their tails, and ſhewing other ſigns of joy, as is uſual for thoſe animals to do at the ſight of men. There were twenty of them in all, and as they were of the ſize of maſtiffs, with ſhort ears, and long buſhy tails, the ſeamen being afraid of them, fired and killed two, one of which had a leather collar on. They found likewiſe there two ſledges, one made of ſeveral kinds of boards that were ſawed, and the other of whale-bone. They likewiſe ſaw larks, ravens, and partridges. On the 17th they went aſhore again, and in an oven built with ſtones, they found a ſmall canoe made of wood, an image, a bird made of bone, beads for necklaces, and other trifles. The coaſt made no very promiſing appearance, as having neither wood nor graſs; but the rocks were of a fine bright ſtone, like marble beautified with veins of different colours. Upon the ſhore they found a ſeal or ſea-calf juſt ſlead and thrown under a heap of ſtones.

Captain Davis and his maſter were extremely well pleaſed with the appearance of this ſtreight, though they began to doubt whether the ſeaſon would permit them to continue long in it; which nevertheleſs they took for the very channel into the South Seas, in ſearch of which they came, and reſolved to report ſo much upon their return to England. The reaſons which confirmed the probability of there being a paſſage in this ſtreight, and upon which they grounded their hopes of future ſucceſs, were, firſt, That this place was all iſlands, with great ſounds between them. Second, That the water remained all of the ſame colour with the main ocean, without altering; whereas they never came into any bay before nor after, but the colour of the water was altered very blackiſh. Third, Becauſe they ſaw to the weſt of thoſe iſlands three or four whales in a ſkull, which they imagined came from the Weſtern Sea, becauſe to the eaſtward they had ſeen no whales. Fourth, Becauſe as they were rowing into a very great ſound lying ſouth-weſt, from whence thoſe whales came, there came ſuddenly a violent counter-check of a tide from the ſouthward, againſt the flood which they came in with, not knowing from whence it received its ſource. Fifth, Becauſe in ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance, they had ſounding in ninety fathoms on a grey and ouſy ſand; and the farther they ran into the

the weſtward, the deeper was the water: ſo that among the iſlands they had near the ſhore no ground in three hundred and thirty fathom. Sixth, Becauſe it ebbed and flowed ſix or ſeven fathom, the flood coming from divers parts, ſo that they could not with any certainty diſcern the chief ſource of it.

On the 19th it was reſolved by the officers to continue the proſecution of their diſcoveries; but the wind changing on the 20th, they were obliged to remain at anchor; and the weather growing very foul, they, on the 24th, hoiſted ſail for England. On the 10th of September they fell in with the Land of Deſolation; on the 27th they had ſight of the Engliſh coaſt, and in a ſtorm loſt the Moonſhine that night. On the 30th captain Davis came ſafely into Dartmouth, where he found the Moonſhine, which arrived about two hours before. Upon his return to London, captain Davis gave a very clear account to his owners, of his expedition, and of what he had done; obſerving, that at the time he put to ſea he had only general inſtructions to ſearch for a paſſage to the north-weſt, without any intimation where that paſſage was moſt likely to be found; that he had accordingly entered a ſtreight which he thought might poſſibly be that paſſage; but the weather changing, and the ſeaſon of the year being too far advanced, he judged it requiſite to return home.

His owners were ſo well ſatisfied, that they procured him an audience of ſecretary Walſingham; who approved very much of the enterprize, and of the manner in which he had conducted it; but at the ſame time recommended it to him to complete this diſcovery, to which he was alſo preſſed by thoſe who were concerned in his former undertaking, and by ſome merchants of Exeter, who deſired to join in the expences neceſſary for a ſecond expedition; to which he willingly conſented, and accordingly undertook it; and as he has written himſelf an account of this voyage, which was a very remarkable one, I ſhall give it the reader as near as may be in his own words.

"On the 7th of May, 1586, I ſet out from Dartmouth with four ſail, viz. the Mermaid of one hundred and twenty tons, the Sunſhine of ſixty tons, the Moonſhine of thirty-five tons, and a pinnace of thirteen tons, called the North Star. We coaſted the ſouth ſide of Ireland, and on the thirteenth ſteered away north-weſt, till we came to the latitude of ſixty degrees. At which time I divided my fleet, and ordered the Sunſhine and the North Star, to ſeek a paſſage northward between Greenland and Iceland, to the latitude of eighty degrees, if land did not hinder them. I departed from them the 7th of June, and on the 15th diſcovered land in ſixty degrees latitude, and in longitude from the meridian of London weſtward forty-ſeven degrees. The ice lay, in ſome ten, in ſome twenty, in ſome fifty leagues off the ſhore; ſo that we were conſtrained to bear into fifty-ſeven degrees to double the ſame, and to get a free ſea, which through God's favourable mercy we at length obtained.

"On the 29th, after many ſtorms, we again diſcovered land, in longitude from the meridian of London fifty-eight degrees thirty minutes, and in latitude ſixty-four degrees, being eaſt from us, into which ſince it pleaſed God by contrary winds to force us, I thought fit to bear in with it, and to ſet up our pinnace, which we had provided in the Mermaid to be our ſcout for this diſcovery, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the year before I had been in the ſame place, and found it very convenient for ſuch a purpoſe, being inhabited by a people of tractable converſation, and the ſea void of ice. The ſhips being within the ſounds, we ſent our boats to ſearch for ſhoal-water, where we might anchor, which in this place is very hard to find. The people of the country eſpying them, came in their canoes towards them with ſhouts and cries; but when they ſaw in the boats ſome of our company that were there

the laſt year, they rowed to the boat, and taking hold of the oar, hung about the boat, expreſſing a great deal of joy; and making ſigns that they knew all thoſe that had been there the year before. I went aſhore with others of the company, and took with me twenty knives. We had no ſooner landed but they leaped out of their canoes and came running to us, and embraced us with many ſigns of hearty welcome; there were eighteen of them, and I gave to each of them a knife, and they offered me ſkins for a reward; but I made ſigns that they were not ſold, but freely given to them; and ſo diſmiſſed them for that time, with ſigns that they ſhould return after certain hours.

"The next day, with all poſſible ſpeed, the pinnace was landed upon an iſland, there to be finiſhed; and while it was ſetting up the people came continually to us, ſometimes a hundred canoes at a time, bringing ſeal-ſkins, ſtag-ſkins, white hares, ſeals, ſalmon-peal, ſmall cod, dry caplin, with other fiſh, and ſome birds. I ſent one of the boats to ſearch one part of the land, while I went to another part, with ſtrict command that there ſhould be no injury offered to any of the people, nor any gun ſhot. They formed tents made of ſeal-ſkins, wherein was ſtore of dried caplin, being a ſmall fiſh no bigger than a pilchard, ſome bags of train-oil, many little images cut in wood, and ſeal-ſkins in tan-tubs, whereof they diminiſhed nothing. When they had paſſed ten miles within the ſnowy mountains, they came to a plain champaign country with earth and graſs, like to our moory and waſte grounds in England; they went ten leagues up into a river, which in the narroweſt place was two leagues over, finding it ſtill to continue they knew not how far. But I with my company took another river, which, although at firſt it afforded a large inlet, yet it proved but a deep bay, the end whereof I attained in four hours; and there leaving the boat well manned, went with the reſt of the company three or four miles into the country, but found nothing, nor ſaw any thing but gripes, ravens, and ſmall birds, as larks and linnets. The 3d of July I manned my boat, and went with fifty canoes attending upon me into another ſound, where the people, by ſigns, willed me to go, hoping to find their habitation. At laſt they made ſigns that I ſhould go into a warm place to ſleep; at which place I went on ſhore, and deſired they would leap with our men, which they agreed to, but ours did over-leap them; from leaping they went to wreſtling; we found them ſtrong and nimble, and to have ſkill in wreſtling, for they caſt ſome of our men that were good wreſtlers.

"On the 4th the maſter of the Mermaid went to certain iſlands to ſtore himſelf with wood, where he found a grave with divers buried in it, covered with ſeal-ſkins only, and a croſs laid over them. The people are of good ſtature, well proportioned, with ſmall ſlender hands and feet, broad viſages, ſmall eyes, wide mouths, the moſt part unbearded, great lips and cloſe toothed; they are much given to bleed, and therefore ſtop their noſes with deer's hair, or that of an elan. One of them kindled a fire after this manner; he took a piece of a board wherein was a hole half through; then he put into the hole the end of a round ſtick like a bed ſtaff, wetting the end thereof with train-oil, and, (as your turners do,) with a piece of leather by the violent motion he ſpeedily produced fire; this done, he made a fire with turfs, into which, with many words and ſtrange geſtures, he put divers things which we ſuppoſed to be a ſacrifice; they deſired me to go into the ſmoak, and I willed them likewiſe to ſtand in the ſmoak, which they would by no means do; I then thruſt one of them into the ſmoak, and commanded one of my men to tread out the fire and ſpurn it into the ſea, to ſhew them that we did contemn their ſorcery. They are very ſimple in their converſation, but marvelouſly thieviſh, eſpecially

of

of iron, which they have in great eſteem. They cut away the Moonſhine's boat from her ſtem; they cut our cables and our cloth where it lay to air, though we did carefully look to it; they ſtole our oars, a caliver, a boat, a ſpear, a ſword, with divers other things, which ſo grieved the company, that they deſired me to diſſolve this new friendſhip; whereupon I ordered a caliver to be ſhot among them, and immediately upon the ſame a falcon; which ſtrange noiſe did ſo amaze them, that they departed with all ſpeed; but within ten hours they returned and intreated a peace, which being granted, they brought us ſeal-ſkins and ſalmon-peal, but when they ſaw iron they could not forbear ſtealing; which when I perceived, I commanded that in no caſe they ſhould be any more hardly uſed, but that our own people ſhould be more vigilant to keep their things.

"They eat all their meat raw; they live moſt upon fiſh, drink ſalt water, and eat graſs and ice with delight; they make fiſhing-nets with whale-fins; it is probable they have wars with thoſe on the main land, many of them being ſore wounded, which wounds they received upon the main land, as by ſigns they gave us to underſtand. The 17th of July I went aſhore in our new pinnace, and with the moſt part of my company went to the top of an high mountain, hoping from thence to ſee into the country,; but the mountains were ſo many and ſo lofty that we could not ſee far; we returned to our pinnace and ſaw a ſtrange ſight, which was a mighty whirlwind, continuing three hours with little intermiſſion, which taking up the water in great quantities, furiouſly mounted it into the air. The next morning, the ſtorm being over, we ſailed into a mighty great river, directly into the body of the land, and found it to be no firm land, but huge, vaſt, and deſert iſlands, with mighty ſounds and inlets paſſing between ſea and ſea. On the 9th we returned to our ſhips, where our mariners complained heavily againſt the people, that they had ſtolen an anchor from us, had cut one of our cables very dangerouſly, and ſpared not to ſling ſtones at us of half a pound weight: the next day I went aſhore and uſed them with much courteſy, and when I returned they followed me in their canoes; I gave ſome of them bracelets, and ſeven or eight of them came on board, whom I uſed kindly, and let them depart; as ſoon as ſun was ſet they began to practiſe their deviliſh nature, and with ſlings threw ſtones very fiercely into the Sunſhine, and knocked down the boatſwain; whereupon we purſued them with our boats, and ſhot at them; but they rowed ſo ſwiftly, that we could not reach them.

"On the 11th five of them came to make a new truce; the maſter acquainted me with their coming, and deſired they might be kept priſoners until we had our anchor again; but when he ſaw the chief ring-leader and maſter of miſchief was one of the five, he was then very urgent to have him ſeized, and ſo it was determined to take him; he came crying *Iliaout*, and, ſtriking his breaſt, offered a pair of gloves to ſell; the maſter offered him a knife for them: ſo two of them came to us, one we diſmiſſed, but the other was ſoon made captive among us; then we pointed to him and his fellows for our anchor, which being had, we made ſigns to him he ſhould be ſet at liberty; about an hour after the wind came fair, and we ſet ſail and brought him away with us. One of his companions, following our ſhip in his canoe, talked with him, and ſeemed to lament his condition; we ſtill uſing him well, and ſaying to him *Iliaout*, *i.e.* we mean no harm; at laſt he aboard ſpake four or five words to the other, and clapped both his hands on his face, the other did the like, and ſo parted; we judged the covering his face, and bowing down his body ſignified his death; after ſome time he became a pleaſant companion among us; I gave him a new ſuit of frieze of the Engliſh faſhion, of which he was very fond; he trimmed up his darts and

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all his fiſhing tools, and would make oakum, and ſet his hand to the rope's-end; he fed upon caplin and dry Newland fiſh. The 17th, being in latitude of ſixty-three degrees eight minutes, we fell in with a mighty maſs of ice, very high, like land, with bays and capes; and, ſuppoſing it to be land, we ſent our pinnace to diſcover it; but on her return, we were aſſured that it was only ice, which cauſed great admiration to us all, and the rather, becauſe in this place we had very tickle and ſtrong currents. We coaſted this maſs of ice till the 30th, finding it a great bar to our purpoſe. The air was now ſo foggy, and the ſea ſo peſtered with ice, that all hopes of proceeding was baniſhed; for on the 24th of July our ſhrouds, ropes, and ſails, were ſo frozen and compaſſed with ice, only by a groſs fog, as ſeemed to us very ſtrange, who the laſt year found this ſea free and navigable without impediments.

" Our men, through this extremity began to grow ſick and feeble, and withall hopeleſs of good ſucceſs; whereupon, very orderly and diſcreetly, they intreated me to regard our preſent ſtate, and withal adviſed me, that in conſcience I ought to preſerve my own life and theirs; and that I ſhould not, through my own boldneſs, leave their widows and fatherleſs children to give me bitter curſes. This did move me to commiſerate their condition, yet conſidering the importance of this diſcovery, if it could be accompliſhed, the great hopes of a paſſage by what we had ſeen the laſt voyage, and that there was yet a third way to be attempted, I thought it would turn to my diſcredit if the action ſhould fail through my neglect, therefore reſolved to proſecute it; and conſidering the Mermaid, by reaſon of her burden, was not ſo nimble and convenient for this purpoſe as a ſmaller bark, and was one hundred pound a month charge to the adventurers; I determined to re-victual the Moonſhine, and proceed as God ſhould direct me: whereupon I altered my courſe to recover the next ſhore, where this might be performed; and the 1ſt of Auguſt diſcovered land without ſnow or ice, in latitude ſixty-ſix degrees thirty-three minutes, and in longitude, from the meridian of London ſeventy degrees.

" On the 2d we anchored in a very good road, where, with all ſpeed, we graved and re-victualled the Moonſhine; we found it here very hot, and we were very much troubled with muſkitos, which did ſting grievouſly. The people of the country caught a ſeal, and, with bladders faſt tied to him, ſent him to us with the flood, ſo as he came right with our ſhip, which we took as a friendly preſent from them. On the 5th I went on top of a hill, and eſpying three canoes under a rock, went to them, and found in them ſkins, darts, &c. whereof we diminiſhed nothing; but left upon every boat a ſilk point, a bullet of lead, and a pin. The next day the people came to us without fear, and bartered with us for ſkins; our ſavage kept cloſe, and made ſhew that he would fain have another companion. Being thus provided, I departed on the 12th, leaving the Mermaid at anchor; her crew finding many occaſions of diſcontent, and being unwilling to proceed, here forſook me.

" The 14th, ſailing weſt fifty leagues, we diſcovered land, in latitude ſixty-ſix degrees 19 minutes; and the next day we ſtood to the ſouth; and on the 18th diſcovered a very fair promontory north-weſt from us, in ſixty-five degrees, having no land on the ſouth, which gave us great hopes of a paſſage. The 20th I went to the top of a high hill, whence I perceived that this land was all iſlands; we coaſted this iſland towards the ſouth, from ſixty-ſeven to fifty-ſeven degrees. The 28th, having great diſtruſt of the weather, we arrived in a fair harbour, and ſailed ten leagues into

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the ſame, being two leagues broad, with fair woods on both ſides: here we continued to the 1ſt of September, in which time we had two very great ſtorms; I went ſix miles into the country, and found the woods were fir, pine-apple, elder, yew, withy, and birch. Here we ſaw a black bear, and ſtore of birds, as pheaſants, partridges, wild geeſe, bucks, blackbirds, jays, thruſhes, and other ſmall birds. The 1ſt we ſet ſail, and coaſted the ſhore with fair weather. The 4th we anchored in a good road, among many iſlands. Eight leagues to the north of this place we had ſtrong hopes of a paſſage, by reaſon of a mighty ſea paſſing between the two lands, weſt; we greatly deſired to go into this ſea, but the wind was directly againſt us.

"The 6th we ſent five young men aſhore to an iſland, to fetch ſome fiſh which we had left there covered all night. The ſavages who lurked in the woods ſuddenly aſſaulted our men, which we perceiving let ſlip our cable, and under our fore-ſail, bore in to the ſhore, and diſcharged a double muſket upon them twice; at the noiſe of which they fled, having killed two of our men with their arrows, and grievouſly wounded two more; the other eſcaped by ſwimming, with an arrow ſhot through his arm.

"This evening it pleaſed God farther to increaſe our ſorrows with a furious ſtorm at north-north-eaſt, which laſted to the 10th: we unrigged our ſhip and intended to cut down our maſts; the cable of our ſheet-anchor broke, ſo that we expected to be driven on ſhore, and become a prey to the cannibals; yet, in this deep diſtreſs, God gave us ſuccour, and ſent us a fair ſea, ſo that we recovered our anchor again, and new-moored our ſhip; where we ſaw that God had manifeſtly delivered us, for two ſtrands of our cable were broken. The 11th the wind coming fair at weſt-north-weſt, we departed with truſt in God's mercy, ſhaping our courſe for England, and arrived in the Weſt-country the beginning of October, where the Sunſhine arrived a few days before us; ſhe had been at Iceland, and from thence to Greenland, and ſo to Eſtotiland, and thence to Deſolation, where ſhe trafficked with the people, ſtaying in the country twenty days. They loſt ſight of the pinnace called the North Star, on the third of September, in a very great ſtorm, and lay a-hull to tarry for her all the next day; but ſaw her no more: the ſaid pinnace never returned home."

We find annexed to this account of Capt. Davis's ſecond voyage, a letter of his to Mr. William Sanderſon, who ſeems to have been his patron, in which he excuſes his want of ſucceſs in this voyage, declares his confident hope, that ſuch a paſſage might yet be found, the improvement of his knowledge by this laſt voyage, and his reſolution to proſecute this diſcovery to the utmoſt, though it ſhould coſt him the little paternal fortune he had in the Weſt; and concludes with an aſſurance, that he would communicate to him a fair and clear chart of his voyage, which would give him a perfect comprehenſion of the arguments he had to offer in ſupport of his notion, that this paſſage ſo often attempted in vain might ſtill be found. This letter is dated from Exeter, the 14th of October 1586; and it had all the good effects that Capt. Davis could expect from it, ſince his friend ſtill continued to have as good an opinion of him as ever, and ſo it appears the reſt of his owners had; but it went no farther than the approbation of his conduct in his laſt voyage, for when he came to propoſe a third expedition, the Weſt-country merchants, and moſt of thoſe in London, grew weary of the expence, and would be concerned no longer. He propoſed however, to the reſt of the adventurers, a new ſcheme, which took effect, and it was this: that they ſhould fit out three veſſels, one of which only ſhould be employed on the diſcovery, and the other two in fiſhing; by which he propoſed to defray all, or at leaſt

the beſt part of the expence. It is very remarkable that Mr. Bruton, who ſerved with Capt. Davis in his firſt voyage, accompanied him alſo in this, and ſo did Mr. John Jane, who has been his merchant or ſupercargo, and many of his old ſeamen; which ſhews the confidence they had in his ſkill, and how ſenſible they were of his care and good uſage.

The veſſels provided for this laſt voyage were the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the Sunſhine of London, and the Ellen, which was but very ſmall. As for the hiſtory of the voyage, which is but ſhort, we ſhall give it as we did the former, in the words of the author. "We departed from Dartmouth the 10th of May, and diſcovered land on the 14th of June. On the 16th we anchored among many low iſlands which lay before the high land; the people came to us crying, *Iliaout*, and ſhewing us ſeal-ſkins. On the 20th I left the two ſhips to follow their fiſhing, taking their faithful promiſe not to depart till I returned unto them, which ſhould be in the end of Auguſt; but they finiſhing their voyage in ſixteen days, preſently returned for England, without regarding their promiſe, whilſt I, not diſtruſting any ſuch hard meaſure, proceeded on the diſcovery. On the 24th, in latitude ſixty-ſeven degrees, forty minutes, the weather was very hot, thirty ſavages came to us in their canoes, twenty leagues from the land, intreating us to go aſhore. I coaſted the ſhore of Greenland, from the 21ſt to the 30th, having the ſea all open towards the weſt, and the land on the ſtarboard ſide, eaſt from me, the weather extremely hot and very calm. The ſun was five degrees above the horizon at midnight, latitude ſeventy-two degrees twelve minutes; the compaſs in this place varied twenty-eight degrees towards the weſt. The 3d of July we fell in again with ice; and on the 6th put our bark through it, ſeeing the ſea free on the weſt ſide; and when we had ſailed five leagues weſt we fell in with another mighty bank of ice which we could not paſs; therefore returning again, we got clear on the 8th at midnight, and recovered the open ſea through God's favour, by giving us fair winds and calm weather. On the 15th, in latitude ſixty-ſeven degrees forty-five minutes, a great current ſet us to the weſt ſix points from our courſe.

"On the 19th we had ſight of Mount Raleigh. On the 30th we croſſed over a great inlet or paſſage, being twenty leagues broad, and ſituate between ſixty-two and ſixty-three degrees, in which place we had eight or nine great races, currents, or over-falls, like the water under London-bridge, and bending their courſe into the inlet. The 31ſt, in latitude ſixty-two degrees, coming cloſe by a foreland, we fell into a mighty race, where an iſland of ice was carried by the force of the current as faſt as our bark could ſail with all ſails bearing. This cape, as it was the ſouthern limits of the gulph we paſſed over yeſterday, ſo was it the north promontory, or beginning of another great inlet which we paſſed over this night, where we ſaw the ſea falling down towards the inlet with a mighty over-fall, and circular motion, like whirl-pools, in the ſame manner as forcible ſtreams force through the arches of bridges. On the 10th of Auguſt, as we were ſeeking our ſhips that went to fiſh, being among many iſlands, we ſtruck on a rock, and had a great leak: the next day we ſtopped our leak, in a ſtorm; and on the 15th, being in latitude ſixty-two degrees twelve minutes, and not finding our ſhips, nor (according to their promiſe) any mark or beacon which I willed them to ſet up, and they promiſed to do, upon every headland or cape within twenty leagues every way from their fiſhing-place, and we having but little wood in our ſhip, and but half a hogſhead of freſh water, I ſhaped my courſe for England, and arrived at Dartmouth the 15th of September."

Upon his return from this, as after his ſecond voyage, he wrote a letter to Mr.

Sanderſon, dated from Sandridge, September 16, 1587; wherein he tells him, that he had returned ſafe with all his company: that he had ſailed ſixty leagues farther than he intended at his departure: that he had reached the latitude of ſeventy-three degrees north, finding the ſea all open and the ſtreight forty leagues broad; concluding from thence that the paſſage was moſt certain, and the execution moſt eaſy; but, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was in this miſtaken, which however, does not at all leſſen his merit or the great diſcoveries he made, by which he entitled his country to all this coaſt of North America, the value of which may hereafter prove as great as any diſcovery made in this reign. Neither ought we to eſteem it any diminution of his merit, that he was ſo confident of finding a paſſage this way to the very laſt; becauſe as far as he, or any man, could judge, there was indeed great probability of the thing, and nothing but ſuch a ſpirit as his will ever be able to effect this diſcovery whenever it ſhall be made.

But he was not only an able officer and a moſt ſkilful ſeaman, but had likewiſe a head perfectly well turned for making all poſſible advantages of the ſervice in which he was employed; as appears from the minutes of a memorial of his which I have ſeen, addreſſed to Secretary Walſingham; wherein he tells him, that he found many ignorant and malicious people had a very mean opinion of what he had done, becauſe his voyages had not anſwered the expence; but he perſuaded himſelf that ſo wiſe and honourable a ſtateſman, would think in a manner different from the vulgar, and eſteem his ſervices capable of producing great advantages to the nation, even ſuppoſing that no ſuch paſſage as he expected ſhould be found; in ſupport of which he laid down the five following points.

I. That it would redound very much to the honour of the Queen and her ſubjects, if the people in theſe northern regions were converted to the Chriſtian faith; in which pious work many of thoſe buſy and fiery ſpirits might be profitably employed, that, by their factious ſtirrings at home, ſerved only to create confuſion in church and ſtate: for if theſe people, who ſeemed neither deſtitute of wit, induſtry, or valuable commodities, were once brought over to the Chriſtian faith, they might ſoon be brought to reliſh a more civilized kind of life, and be thereby induced to take off great quantities of our coarſer woollen manufactures; which would employ the poor at home, increaſe our ſhipping, and augment the number of our ſeamen.

II. That in the judgment of ſuch as were beſt acquainted with the fiſhing trade, the cod he caught were the fatteſt and fineſt that were ever ſeen; and that the plenty of theſe fiſh was ſo great as might well encourage the eſtabliſhing an annual fiſhery at the mouth of the Streights, which would afford immediate profit, and might lead to future diſcoveries of greater importance.

III. That notwithſtanding the ſhores of the countries he had ſeen were bleak and barren, yet the inner part of the country might, notwithſtanding, be very rich and fertile: that as the people he had converſed with had ſome of them utenſils of different metals, it might be preſumed there were mines of value in theſe countries; and that how little profit ſoever theſe people might make of them, they might be wrought to great advantage by ſuch as underſtood them better.

IV. That it was very evident from the ſeveral voyages he had made, that there was nothing intolerable in theſe northern climates, and that it would be of great ſervice to the nation to keep up a conſtant ſucceſſion of enterprizes on this ſide, ſince it might be done with very little expence at firſt; would contribute to make theſe parts of the world better known, and ſecure the advantages derived from them to the Engliſh; whereas, if they were diſcontinued or abandoned, other nations would not fail to make

attempts of the like kind, and ſo come, in proceſs of time, to reap the fruits of other men's labour.

V. That the furs brought from thence were much eſteemed, and allowed to be richer and more valuable than any that came from Muſcovy; and that if the faſhion of wearing them at court were encouraged, it might prove a means, when all others failed, of promoting this commerce; for you know right well, moſt honourable Sir, concludes he, that it is a great ſecret in policy to make the follies of the extravagant, and the vanity of the ambitious, contribute to the maintenance of induſtry; ſo that even the vicious and the lazy, may of their own accord furniſh the rewards of labour and virtue.

I ſhall, hereafter, take occaſion to ſhew, that he has very wiſely and ſenſibly recommended the propagating the Chriſtian religion, as the moſt proper means for extending, as well as eſtabliſhing, our colonies, and rendering them highly beneficial. There is no queſtion that the ſending a few preachers to convert any of theſe nations to Chriſtianity, would be a thing of greater conſequence to this nation, than building many forts to ſecure our commerce with ſavages; for theſe people would then live in towns, wear cloaths, cultivate their lands, and, inſtead of deſtroying and extirpating each other, as at preſent, they would live peaceably, and conſequently grow daily more numerous; which would occaſion ſuch a conſumption of our manufactures of all kinds, and ſuch a return of their commodities, which is the only true and juſt ſtandard of trade, as neither fraud nor force can any other way attain. His reflections, with reſpect to the expediency of keeping up this northern navigation, are highly ſenſible, and it would have been much for our intereſt, if, even at the public expence, they had been continued; for then Sir Joſiah Child would not have ſet down this north fiſhery among the number of our loſt trades, as he does with juſt reaſon. That our neighbours would be wiſer in this reſpect than ourſelves, was in itſelf a very ſhrewd, and in fact has proved a prophetic obſervation; for the Dutch and other nations ſtill frequent Davis's Streights, which we have in a manner deſerted, and employ thereby a vaſt number of people at home, beſides raiſing annually freſh ſupplies of ſkilful and well-ſeaſoned ſeamen, which a maritime power ought to regard as a point of the higheſt conſequence, and in that view ought to favour moſt ſuch branches of commerce as are known to contribute thereto, eſpecially if they are not at a great diſtance. With theſe remarks we ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject for the preſent, and, as the nature of our plan directs, proceed from theſe diſcoveries in the moſt northern parts of America, to the attempt made for fixing a ſettlement more to the ſouth than any we have yet obtained.

14. The ſpeaking of this ſouthern ſettlement brings us back to Sir Walter Raleigh, a gentleman whoſe name muſt often occur in all books that any way relate to Engliſh hiſtory, and whoſe memory will be ever celebrated by ſuch as can diſtinguiſh any kind of worth; for he had all, and excelled in all. Amongſt the reſt, the completeſt courtier of his time, which perhaps drew upon him more envy than all his other great qualities; and I am induced to think ſo from the nature of thoſe calumnies by which he was moſt hurt; for though deeply malicious, they were ſo indifferently forged, that they could not bear the leaſt inſpection; ſo that notwithſtanding they coſt him his favour often, and his life at laſt, from the credulity of princes, yet they never had any effect upon his reputation with wiſe men in his life-time, nor have injured his reputation in the leaſt with poſterity.

He was always uſeful to his country, but moſt ſo when he had leaſt credit at court. At ſuch times he did not relinquiſh buſineſs to go and hide himſelf in

country retreats, and thence write pitiful letters and poems to ſcrew himſelf again into the affections of the Queen his miſtreſs, as ſome other of her great men did, and which he could have done better than any of them; nor did he form intrigues againſt her miniſters, and force himſelf into power and his ſovereign's preſence; but he took another road peculiar to, and worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh: he applied himſelf to contrive, and not to contrive only, but to execute, ſuch great and glorious enterprizes, as raiſed his fame ſo high, that the whiſpers of envy could be no longer heard; and, when the Queen recalled him to her favour, it never appeared as an act of grace, but as a ſtroke of juſtice; ſo that after theſe receſſes, he ſhone at court with double luſtre, and his miſtreſs, haughty as ſhe was, could not help appearing upon theſe occaſions proud of the poſſeſſion of ſuch a man, and aſhamed of his abſence.

It was in one of theſe voluntary exiles that Sir Walter Raleigh executed a deſign he had long meditated, I mean his expedition to Guiana, an expedition great in itſelf, though unfortunate in its conſequences; formed upon the moſt noble principles, and performed with equal valour and prudence, and in a word every way equal to the genius of its author, and, experience has ſince fatally ſhewn, ſuperior to every genius but his. He ſaw, with regret, the plantation of Virginia abandoned, and he ſaw that the want of immediate profit was the cauſe; he reſolved therefore to ſtrike out the means of ſettling a new colony in another part of America, which ſhould be free from this inconvenience, and which ſhould transfer the richeſt products of that country to the Engliſh, if they had but courage and conduct enough to fetch them. In order to this he inquired, with the greateſt diligence, into the ſtate of the country before mentioned; he ſought from books and papers all the aſſiſtance that could be had of that kind; he drew from perſonal informations, which were more in his power than perhaps they ever were in any other man's, all the notices that they could give; but he drew the greateſt lights from his own profound knowledge and extenſive experience.

He was undoubtedly as well verſed in all parts of philoſophy and natural hiſtory, as any man of his time, and perhaps much better; for, beſides all the knowledge which reſults from reading, he had likewiſe a great practical ſkill, whence, without doubt, aroſe his confident belief, that this country of Guiana was the richeſt in America, and by conſequence, according to the opinion of thoſe times, and indeed of theſe, the richeſt in the world. He did not go thither, therefore to ſatisfy his own mind upon that head, but that he might furniſh himſelf with the means of ſatisfying others; for he very well knew that it would have been an idle and ridiculous thing in him to think of moving people to attempt a plantation merely by a rational and philoſophical argument, which he knew few would be able to underſtand, and of thoſe that did, many would oppoſe his ſentiments from pride, and more from prejudice. He choſe therefore to treat the riches and value of this noble country in the plaineſt way, and as a point of fact; and foreſeeing that it would be objected, that if it were ſo, and the facts ſo notorious as he repreſented it, the Spaniards would certainly have ſettled there, and not have left it to fall into the hands of any other nation; this induced him to draw up a very clear and ſuccinct account of the ſeveral methods uſed by the Spaniards to diſcover and gain this country, which at once anſwered the objection, and proved to ſuch as had an high opinion of the judgment formed by the Spaniards of the wealth and importance of theſe countries, that Guiana was one that deſerved the higheſt commendations.

Theſe

Theſe accounts of his are diſperſed through various pieces written by him upon this ſubject; but for the eaſe of the reader, we ſhall collect and range them in their natural order, by which means they will become a kind of ſupplement to what has been already delivered of the Spaniſh diſcoveries and conqueſts; this being the ſole reaſon of our omitting them there, becauſe we foreſaw the neceſſity of repeating, or at leaſt of recapitulating, them here, for the ſake of explaining Sir Walter Raleigh's expeditions. We have ſhewn in that chapter how the Marquis Pizarro overthrew the empire of the Incas, and made himſelf maſter of all their territories, and of a great part of their treaſures; and we have likewiſe ſhewn that this was ſo far from ſatisfying his avarice and ambition, that he propoſed to extend his conqueſts beyond the limits of Peru, in order to penetrate into the heart of South America, from the hopes he had conceived of finding richer countries there than any he had yet met with.

It was with this view that he ordered his brother Gonzalo, after he had taken poſſeſſion of Quito, which was the laſt conqueſt of the Incas, to continue his expeditions on that ſide, though he was ſenſible that he could receive little or no aſſiſtance from the informations of the natives; his brother accordingly entered the province of Los Quixos; and after making himſelf maſter of that country, the people of which were downright barbarians in compariſon of thoſe of Peru, he determined to paſs the high mountains which bound that province on the north, and aſſembled a great many Indians, and a good quantity of cattle for that purpoſe; but when he had aſcended half way up theſe mountains, he found that he had taken his meaſures wrong, and that the cold was ſo intenſe, that it would be impoſſible for him to proſecute his march in that manner. He therefore quitted his cattle and the beſt part of his baggage, reſolving to make all the haſte he could into the plain countries on the other ſide, and truſt to the proviſions he might meet with there.

Accordingly he deſcended into the valley of Zumaque, which he found very plentiful, and in which therefore he refreſhed his forces for two months, endeavouring then to continue his march northward; but finding the road extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly eaſt, in hopes of meeting with an eaſier paſſage; this opened a way into a new province well peopled and very rich; the inhabitants of which were dreadfully amazed at the coming of the Spaniards amongſt them, and indeed they very well might, for they behaved towards them in a manner barbarous beyond expreſſion; for Gonzalo Pizarro exerciſed the greateſt cruelty imaginable on the inhabitants of theſe regions, inſomuch that he gave men to be eaten alive by his dogs. This engaged all the natives to put themſelves in arms againſt him, ſo that he was obliged to entrench himſelf as in an enemy's country; and his cruelties, together with the deſpair he was in of ever being able to find what he was ſeeking after, had like to have put an end to his enterprize at once. He was encamped on the bank of a river, which ſwelled ſo much in one night, that if the ſentinels, who perceived the water was a-pace getting ground, had not warned them of their danger, they had been all drowned; but at the alarm they ſoon ſecured themſelves, by making towards the cottages of the wild people; and Pizarro reſolved to return to Zumaque, not knowing what other courſe to take. From thence he proceeded again with all his men, and after a march of four leagues he met with a great village called Ampua, governed by a cazique, and found a great number of the inhabitants in a poſture of defence, expecting their enemy; but there was another and greater obſtacle in his way than this cazique and all his troops, and that was a river ſo wide and deep that he could have no thought of venturing to ſwim

over

over it. He could therefore find no better expedient than to enter into a treaty with the people of the country, and to desire the help of their canoes to cross this river.

The cazique received this proposal with great civility, offered them what they asked, and gave them as many of these little boats as they desired; and on this, Pizarro made him a return of a great many little Spanish toys, by way of requital. This cazique having received advice of the ill treatment many of his neighbours had received from the Spaniards, thought of nothing more than how to get rid of them, and to deliver himself from the danger of such bad guests, endeavoured to make them believe there were great riches to be found among the people that dwelt upon the river, some days journey lower. Pizarro, by his actions and by his guides, who were his interpreters, returned him thanks for his courtesy; but finding no appearance of those pretended riches, he returned to Zumaque very much dissatisfied with his expedition; however he had too much courage to retire back to Quito just as he came. He had a mind therefore to attempt some great exploit, and, by the discovery of some other part, to render himself as considerable as the Marquis Pizarro, his elder brother: he opened his mind to Francis Orellana, a gentleman of Truxillo in Spain, who was come to join him in the valley of Zumaque; and, having taken one hundred effective soldiers, and some Indians for guides and to carry provisions, he marched directly to the east.

Either the ignorance of his guides, or the hatred they bore him, engaged him in a country all full of mountains, forests, and torrents, so that he was constrained to make ways where he found none, and to open himself a passage through the woods with hatchets, where none had ever gone before. At length, after many days' march, he pierced through as far as the province of Coca; the cazique of which province came to meet him, and offered him all the accommodations the country afforded for his refreshment; Gonzalo promised himself much from this kind entertainment, and by the assistance of his guides entered into conversation with the cazique: he informed him that the country through which he had passed, which was so full of mountains, forests, and brooks, was the only passage he could have taken to come thither; that it was extremely difficult to get through it; but that if he was willing to embark on the river he saw before him, or to follow it by land, he might assure himself, that along the banks of another river much greater than this, he should find a country abounding with all things, whose inhabitants were covered with plates of gold. There was no need of saying any thing more to Pizarro, to incite him to any kind of enterprize, who presently sent two of his guides to Zumaque, with orders to his officers to come and join him, who marched immediately; and surmounting all the difficulties of the way, arrived much fatigued, at the town of Coca.

Pizarro having rested some few days, afterwards put them in battalia before the cazique, who was so much terrified with them, that he amassed almost all the provisions of his whole province to make a present of them to Pizarro, that by this magnificence he might civilly acquit himself of his new acquaintance, who was more impatient of his stay than the other; and the next morning, having filed his troops along the river, he took his leave of the cazique, presenting him with a fine sword, and put himself at the head of his cavalry, and followed the pleasant course of the river. This good way did not last long, but they had rivulets to swim over, and were forced to march in uneven ways, and for forty-three days, without finding any provisions, or any fords, or canoes by which to pass the river. This long march having

having mightily fatigued our travellers, they were ſtopped by a very ſurpriſing ſight; the river was preſſed by two rocks, and on each ſide its paſſage, at no more than twenty feet diſtance from one another; and the water going through this ſtreight precipitated itſelf into a valley, and made a leap of two hundred fathoms: here it was that Pizarro cauſed that famous bridge to be made for his troops to paſs over, which is ſo much boaſted of by the Spaniſh hiſtorians.

But finding the way not at all better on the other ſide, and the proviſion growing more and more ſcarce every day, Pizarro reſolved to make a brigantine, to carry by water all his ſick men, proviſions, baggage, and the gold which they had got amongſt them. This was no ſmall difficulty; but induſtry and neceſſity ſurmounted it, and the veſſel being finiſhed, Pizarro embarked all in it that hindered his march, and gave the command of it to Francis Orellana, with fifty ſoldiers; giving him expreſs order not to part far from him, but to come every night to the camp. He obſerved this order exactly, till his general, ſeeing all his men much pinched with hunger, commanded him to go and ſeek ſome proviſions and cottages where his men might be refreſhed. Orellana had no ſooner received his orders, but he launched out into the middle of the river, and the rapidity of the ſtream carried him as faſt as he could wiſh, for he made above one hundred leagues in three days, without the uſe of either ſails or oars.

The current of Coca carried him into another river, which was much larger, but not near ſo ſwift: he made his obſervations of it one whole day, and ſeeing that the farther he went down, the more the river widened; he made no doubt but this was that great river which had been ſo often and in vain ſought after. The joy he conceived at his good fortune, ſo tranſported him, that it made him quite forget himſelf, ſo that dreaming only of the enjoyment of this good ſucceſs, and trampling upon his duty, oath, fidelity, and gratitude, he had now nothing in view but to bring about the enterprize he was contriving. To this end he perſuaded his companions that the country was not the ſame with that which their general had deſcribed; that it had not that plenty the cazique had told him he ſhould find at the joining of the two rivers; that they muſt certainly float along farther, to find that pleaſant and fertile country, where they might ſtore themſelves with proviſions; and beſides that they all ſaw there was no likelihood of getting up this river again which they came down in three days, but as he believed, could not make the ſame way back again in the ſpace of a whole year; that it was much more reaſonable to wait for their company on this new river; and that in the mean time it was neceſſary for them to go and ſeek proviſions.

Thus concealing his deſign, he hoiſted ſail; and abandoning himſelf to the wind, to his fortune, and to his reſolution, he thought of nothing but purſuing the courſe of the river, till he ſhould diſcover it quite to the ſea. His companions were amazed at the manner of his putting in execution the deſign he had been propoſing to them, and thought themſelves obliged to tell him, that he went beyond the orders of his general; and that in the extreme want he was in, they ought to carry him the little proviſions they could find; and that he had given ſufficient evidence he had ſome ill deſign, becauſe he had neglected to leave two canoes at the bank of the two rivers, as the general had appointed him, for his army to paſs over in. Theſe remonſtrances were made chiefly by a Dominican friar named Gaſpar de Carvajal, and by a young gentleman of Badajos in Spain, called Fernand Sanches de Vargas. The conſideration they had for theſe two perſons, occaſioned a diviſion in the company in this little veſſel into two parties; and from words they were like to have

fallen

fallen to blows, but that Orellana, ſtifling their gratitude by his diſſimulation, by fair proteſtations, and great promiſes, appeaſed this diſorder.

By means of his friend he had in the veſſel, he gained moſt of the ſoldiers that were againſt him to his ſide; and ſeeing the two heads of the other party left almoſt alone, he cauſed Fernand Sanches de Vargas to be ſet aſhore, leaving him quite alone, without victuals and without arms, in a diſmal wilderneſs; bounded, on one ſide, with high mountains, and with a river on the other. He had more prudence than to treat the friar after the ſame manner, yet he gave him to underſtand, that it was not for him to penetrate any more into the intentions of his commander, unleſs he had a mind to be ſeverely chaſtiſed. After this he continued his voyage; and the next day, being willing to know if he might depend upon all that were with him for the ſucceſs of his reſolutions, he let them know that he aſpired to a much higher pitch of dignity than what he might have obtained in the ſervice of Pizarro: that he owed every thing to himſelf and to his king; and that his fortune having, as it were, led him by the hand to the greateſt and moſt deſirable diſcovery that was ever made in the Indies, namely, the great river upon which they were ſailing; which coming out of Peru, and running from weſt to eaſt, was the fineſt channel in the New World, through which they might paſs from the ſouthern to the northern ſea; that he could not, without betraying them all, and without raviſhing from them the fruits of their voyage and induſtry, make others ſhare in a favour which heaven had reſerved for them alone. By this means he eaſily quieted theſe murmurs, and brought his men to have a ſhare of that ambition which flamed in his own breaſt. His neceſſities forced him aſhore for proviſions, and, as he did not take theſe with that gentleneſs and prudence that became him in a ſtrange country; the natives unanimouſly took up arms, and with great boldneſs fell upon the Spaniards, who defended themſelves with much courage, and killed many of their antagoniſts with their croſs-bows; and upon inſpecting their bodies, found that ſeveral of them were women; as indeed it was no uncommon thing for the Indian women, in that country, to fight by the ſides of their huſbands; but our Spaniard, having a romantic head, improved this ſlight incident into a formal hiſtory of a great nation of Amazons, ſettled upon this river: by which fable he overturned his great deſign of beſtowing his own name upon it, and thereby perpetuating the memory of his paſſage; for from this ſtory of his it received the name which it ſtill bears, and will always bear, of the river of Amazons.

He took care, in the remaining part of his paſſage, to behave with more prudence and mildneſs to the people he met with, among whom were many gentle, and even polite nations, as well as others fierce and warlike. In fine, he paſſed quite down the river to the ſea; and having coaſted about a cape, now called the North Cape, which by the way is the name the French have beſtowed on the country of Guiana, two hundred leagues from the iſland of Trinidada, he ſailed directly thither, and there bought a ſhip to carry him to Spain; where he made ſuch a report of the countries he had ſeen, to the Emperor Charles V. that he obtained as ample a commiſſion as he could deſire; and, in the year 1549, ſailed with three ſhips for the river of Amazons; but this ſecond expedition was the very reverſe of the firſt, as being unfortunate from the beginning; for a contagious diſtemper, ſpreading among his men, obliged him to quit two of his three ſhips, and afterwards his company was ſo reduced as to ſail in a ſmall bark, with which he propoſed to proſecute his diſcovery; but being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of the Caraccas, he there loſt the reſt of his men, and ſoon after died himſelf on the iſland of St. Margaret, of downright deſpair.

The ill ſucceſs of Orellana's voyage cooled the ardent deſire the Spaniards had for

the diſcovery of the river of Amazons, and it ſeemed quite extinguiſhed by the civil wars of Peru, till the Marquis de Caguete, being viceroy of that kingdom, a gentleman of Navarre, named Peter de Orſua, who had always entertained thoughts worthy of his great courage, turned his deſigns on this great river, and believed he ſhould be more fortunate than Orellana. He preſented himſelf to the viceroy, and propoſed his deſigns to him, who, being well acquainted with his merit, commended his reſolution; and was perſuaded that if ſo difficult a matter ſhould ſucceed, it muſt be by the conduct of ſo wiſe and brave a commander. Moſt of the gentry came to offer their ſervice to Orſua, who was ſo much in every one's eſteem, that there was no ſoldier ſo old but would leave his retirement with pleaſure, to ſerve under ſo excellent a general; he made choice of ſuch amongſt them as were fit for his purpoſe; and to carry on the famous conqueſt he deſigned, he made all neceſſary proviſions, to which all the lords and inhabitants of the towns contributed with a great deal of liberality, being well perſuaded that Orſua had qualities that well deſerved to be obliged.

He departed from Cuſco in 1560, with the acclamations and good wiſhes of all the inhabitants of that place: he was attended with above ſeven hundred good ſoldiers, and with a conſiderable number of good horſes. Being well verſed in the map of Peru, and having been for ſome time laying the ſcheme of his journey, he marched directly to the province of Moſilones firſt, to meet the river Moyabamba, by which he was ſure of entering into the river of Amazons. One would have hoped, an attempt ſo wiſely laid, and ſo univerſally approved, ſhould have had a happy iſſue, yet never was any project more unſucceſsful; for Orſua had taken with him one Don Fernand de Guſman, a young man lately come from Spain, and another more advanced in years, named Lopez d'Aguira of Biſcay, a little ill-favoured man, whom he had made his enſign. Theſe two wretches fell in love with their general's lady, whoſe name was Agnes, and who had accompanied her huſband in all his travels; and thinking they had a favourable occaſion to ſatisfy their luſt and ambition together, they engagad Orſua's troop to revolt, and aſſaſſinated him.

After the tragical fact, the traitors who committed it, who to the number of ſeven or eight were in a ſtrict confederacy, elected Don Fernand de Guſman for their king, whoſe mind was vain enough to receive that title which became him ſo little; but he did not enjoy it long; for thoſe very perſons that had given him the quality of king, gave him his death wound too; and D'Aguira ſucceeded him; who made himſelf king, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of others. He gave all thoſe he had gained to his party to underſtand, that he intended to make himſelf maſter of Guiana, of Peru, and of the new kingdom of Grenada; and promiſed them all the riches of thoſe great kingdoms. His reign was ſo bloody and barbarous, that the like tyranny was ſcarce ever heard of in the world. Therefore the Spaniards, to this day, called him the tyrant. However, he commanded Orſua's veſſels, and went down the river Coca into Amazon, hoping to obtain one of thoſe kingdoms, and to make a conſiderable progreſs into it: but having entered the Amazon, he was not able to maſter the current of it, and ſo was conſtrained to ſuffer himſelf to be carried down to the mouth of the river above a thouſand leagues from the place where he embarked, and was driven into the great channel which goes to the North Cape, being the ſame way Orellana had taken before him. Going out of the Amazon he came to the iſland of St. Margaret, which is, to this day, called the Tyrant's Port. There he killed Don Irean de Villa Andrada, governor of the iſland, and Don John Sermiento his father.

After their death, with the aſſiſtance of one John Burg, he made himſelf maſter of the iſland, plundered it entirely, and there committed unheard-of barbarities; he killed all

all that oppoſed him, and paſſed from thence to Cumana, where he exerciſed the ſame cruelties. He, after that, deſolated all thoſe coaſts that bear the name of Caraccas, and all the provinces along the rivers Venezuella and Bacho. He then came to St. Martha, where he put all to the ſword, and entered the new kingdom of Grenada, deſigning to march from thence through Quito into Peru. In this kingdom he was forced to a battle, in which he was utterly defeated and put to flight, and all ways being ſtopped, when he found he muſt periſh, he thereupon begun his tragedy with a ſort of barbarity, without example. He had a daughter by his wife Mendoza, that had followed him in all his expeditions, and whom he loved entirely: daughter (ſaid he to her) I muſt kill thee; I deſigned to have placed thee on a throne, but ſince fortune oppoſes it I am not willing thou ſhouldſt live to ſuffer the ſhame of becoming a ſlave to my enemies, and of being called the daughter of a tyrant and a traitor:—"Die my child, die by the hand of thy father, if thou haſt not courage enough to die by thy own:"—She, ſurprized at this diſcourſe, deſired him, at leaſt, to give her ſome time to prepare for death, and to beg of God the pardon of her ſins. This he granted, but, thinking her too tedious in her devotion, as ſhe was praying upon her knees he ſhot her through the body with a carbine; but having not killed her outright, he ſtuck his dagger into her heart, and ſhe falling down at the ſtroke, cried, "Ah Father, it is enough." Soon after her death he was taken priſoner, and carried to the iſland La Trindada, where he had a conſiderable eſtate. His proceſs was made, and he condemned to be quartered. He was publicly executed; his houſes razed to the ground, and the places where they ſtood ſowed with ſalt.

I choſe to mention the attempts of the Spaniards to penetrate into this country on the ſouth-ſide, firſt; that I might end with thoſe attempts made by the ſame nation upon the north, by the great river Oronoco, or, as moſt of our Engliſh writers write it, after the French manner, Oronoque, by which alſo Sir Walter Raleigh made his attempt. The firſt perſon we read of who engaged in this deſign of finding and making himſelf maſter of the inca's new city of Manoa, was Diego de Ordaca, who ſailed from Spain with a great force for this purpoſe, in the year 1531; which, by the way, ſhews how early this notion was taken up, and that it was not, as is commonly believed, invented by the Indians, to rid themſelves of Gonzalo Pizarro. This Diego de Ordaca, with ſix hundred foot and thirty horſe, reached the Oronoco, where, by a ſeries of unlucky accidents, too long for us to relate, his expedition was totally ruined: yet one of theſe accidents proved the means (as the Spaniards pretend and believe) of making a full diſcovery of this famous city; and the ſtory is thus told:—When Ordaca came firſt upon this coaſt, and anchored in the harbour of Morequito, his magazine of powder, by ſome miſchance, blew up; and this being imputed to the careleſſneſs of Juan Martinez, his maſter gunner, he was condemned to be ſhot for it; but the ſeamen prevailed to have this puniſhment changed into his being put alone into a little canoe, with his arms only, and without any proviſions, and ſo committed to the mercy of the wind and waves.

In this wretched condition he was found by ſome of the Indians, or ſavages, who, having never ſeen a white man before, paſſed him about from one place to another, till he came to the royal city of Manoa, where the King no ſooner ſaw him than he knew him to be a Chriſtian and a Spaniard, for this happened but a very little after the Marquis Pizarro had deſtroyed the empire of the inca's in Peru. This prince, however, received him civilly enough, though he was far from forgetting the cruelties exerciſed by the Spaniards on his countrymen. He kept him ſeven months at Manoa; but in all that time he was never ſuffered to go without the city, or even to paſs through the

ſtreets of it without a guard, and a cloth bound over his eyes. At the end of this ſpace, when it was perceived that Martinez had acquired, in ſome meaſure, the language of the country, the King ſent for him, and propoſed two things to his choice, viz. either to remain with him as long as he lived, or to return into his own country, and he choſe the latter; upon which the King ſent him under a guard the ſhorteſt way to the river Oronoco; but, at the time he diſmiſſed him, he was pleaſed to beſtow on him, as a mark of his favour, a conſiderable quantity of gold, which, however, was taken from him by the ſavages on the frontiers, and by the Oronocoponi, a nation ſo called from their living upon the banks of that great river. They left him, however, two large bottles, in which they thought he kept his drink, but which were really filled with gold duſt, and theſe he brought along with him to the iſland of Trinidada, from whence he went afterwards to St. Juan de Puerto Rico, where he lived for ſome time, and from whence he intended to have procured a paſſage to Spain; but being ſeized there with a mortal diſeaſe; after he had received the extreme unction, and ſaw no hopes of life, he cauſed his two bottles of gold to be brought, and the account he had written of his voyage: the gold he gave to the church for maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul, and the relation of his voyage was entered at large, in the regiſters of the chancery of St. Juan de Puerto Rico.

To this Martinez the Spaniſh writers unanimouſly aſcribe the diſcovery of this famous city, which he ſtiled Manoa el Dorada, or the Golden Manoa, on account of the prodigious quantities of that metal which he had ſeen there, in their palaces, temples, and other public edifices, but more eſpecially in their drunken feaſts, of which he gave the following very ſingular account:—that thoſe who drank with the King were quite naked, and having their bodies rubbed over with a kind of thin gummy balſam, they were then powdered with gold-duſt, ſo as to be gilt from head to foot:—this relation, whether true or falſe, proved of very fatal conſequence to the Spaniards, for it gave occaſion to (ſome ſay twenty, others ſixty) ſeveral expeditions in ſearch of this golden city, all of them with very indifferent ſucceſs. Juan Cortez attempted it with thirty men, but neither he nor they were ever heard of more. Gaſpar de Sylva, and his two brothers, ſailed with two hundred men, from the Canaries, to reinforce Diego de Ordaca; and, after taking a great deal of pains, to no purpoſe, returned to the iſland of Trinidada, where they died.

Another adventurer, in the ſame way, was Don Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, who landed at Cumana, and afterwards marched by land on the banks of the Oronoco till he came to an Indian nation called Wikiri, who oppoſed his further paſſage, and attacked his men with ſuch fury, that only eighteen of his Spaniards eſcaped from the battle; yet this enterpriſe was of particular ſervice to Sir Walter; for it fell out that when Captain Amias Preſton took the city of St. Jago de Leon by ſtorm, he made one of theſe adventurers priſoner, who gave him a large account of the vaſt riches the Spaniards hoped to find in this country, which coming to the ears of Sir Walter Raleigh, induced him to make diligent and ſtrict ſearch into the original of this ſtory, whence he came to collect a multitude of hiſtories, relating to this matter of which we have given the reader only a few, that he might ſee upon what grounds this expedition was undertaken, or rather what reaſon Sir Walter Raleigh thought fit to aſſign for his voyage, in order to draw ſuch an approbation of it as was neceſſary, from thoſe whom nothing but a ſhow of vaſt and immediate profit could tempt; for, I muſt confeſs, it ſeems very doubtful to me, whether Sir Walter Raleigh gave entire credit to theſe accounts, or not; but whatever his own opinion was, he had certainly a right to uſe them as popular arguments for promoting his deſign,

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ſince no politician ever doubted that it is lawful to cheat men as well as children for their own good. But he took care to provide reaſons of another nature, for men of other minds: he ſhewed them that of all the countries in America, the moſt profitable, the beſt ſituated, the eaſieſt planted, the moſt defenſible, was Guiana. Theſe notes of excellency I have collected from his writings upon this ſubject, which are very artfully immethodical, and, under an apparent careleſſneſs of ſtile and order, are ſo wrote, as to affect the mind of the reader with an opinion, that he has made diſcoveries in Sir Walter's treatiſe, by penetrating into thoſe ſecrets which he meant to conceal; while, alas! the true ſecret is, that he meant thus to catch us, and make every man's underſtanding revolt in his favour.

It was neceſſary, in his time, and more eſpecially to him; and therefore his deſign is as commendable as his execution is inimitable. But that he might proceed cautiouſly in an affair of ſuch importance, he ſent before him one Captain Whiddon to take a view of the coaſt, that he might be perfectly informed of the ſtate things were then in, and thereby become more able to take the proper meaſures for overcoming thoſe difficulties, which a man of leſs ſagacity would have eſteemed inſuperable. This gentleman did his buſineſs effectually, though he met with ſome obſtruction from the force, and ſuffered much greater inconveniences from the frauds of the Spaniards, who were at that time bent upon the ſame deſign, and labouring with the utmoſt diligence to diſcover and ſecure this valuable country.

Among other adventurers there was one Gonzales Ximenes de Caſada, a man of greater courage than good fortune; who, after having had a large ſhare in the conqueſt of New Grenada, attempted to penetrate into Guiana; but after a great expence, and incredible fatigue, to no purpoſe, was obliged to return, diſappointed indeed, but not in deſpair. This gentleman had an only daughter, whom he married to Don Antonio de Berreo; to whom, with a large fortune, he bequeathed this expedition, taking from him an oath, that he would proſecute the diſcovery and conqueſt of Guiana to the laſt hour of his life. He, to fulfil this obligation, undertook this enterprize, with ſeven hundred horſe, attended by a vaſt number of Indian ſlaves; but after marching five hundred leagues in purſuit of this project, he was obliged to return, but brought with him from the frontiers of Guiana forty plates of gold, and many other valuable curioſities, ſufficient to fortify him in his reſolution not to abandon the deſign. It was this Berreo that Captain Whiddon had to deal with, and of whom he made a very bad report on his return.

When Sir Walter's project was ripe for execution, he was aſſiſted by the Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, ſo that in the beginning of the year 1595 he was ready to proceed; and it appears, from his relation, that he had in the whole five ſhips. He does not tell us the name of his own, which he commanded in perſon; though as to the reſt, he diſtinguiſhes them plain enough; ſo that we perceive the Lion's Whelp, which was the Lord Admiral's, was commanded by Captain George Gifford; Captain Keymis had the command of a galego, beſides a bark, which was committed to Captain Croſs, and another to Captain Calfield. The whole number of men in this fleet is not mentioned; but the ſelect company of officers, gentlemen, and ſoldiers, he uſed in his diſcoveries, exceeded not one hundred.

Thus prepared he departed from Plymouth on the 6th of February following, and ſailed to the Grand Canaries, and ſo to Teneriff, where he waited awhile for the Lion's Whelp, and for Captain Amias Preſton. But this captain diſappointed him,

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and went upon another adventure, which proved ſome diſadvantage in the proſecution of his diſcoveries. After waiting ſeven or eight days, to no purpoſe, he ſailed with his own ſhip and a bark, commanded by Captain Croſs, to the iſland of Trinidada, where he arrived the 22d of March, and ſpent a conſiderable ſpace of time in viewing that iſland, examining all its ports and havens, and even every little creek, with infinite care and exactneſs. The reaſons which moved him to this ſtay were two; the firſt, that he might revenge himſelf upon Berreo for the injuries he had done Captain Whiddon's people, eight of whom he betrayed into his hands, and then uſed them barbarouſly; the other was, that he might obtain ſome account of the continent, and of the moſt proper method for entering into Guiana, in both of which he ſucceeded, in ſpite of all the care the Spaniſh governor could take to hinder it. At laſt, perceiving that the Spaniards were contriving meaſures for his deſtruction, and knowing there could be nothing more fatal than to leave an enemy at his back, he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of this place, which he knew would gain him the friendſhip, as well as ſecure him the obedience, of the Indians, who by the Spaniards were moſt cruelly oppreſſed. Accordingly he ſent Captain Calfield to attack the main-guard with ſixty men, and following himſelf with forty more, reduced the town of St. Joſeph without much trouble.

The inhabitants he ſet at liberty, keeping only the governor and his Spaniards priſoners; and afterwards, at the requeſt of the Indians, burnt the place; but though he gratified them in this reſpect, yet, in all others, he acted towards his priſoners, and more eſpecially towards the governor, with ſo much civility and kindneſs, that he drew from him a faithful account of all his adventures in purſuit of the deſign before mentioned. The ſame day that Raleigh made his conqueſt arrived Captain Gifford and Captain Keymis, and in their ſhips divers gentlemen, and others, which to his little army was a great ſuccour and ſolace. Then proceeding upon his diſcovery, Raleigh firſt called all the chiefs of the iſland together, who were enemies to the Spaniards; for ſome of them Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and waſte the natives; then by the Indian interpreter, whom he carried out of England, he made them underſtand, "He was the ſervant of a Queen, who was the greateſt cazique in the north, and a virgin, who had more caziques under her command than there were trees in that iſland; that ſhe was an enemy to the Caſtelans, in regard of their tyranny and oppreſſion; and, having freed all the coaſts of the northern world from their ſervitude, had ſent him to free them alſo; and withal, to defend the country of Guiana from their invaſion and conqueſt." Then he ſhewed them Her Majeſty's picture, which they ſo admired and honoured, that it had been eaſy to have made them idolatrous thereof.

The like and larger ſpeeches he made in a ſolemn manner to the reſt of the nations, both in his paſſage to Guiana and to thoſe of the borders, ſo as in that part of the world the Queen of England's fame was diffuſed with great admiration. This done, Raleigh returned to Curiapan; and though he had learnt of Berreo that Guiana was ſome hundred miles further than the accounts he had received of Captain Whiddon had repreſented it, he kept the knowledge thereof from his company, who he much feared would have been diſcouraged thereby from proſecuting the diſcovery. When Raleigh had further gathered from Berreo the proceedings of the paſt adventurers and his own, he told him he was come upon the ſame deſign, and was reſolved to ſee Guiana. Berreo uſed many arguments to diſſuade him; as that he muſt venture in very light and ſmall boats, to paſs ſo many dangerous ſhallows, and could not carry victuals enough above half the way; that none of the

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country would ſpeak with him, and if he followed them would burn their towns; beſides, the way was long, the winter at hand, and the rivers beginning to ſwell; but, above all, that the kings and lords who bordered upon Guiana, had decreed that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for gold, becauſe the ſame would be their own overthrow. Raleigh, reſolving however to make trial, directed his vice-admiral Captain Gifford and Captain Calfield to turn eaſtward againſt the mouth of the river Capuri, and gave them inſtructions to enter at the edge of the ſhoal, and upon the beſt of the flood to thruſt over, but they laboured in vain, nor did the flood continue ſo long, but the water fell before they could paſs the ſands, though they uſed all the ſkill and diligence they could.

Then Raleigh ſent one King, maſter of the Lion's Whelp, to try another branch, called Amana, if either of the ſmall ſhips would enter; but when he came to the mouth, he found it like the reſt; after him went John Dowglas, who diſcovered four fair entrances, but all ſhoal and ſhallow in the bays leading to them. In the mean time Raleigh, fearing the worſt, cauſed his carpenter to cut down an old galego boat, to fit her with banks for oars, and ſo as ſhe might draw but five feet. In this went Raleigh with gentlemen and officers, to the number of threeſcore; in the Lion's Whelp boat and wherry they carried twenty; Captain Calfield, in his wherry, carried ten; and a barge of Raleigh's ten more; this was all the means they had, having left their ſhips at Curiapan, to carry a hundred men with weapons and proviſions for a month, expoſed to all the extremes of the weather, all the hazards of the water, to lie open to the air, and upon hard boards by night in ſtorms of rain, or under the burning ſun by day, to ſmell the wet clothes of ſo many crowded together, the dreſſing of their food, and that moſtly ſtale fiſh, in the ſame place, to be in ſuch a labyrinth of rivers, in ſuch a remote unknown region; what priſon could be more loathſome and unhealthy, what proſpect more fearful and deſolate? At firſt ſetting out they had twenty miles of a high ſea to croſs in theſe crazy boats, ſo that they were driven before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, inhabited by inhuman cannibals, who ſhot poiſoned arrows, and from thence to enter one of the rivers of which Dowglas had brought tidings. After four days they got above the force of the tide, and might have wandered a year about, and never been able to extricate themſelves; in ſuch a general confluence or rendezvous of ſtreams were they now bewildered, and ſo reſembling one another, as not to be diſtinguiſhed, but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the ſame place where they had been before, paſſing between many iſlands and ſtraits, whoſe borders were ſo thickly arched and overſhadowed with trees, as bounded their ſight to the breadth of the river and the length of the avenue, while the gloomineſs of the proſpect added horror to the loathſomeneſs of the places in which they were confined.

At length, on the 22d of May 1595, they fell into a river, which, becauſe it had no name, they called the Red Croſs River, theſe being the firſt Chriſtians who ever entered the ſame: when they drew into a creek, which led to a town upon this river, their Indian pilot, named Ferdinando, landing, was ſet upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs; whereupon Raleigh ſeized an old man paſſing that way, and threatened to cut off his head, if he did not procure his pilot's liberty; but he, by his agility, ſoon eſcaped them, and ſwam to Raleigh's barge; however, they kept the old man, and uſed him kindly, aſſuring themſelves of uſeful information from a native, ſo long converſant in thoſe parts. And indeed, but for this accident, they had never found their way forward to the country they ſought,

nor back to that where their ſhips lay; the old man himſelf being often in the utmoſt perplexity which river to take, ſo numerous and intricate they were. The people who inhabit the countries at the mouth of this great river, are comprehended under the general name of Tivitivas, a bold and hardy race of people, who know the value of liberty, and have courage enough to defend it: they live in houſes during the ſummer, or dry ſeaſon, but in the wet or winter months they live in little huts, which are built upon trees, a thing common enough on this coaſt, and even in the Eaſt Indies, where the countries are exceſſively wet.

After this, Raleigh's barge ran a-ground, and that with ſuch force, that it did not ſeem very probable they ſhould be able to get her off; ſo that the diſcovery ſeemed at a ſtand; but on the fourth day after this accident happened they ſet her on float, and, ſtriking into the Amana, one of the nobleſt branches of the Oronoco, they continued their voyage, but with incredible fatigue. As they were now within five degrees of the Line, Sir Walter was forced to keep up their ſpirits by directing his pilots to give them hopes from time to time that their labours would ſoon have an end. At length the old Indian pilot they had on board, perceiving that their proviſions were quite exhauſted, and that they were in danger of periſhing without an immediate ſupply, told them that if they would venture up a river on their right hand, he would bring them to a town where they might be ſure of refreſhments, and be able to return before night. Sir Walter took him at his word, and went immediately into his boat with eight muſketeers, followed by the Captains Gifford and Calfield in their wherries, with eight men a-piece. But it appeared that the Indian pilot had learned Sir Walter's art, for they not only rowed all day, but all night, without ſeeing any town, and a leſs prudent captain than he would have been tempted to have puniſhed the pilot for giving them falſe hopes. Yet about one the next morning they reached this long expected town, and obtained thoſe ſupplies of which they ſtood ſo much in need. In the mean time the company in the galley manned out a boat in ſearch of them, but next day they returned and continued their courſe. After they had made this hungry and hazardous voyage for fourſcore miles in that river, which, beſides other ſtrange fiſhes of marvellous bigneſs, abounded with crocodiles, whence the people named it the river of Lagartis, Raleigh had a very proper young negro attending upon him in his galley, who, leaping out to ſwim in the mouth of this river, was in the ſight of them all inſtantly devoured by one of theſe amphibious animals.

Not long after, being again in want of victuals, they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run aſhore by the Indians in them, called Arwaycas, who fled to hide themſelves in the woods, fearing, through the prepoſſeſſions of the Spaniards, that Raleigh and his company were cannibals. Raleigh, purſuing them in hopes of ſome intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the buſhes, a refiner's baſket; in which were quickſilver, ſalt-petre, and divers other materials for the trial of metals, and alſo the duſt of ſome ore that had been refined. But in two other canoes that eſcaped them, they heard of a good quantity of ore and gold. Raleigh then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to any of his ſoldiers who ſhould take one of the Spaniards. He found the Arwaycas hidden in the woods, who had been pilots to the Spaniards, of which Raleigh kept the chief for his pilot, and carried him to Guiana; by whom he underſtood in what parts the Spaniards laboured for gold, which he diſvulged to two of his company, knowing both the ſeaſon of the year and other conveniences would be wanting to work any mine himſelf. After recruiting his people with wholeſome refreſhments, he continued his voyage:

voyage: the men ſeemed now quite as well pleaſed as their commander had been from the beginning, and of their own accord offered to go as far as he would; ſo that on the fifteenth day from their leaving their ſhips he entered the great river Oronoco, and had an opportunity of ſatisfying himſelf as to the number and names of the Indian nations that inhabited both ſides of it.

After having paſſed the mountain Aió, and a great iſland which he mentions, he reached on the fifth day of his entering the great river aforeſaid, as high as the province of Aromaia, and anchoring at the port of Morequito, which is full three hundred miles within the land, upon the ſaid great river Oronoco, he ſent a meſſenger to the old king of Aramaia, named Topiowary, who came the next day before noon on foot from his houſe, and returned the ſame evening, being twenty-eight miles backwards and forwards, though himſelf was one hundred and ten years of age. He had many attendants of both ſexes, who came alſo to wonder at the Engliſh, and brought them great plenty of fleſh and fiſh, with divers ſort of fruits. When the old king had refreſhed himſelf awhile in the tent, which Raleigh had cauſed to be pitched for him, they entered by the interpreter into diſcourſe about the murder of Morequito his predeceſſor, and the other barbarities of the Spaniards. Then Raleigh acquainted him with the cauſe of his coming thither, whoſe ſervant he was, and that it was his Queen's pleaſure he ſhould undertake this voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as he had done before at Trinidada) on Her Majeſty's power, her juſtice, and her clemency towards all oppreſſed nations; all which being with great reverence and attention received, he began to ſound the old man touching Guiana, as what ſort of commonwealth it was; how governed; of what ſtrength and policy; of what extent; with whom in alliance or enmity; laſtly, the diſtance and way to enter the heart of the country. The King gave ſuch an ample and perfect account of theſe particulars, that Raleigh wondered to find a man of ſuch gravity, judgment, and good diſcourſe, without the help of learning or breeding.

After his departure Raleigh ſailed weſtward to view the famous river Caroli, both becauſe it was ſo wonderful in itſelf, and led to the ſtrongeſt nations of all the frontiers, who were enemies to the Epuremei, ſubjects to the Inca or Emperor of Guiana, and Manoa: even when he was ſhort of it, or lower down than the port of Morequito, he heard the roaring falls of this river; but when he entered it with his barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up ſome forty miles to the Caſiagotos, he was not able, with a barge of eight oars, to row one ſtone's-throw in an hour, and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich. Therefore encamping on the banks, he ſent off an Indian to acquaint the nation upon the river of his arrival and his purpoſe, and that he deſired to ſee the lords of Canuri, who dwelt in that province. Then one of the princes came down, named Wanuretona, with many of his people, and brought great ſtore of proviſions, as the reſt had done. By him Raleigh found the Carolians were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but moſt of all to the Epuremei, who abounded in gold; and that there were three mighty nations at the head of that river which would join them againſt them; he was further informed by one Captain George whom he had taken with Berreo, that near the banks of this river there was a great ſilver mine, but the rivers were now all ſo riſen, that it was not poſſible for the ſtrength of men, with any boat, to row againſt the ſtream. Therefore he diſpatched a party of between thirty and forty to coaſt the river by land, while himſelf, with a few officers and half a dozen ſhot, marched over land to view the ſtrange and wonderful over-

falls of the ſaid river Caroli, which roared at ſuch a diſtance, and the plains adjoining, with the reſt of the province of Canuri.

When they had got to the top of the firſt hills, overlooking the river, they beheld that prodigious breach of water which poured down Caroli, and how it ran in three ſtreams for twenty miles together; no leſs than ten or a dozen of the ſteep cataracts appeared in ſight, each as high above the other as a church tower, which ruſhed down with ſuch violence, that the very rebound of the waters made the place ſeem as if it had been all over covered with a great ſhower of rain; and in ſome places they took it at firſt for a thick ſmoak which had riſen out of ſome great town, till they drew nearer down in the valley to this thunder of waters, where they better diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed the effects of it. And here Raleigh ſays he never ſaw a more beautiful country, nor more lively proſpects; the hills ſo raiſed up and down about the valleys; the waters winding into ſuch various branches; the plains ſo clear of bruſh and ſhrub, and covered all with fair green graſs; the ground of hard ſand, and eaſy for the march either for horſe or foot; the deer croſſing in every path; the birds towards the evening ſinging on every tree a thouſand ſeveral tunes, with cranes and herons, of white, crimſon and carnation, perched along the river-banks; the air refreſhed with gentle eaſterly breezes, and every ſtone they ſtooped to take up, promiſing either gold or ſilver by its complexion. His company, at their return, brought ſeveral of thoſe ſtones home, which they rather found coloured outwardly like gold, than any of that metal fixed in them; for thoſe who had leaſt judgment or experience, kept only ſuch as glittered, and would not be perſuaded but they were rich, becauſe they ſhone; and thereby bred an opinion that all the reſt were no better. Yet ſome of thoſe ſtones Raleigh ſhewed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told him it was El Madre del Oro, that is, the Mother of Gold, and that the mine was farther in the ground: he received alſo many other informations from theſe people, ſome of which, however, ſeemed to border upon thoſe fabulous accounts delivered by antiquity, but always ſuſpected by men of ſenſe; which Raleigh reports, but with due caution.

While he lay at anchor near the banks of the Caroli, he ſpared no pains that were requiſite to gain a thorough knowledge of the names and manners of the ſeveral Indian nations that lay farther within the country, which was all, in that reſpect, left in his power; there being many reaſons which rendered his farther ſtay improper, and his return to his fleet a point of abſolute neceſſity; for he had been now abſent above a month, had wandered in that ſpace above four hundred miles from the ſea coaſts; and beſides the winter was coming on very faſt, and the greater river began to riſe. Beſides all this they had no inſtruments with them to open mines; and if they advanced farther, were to act againſt a numerous, civilized, and warlike people; ſo that, having done more with a handful of people, and that too in fewer days than the Spaniards had been years in ſearching for this country, he very wiſely reſolved to ſubmit to neceſſity, and ſeek the ſhorteſt way back to his ſhips. Yet as he returned to the eaſt, he ſpent ſome time in diſcovering the river towards the ſea, which he had not ſurveyed, and which he thought alſo neceſſary to do; in a day's time he arrived again at the port of Morequito; for, gliding down the ſtream, he went without labour, though againſt the wind, little leſs than one hundred miles a day; when he came to anchor, he was very deſirous of farther conference with old Topiowary, who ſoon came with a multitude of his people flocking down to Raleigh's tent upon the ſhore, loaded with preſents.

When the old King was refreſhed, and the croud retired, Raleigh, by his interpreter,

entered into a long conference with him, telling him, that as both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were his enemies, the one having conquered Guiana already, and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he desired to be instructed, both in the best way to the golden parts of Guiana, and the civilized towns of the Inca. The King answered, he could not perceive Raleigh meant to proceed to the great city of Manoa, because neither the season of the year, nor the strength of his company, would enable him; for he remembered that in the plains of Maqureguarai, the first town of Guiana, where all the gold plates were made which were scattered over the neighbouring nations, and above four days journey from his own, three hundred Spaniards were destroyed who had no friends among the borderers; he therefore advised Raleigh never to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the help of all those nations which were their enemies. Raleigh asked, if he thought the company he had with him were sufficient to take that town? The King thought they were, and offered to assist him with all his borderers, if he would leave him a guard of fifty men upon his departure.

But Raleigh, knowing if they should escape the Guianians, the Spaniards, expecting supplies, would repay upon him his treatment at Trinidada, very plausibly excused himself. Hereupon the King desired he would forbear him and his country at this time; for if the Epuremei should know he had given Raleigh any aid or intelligence, he should soon be overrun by them, nor could he avoid the Spaniards if they should return, who had before led him, seventeen days, in a chain like a dog, till he paid a hundred plates of gold and several chains of spleen-stones, for his ransom; but if Raleigh would return in due season next year, he would engage all the borderers in the enterprize; for that he could not more desire to make himself master of Guiana, than they to assist him, having been plundered in their wars by the Epuremei, of their women, whom to recover, they would willingly renew the war, without hopes of farther profit; for the old King complained of it as a matter of grievous restraint, that now they were confined to three or four wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a dozen, while the lords of their enemies had no less than fifty or a hundred; but they seem to have had a political reason for this recovery, to strengthen their alliance, and increase their forces; those frontiers having been much depopulated, between the subjects of the Inca and the Spaniards.

Raleigh, after farther consultation, finding it absolutely improper either to leave any of his company, or to attempt war upon the Epuremei till the next year, applied himself now, only to learn how those people wrought those plates of gold, which were dispersed about, and how they divided it from the stone. The King told him, that most of their plates and images were not severed from the stone; but that, on the lake of Manoa, and many other rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect grains of gold, and, mingling a proportion of copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen pot, under which they increased the fire by the breath of men through long canes fastened to the holes under the said pot, till the metal dissolved, which then they cast into moulds of stone and clay, and so made these plates and images; whereof Raleigh brought two sorts into England, more to shew the manner of them, than the value; for he gave more pieces of gold of the twenty shilling coin, with the Queen's effigy upon them, among these people, to wear in honour of Her Majesty, and to engage them in her service, than he received, so little did he make his design of gold known to them. He brought away with him, however, various samples both of the spar and of the ore, which were sufficient to justify his reports of the riches of this country; and he likewise brought with him the highest testimony that could well

be given him of the ſincere love and entire confidence of the natives, ſince old Topiowari, one of the wiſeſt, and none of the leaſt powerful, princes in that country, ſent over his own ſon Cayworaco into England, where he was baptized with much ceremony by the name of Gualtero. On the other hand, Sir Walter left behind him, at their own requeſt, two of his company, viz. Francis Sperry who was an excellent draftſman, and undertook to deſcribe, as he did, all the country very exactly; and Hugh Goodwin, a boy who waited upon Sir Walter, and who was to learn the languages of the Indian nations, which he did to great perfection, but was unfortunately devoured by a wild beaſt.

After this, a cacique whoſe name was Putoma, and another whoſe name was Warapana, offered to conduct him to a gold mine, which they accordingly performed; but the weather being extremely bad, Sir Walter was deſirous to make as much haſte back as it was poſſible to his ſhips, which he accordingly did; but when he found himſelf on the ſea coaſt, and in a manner at the end of his labours, he met with a moſt dreadful and dangerous ſtorm, which drove them almoſt to their wits-end; and at length, in a dark night, and in the midſt of the tempeſt, he quitted his galley, which he found amongſt ſhoals and ſands, and in his boat thruſt out to ſea, with ſo much good fortune, however, that the next morning, by nine o'clock, they had ſight of the iſland of Trinidada, and rowing cautiouſly under the ſhore, arrived ſafely at Curiapan, where their veſſels lay at anchor. In all this tedious and ſurpriſing expedition, wherein they went through ſuch a variety of dangers, being always alike expoſed to the ſeverities of the weather, and to the attempts of their enemies, abſolutely wanting moſt of the conveniencies, and frequently even the neceſſaries of life, except the negro devoured by the crocodile, he loſt not ſo much as a ſingle man, which amazed the Spaniſh governor Berreo to the higheſt degree, who openly profeſſed his admiration of Sir Walter's conduct and courage, which ſo viſibly ſurpaſſed thoſe of all the Spaniſh captains employed in this ſervice, from Orellana down to himſelf.

After a ſhort ſtay, to put his little ſquadron in order, he ſailed from Trinidada on his return to England, and in his paſſage home, landed and burnt ſeveral of the Spaniſh towns upon the coaſt; and on the 13th of July he met with Captain Preſton, under Cape St. Antonio, in the iſland of Cuba; and on the 20th of the ſame month purſued his voyage to England, where he ſafely arrived, his expedition being exceedingly applauded, in proſe and verſe, by all the reputed wits of thoſe times.

But it was not long before thoſe who envied Raleigh began to circulate new calumnies, framed on purpoſe to depreciate his diſcovery. It is of ſome conſequence, even at this day, to examine and expoſe theſe lying ſtories, becauſe they have moſt unaccountably found ſo great credit with the generality of mankind, that though they commend Sir Walter's deſign, as ſuppoſing it againſt the Spaniards, yet they queſtion his veracity with regard to the produce, value, and expediency of ſettling Guiana, which is the reaſon (at leaſt it ought ſo to be) why it was not afterwards attempted, when the importance of plantations were better underſtood. The firſt ſuggeſtion was, that this was a favourite ſcheme, perhaps a pleaſing viſion of Sir Walter Raleigh's; and there was no reaſon to yield implicit credit to any man's dreams, how wiſe and learned ſoever. It is really ſtrange, how far ſuch fooliſh inſinuations as theſe prevail, and how baſely mankind repay the greateſt ſervices that can be done them. When Colon opened his ſcheme in Portugal, it was reputed a mere fancy and a contrivance to gain employment; when Fauſtus invented printing, he was treated by ſome as a conjurer, and by others the art was condemned as prejudicial to the book-ſcriveners; and at the time Harvey taught the circulation of the blood, he was almoſt generally

generally run down; and that, according to the phyſicians of thoſe times was treated as a ridiculous fiction, which is now regarded as the very foundation of the art of phyſic. The truth ſeems to be, that what is pervaded and clearly comprehended by a firſt-rate genius, is a mere cloud, viſion, or airy appearance, in the judgment of common men, who, either really forgetting, or affecting not to diſtinguiſh, this difference in capacities, would have their judgments take place, and the ignorance of the many rather reputed wiſdom than the ſentiments of a ſingle man; and thus, between folly and arrogance, the advantages which might be drawn from ſuch high and rare ſpirits, if due diſtinction were made, are abſolutely loſt, and the diſcoveries in the world of ſcience (always achieved by ſuch men) poſtponed for ages. Sir Walter Raleigh was aware of this, which induced him to take ſo much pains in tracing the knowledge of the Spaniards, and in making what they knew, and had endeavoured on this ſubject, public, by which he thought he plainly proved this was no invention of his, but only an improvement on the notions of other men. He obſerved likewiſe, that the French, at the very time he attempted it, had a view to this diſcovery; and, it is very certain, that ſince his time, Count Pagan recommended ſuch a ſettlement to Cardinal Richelieu, ſo that the calling this a whim of Sir Walter's, as many did then, who are believed; now is to talk childiſhly and ignorantly on a very important ſubject.

The next inſinuation was, that there was no ſuch thing as gold duſt, gold plates, or gold mines there, but that all was mere invention, calculated to recommend the project. To this Sir Walter oppoſed three reaſons, each of which was a fair and full anſwer, and indeed wholly deſtroyed the objection. For firſt, he ſhewed from the ſituation, it was impoſſible this country ſhould not be rich, as having New Grenada on one ſide, Peru at its back, and in that climate which affords the richeſt mines of gold and ſilver in America; to which, we may add, the diſcovery of the Brazil treaſures unknown in his age. He next pleaded the authority of the Spaniards; and that with reſpect, not to opinions only, but as to facts; for he annexes to his voyage certificates of conſiderable quantities of gold, which they had drawn from that country, and which made them ſo eager to diſcover it fully. This too has been confirmed by Father D'Acughna, and other writers, ſince his days, who very poſitively maintain the very ſame thing. He laſtly urges his own actual experience, producing very ample ſpecimens of gold ore from thence. Upon ſome doubt whether the ſtones by him produced were gold ore or not, he cauſed them to be examined by refiners. From ſome, Mr. Weſtwood, who lived in Wood-ſtreet, drew at the rate of twelve or thirteen thouſand pounds a ton; ſome, tried by Meſſrs. Bulmar and Dimock, held after the rate of twenty-three thouſand pounds a ton, and ſome, examined by Mr. Palmer, comptroller of the mint, and Mr. Dimock, held almoſt twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds in a ton. Yet after all this, another queſtion was ſtarted, whether Raleigh did not carry this gold from Africa as well as bring it from Guiana; to which he anſwered, that from the very mines in that country, he helped to dig it himſelf, though with no fitter inſtrument than his dagger.

Another head of calumny was, that he chiefly aimed at attacking and plundering the Spaniſh towns upon the coaſts; and that theſe were in reality Raleigh's gold mines in Guiana. But this was ſo far from the truth, that one principal reaſon, which Sir Walter aſſigns for fixing here, was, that the Catholic King had neither any right to, or poſſeſſion of, this country. It is alſo moſt evident from Sir Walter's own accounts, that, except at San Joſeph in Trinadada, he took nothing in the places which he plundered in that country, and from this very inſtance he recommends planting rather than privateering. On the whole, therefore, this affair has been miſ-

taken from firſt to laſt: Sir Walter's propoſal was wiſe and well-founded; his deſcription of this country true and very exact, his expectations, though ſanguine, perfectly well grounded; and his own voyage a very pregnant proof that ſuch an eſtabliſhment is highly practicable. If any ſhould enquire what views I have in labouring this topic ſo much, I ſhall fairly anſwer, many: I thought the nature of my ſubject led me to it; I conceived that Sir Walter's memory demanded this piece of juſtice; and I remembered that we are at war with Spain, Guiana ſtill unſettled; and that we may, as the phraſe once was, "take and hold."

15. We are now to ſpeak briefly of ſuch other tranſactions under the reign of this great Princeſs, as may contribute to explain ſome paſſages in this chapter, and ſet what follows in a clear light. She encouraged privateers immediately after her coming to the crown, as the moſt effectual means of raiſing a fleet in a ſhort time; but when ſhe found this end anſwered, ſhe brought that practice under due regulations. She was extremely careful in giving all poſſible encouragement for diſcoveries, and it was with this view that ſhe promoted, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, ſeveral enterpizes for finding out a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, by the north-eaſt and by the north-weſt. The Ruſſia trade ſhe encouraged; and her conduct in reſpect to that nation was ſuch as raiſed her credit in thoſe parts of the world, to the higheſt degree that can be imagined. The King of Sweden was ſo charmed with what fame reported of the Queen, that he put himſelf into the number of thoſe who were ſuitors to her for marriage. The King of Demark aſked her leave to tranſport corn through the narrow ſeas, which, to ſhew her dominion over them, ſhe once refuſed; and the Hanſe Towns having preſumed to ſend a fleet through them without her leave, ſhe ſeized and confiſcated their ſhips; as for the Dutch, they more than once offered to ſubmit themſelves to her government, and in the moſt public manner acknowledged that they owed the recovery of their liberty to her ſuccour and protection; but ſhe was wiſe enough to foreſee, that as they grew in power they might alter their notions, and ſhe took care to provide againſt this, by procuring the keys of Holland and Zealand to be put into her hands, by which means ſhe was able to lock up their commerce, and naval force, at her pleaſure.

She kept France in great awe, even when it was governed by Henry IV., the wiſeſt, braveſt, and beſt monarch of the houſe of Bourbon. She ruined the naval power of Spain, then the moſt formidable in Europe, and under the direction of a Prince whoſe abilities were equal to every thing but his ambition: ſhe encouraged expeditions to the Weſt Indies, as long as they proved beneficial to her ſubjects; and when they appeared to be no longer ſo, ſhe very prudently reſtrained them. It was under her reign, that the Engliſh firſt attempted the paſſage into the South Seas by the Streights of Magellan; which proved of great conſequence, not only in that part of the world, but alſo in opening a way to the Eaſt Indies, as we have already ſhewn in the former parts of this work, to which thoſe paſſages properly belonged.

She brought, by affording the means of employing them, the building of ſhips into uſe, and by degrees to great perfection, which was of infinite benefit to the nation, and at the ſame time delivered us from the heavy inconvenience of hiring veſſels from foreigners whenever the public occaſions demanded a large fleet; but moſt of theſe things (though incident to my purpoſe) have been already inſiſted on by others, and therefore I am content barely to mention them, that I may have room to mention ſome other things of no leſs importance, though not ſo much attended to. We have ſhewn how wretched a ſituation things were in at the beginning of her reign, and how ſuddenly and how effectually ſhe changed the face of our affairs; and we have in ſome meaſure pointed out the manner in which this was done; but there remain ſome other

other points worthy the reader's conſideration, which I ſhall next handle with all imaginable brevity.

Queen Elizabeth taught all her ſubjects induſtry and application by her perſonal conduct; ſhe was conſtantly attentive to every branch of her government; knew exactly what was done, what might be done, and what was omitted; ſhe underſtood moſt things herſelf, and what ſhe did not underſtand, ſhe committed to the inſpection of ſuch as were reputed to be beſt acquainted with them; ſhe was ſlow in reſolving, and quick in execution; ſhe heard all that could be ſaid for, or againſt, Sir Francis Drake, before ſhe went on board his ſhip, or gave him any public marks of her favour; but afterwards ſhe would never permit his conduct to be cenſured.

She was ſparing in her honours, becauſe ſhe was reſolved to uſe them as rewards; and ſhe knew that in order to this it was requiſite they ſhould not become cheap; ſhe never employed any but capable miniſters; for ſhe had men for ſhew and men for ſervice; and in nothing demonſtrated her great capacity more than in her choice of ſervants. Secretary Walſingham, and after him Secretary Cecil, had the department of the marine, and both underſtood it well, ſo that whoever applied to them, was to make out the reaſon and probability, as well as the profitableneſs of his project. This produced the many excellent pieces which are preſerved in Hackluit, particularly Sir Humphrey Gilbert's diſcourſe of the north-weſt paſſage, Sir George Peacham's benefits of Weſtern planting, with Mr. Harriot's account of Virginia, and many ſuch things. By this means a ſpirit of uſeful knowledge was promoted and kept up; all things were thoroughly ſifted before encouragement was given, and due regard had to what ſucceeded, to what did not, and to the reaſon and cauſes of both.

She took ſome ſhare of moſt expeditions of conſequence, as well to keep up the ſpirits of thoſe concerned, as in caſe any good prizes were made, that the public might have its part, in which we find her always ſtrict, and ſometimes a little ſevere: but with all her frugality and good management in this reſpect, ſhe found war an expenſive and ruinous thing, which demanded conſtant and great ſupplies, bringing in but ſlowly and inconſiderably. She was the better able to diſcern this, becauſe ſhe took care to have the treaſury books as regularly kept as thoſe of a merchant, whence ſhe was very well able to tell how far her revenues anſwered her expences, in what articles her exceſſes were incurred, and even the loſs and gain on particular expeditions; as for inſtance, that of Cadiz, or Cales, reputed the moſt fortunate in her long reign, which nevertheleſs coſt ſixty-four thouſand pounds more than it brought in. The balance, in this reſpect was always againſt her, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſound her prizes made in the world; for according to a minute of an account made up by the famous Lord treaſurer Burleigh, from the thirtieth to the thirty-fourth year of her government, it appears, that the bare expence of the navy amounted to two hundred ſeventy-five thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty-one pounds, and all received by prizes within thoſe years, which were the moſt proſperous in that reſpect of the whole Spaniſh war, came to no more than ſixty-four thouſand and forty-four pounds.

Yet, conſidering what miſchief was done the enemy, how much his commerce was embarraſſed, his merchants ruined, his credit leſſened, and his power decreaſed, there was no great cauſe to repine; and in truth, we no where find the Queen did ſo, but ſhe always endeavoured to put her nobility upon ſuch enterprizes, as well

to

to keep them employed, as to throw a part of the expence upon ſuch as ſhe judged were much more able to afford it than the common people.

But there was another great and uſeful effect which flowed from this aſſiduous care in the Queen, and this generous conduct in her nobility, and that was, the eſtabliſhing a juſt regard for public ſpirit. It was the mode in her days, to do every thing with a view to the welfare of the ſtate, and it was impoſſible for any man to make a figure at court, or to appear with diſtinction in his country whoſe actions as well as words did not diſcover ſomewhat of the patriot. Some of the nobility ſerved in Holland, to learn the trade of war, at the ſame time that they contributed to break the power of Spain, and to raiſe the Engliſh reputation for courage, ſteadineſs, and other military virtues. The Earl of Eſſex, and other men of quality, ſerved the Queen at ſea in various expeditions of great importance. Others again, ſuch as the Earl of Cumberland, embarked in particular enterprizes at their own expence; and by this means, after the formidable invaſion in 1588, the King of Spain found himſelf ſufficiently employed at home, and perceived, when it was too late, that he had waſted the blood and treaſure of all his kingdoms to raiſe up two new powers in Europe, *viz.* England and Holland, which neither he nor his ſucceſſors would be able to cope with.

But the Queen and her miniſters, when the dangers of war were thus removed or kept at a diſtance, knew how to divert the ſame ſpirit to other good and ſalutary purpoſes. In former reigns there had been little care taken to explore the riches of this kingdom; but now every part of it was examined, and every kind of improvement ſet on foot. The lord treaſurer ſent for ſeveral Germans over, who were employed in erecting iron works, in diſcovering and working lead mines, and in making ſaltpetre. We formerly exported moſt of our commodities raw and unwrought, but now the perſecution in the Low-Countries furniſhed us with multitudes of able workmen in every branch of the woollen manufactory, who had all imaginable encouragement given them, and with very conſiderable privileges were ſettled in different parts of the kingdom, more eſpecially at London, Norwich, Colcheſter, and Canterbury. The like care was taken with reſpect to other trades, and this was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that whereas in the beginning of the Queen's reign we bought our artillery abroad, towards the end of it we furniſhed all Europe with ordnance; ſo that at length it grew a queſtion, whether it might not be requiſite for the public ſafety, to put a ſtop to the exportation of iron cannon.

There was now ſcarce a ſeſſion of parliament held in which there were not acts paſſed for promoting new branches of trade, or for preſerving or regulating the old; and though it may be, and I believe is, true, that ſome of the laws then made, have become in proceſs of time rather dangerous and deſtructive than profitable or advantageous to commerce, yet certainly they were made with a good intent; and we have reaſon to believe were well enough ſuited to thoſe times, ſo that we have no reaſon to cenſure thoſe who made them, on account of the inconveniencies they produce, but ought rather to blame ourſelves for not repealing them. By theſe ſteps the face of things in this country was quite changed: inſtead of being ſerved by the Venetians and Genoeſe, with all the commodities of the Eaſt, we brought them home ourſelves, and even furniſhed them to others; inſtead of ſuffering all our domeſtic trade to be managed, as formerly, by Germans and other foreigners, we began to ſettle factories abroad, and there was hardly a nation in the known world, with which, before the death of this Queen, we had not ſome correſpondence.

Yet

Yet inſtead of ſetting down quietly with theſe acquiſitions, and falling into a nominal trade amongſt ourſelves, like the modern ſtock-jobbing; we were then continually contriving and executing new ſchemes, either for improving our country or exporting its produce; our people, even then, began to think the trading world too narrow for them, and admired nothing ſo much as finding out new markets, where goods always ſell beſt, where novelty and variety often procure high prices even for indifferent commodities. We need not at all wonder, therefore, that in theſe times there were men of ſuch extenſive abilities produced, as ſeemed to graſp the whole circle of commercial knowledge; ſuch as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Greſham, and many others; ſome of whom have left us treatiſes in this way, that are both read and admired in more enlightened times. We may therefore ſafely pronounce, that the ſeeds of all our traffic, which have ſince ſo happily come up, and from which the nation has reaped ſuch mighty profits, were ſown in this reign, and cultivated when they needed cultivation moſt, by the royal hand of the matchleſs Elizabeth; the mother of her ſubjects, the terror of her enemies, and the benefactor of poſterity.

16. We are now to take a view of the ſtate of Engliſh affairs in regard to America, at the cloſe of this Queen's reign, when it will appear, that there was ſcarcely any part of it, whether of the northern or ſouthern continent, or iſlands, with which we had not ſome acquaintance; though we had made no ſettlements any where. Drake and Candiſh examined the whole backſide of America from ſouth to north, and it appears very clearly from Sir Richard Hawkins's Hiſtory of his own Voyage, that we were almoſt as well acquainted with thoſe countries as the Spaniards themſelves; this will appear leſs ſtrange, when it is obſerved, that ſome of our ſeamen being ſurpriſed, others being ſent aſhore by their commanders, and ſeveral ſtraggling when landed in parties, on particular deſigns, fell into the hands of the Spaniards; and being ſent from place to place, travelled through more countries than moſt of the Spaniards that were ſent thither by their government, or were driven thither by their neceſſities, ſome of whom coming home, related, and ſeveral of them, particularly Miles Phillips and David Ingram, wrote accounts of their adventures, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in another place.

By this means we gained very clear and diſtinct deſcriptions of the countries bordering on the ſtraits of Magellan, of Chili, Peru, the bay of Panama, the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom of Old Mexico, ſome knowledge of the New, and even of California: nor were we leſs acquainted with the other ſide of the continent, as the reader may learn from the *Engliſh* voyages of the firſt chapter of this work, in which are contained very diſtinct accounts of the moſt ſouthern parts, from the river of Plata to the mouth of Magellan's ſtraits. We have likewiſe a ſufficient knowledge of the great country of Brazil, from Mr. Knivet, and other travellers; though it muſt be allowed that they gave great ſcope to their imagination, in what they have written, or at leaſt what is publiſhed by Purchas, if it was by them written, upon this ſubject. As to Guiana, or the country of the Amazons, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Capt. Laurence Keymiſh, whom he ſent thither ſoon after his return, have written as good deſcriptions of them, if not better, than any that are extant in other languages.

As for the coaſt, from the iſland of Trinity up to Carthagena, it was the chief ſcene of moſt of our privateer expeditions in this reign, ſo that we had repeated relations of all that was neceſſary to make this part of the new world perfectly known. The remaining part of the coaſt, as far as the gulf of Honduras, was likewiſe explained and deſcribed by ſeveral Engliſhmen, who had viſited thoſe coaſts, particularly Captain Barker; and as for the bay of Mexico, it was often reſorted to;

but more particularly by Captain, (afterwards) Sir John, Hawkins, in the year 1568, at which time he ſet on ſhore David Ingram, before-mentioned, at about one hundred and forty leagues weſt-by-north from the cape of Florida. From thence he travelled with ſeveral other perſons of his company by land, to within ſixty leagues of Cape Breton; where they found a paſſage home by a French ſhip, in 1369, and ſoon after their arrival, David Ingram, Richard Brown, and Richard Twede went to viſit Captain Hawkins, who had ſet them on ſhore, and related to him their adventures. I have been more particular on this head, becauſe this Ingram has given the cleareſt account of any man concerning the north-weſt paſſage, as the reader will ſee hereafter in its proper place, where I ſhall give his account at large. The remaining part of the coaſt of North America, from the cape of Florida to the utmoſt extent of the continent northward, was examined by ſeveral of our ſeamen, as appears by what has been already ſaid in this ſection, and will farther appear from the account we are yet to give of ſome voyages that were made in the laſt years of the Queen, and which I thought proper to reſerve for this place.

The firſt of theſe, in order of time, is the glorious expedition of Captain William Parker of Plymouth, who undertook, at the expence of a few private perſons, an enterprize againſt the Spaniards, in which he was accompanied by Captain Giles and Captain Ward, land officers; and by the Captains Fugars, Loriman, Aſhly, and ſeveral other gentlemen as volunteers, which, all circumſtances conſidered, will appear one of the hardeſt undertakings, as well as one of the moſt ſucceſsful, in that reign, or indeed ever attempted by our own nation or any other of which there remains an account in hiſtory. This ſquadron of his conſiſted but of three ſmall barks, ſcarce equal in ſtrength to a fifth-rate man of war; of theſe the Prudence, ſtiled the Admiral, was of the burden of one hundred tons, and a hundred and thirty men, commanded by Mr. Parker himſelf; the Pearl, vice-admiral, of ſixty tons, and ſixty men, Captain Robert Rawlins commander; the Pinnace of twenty tons and eighteen men. They ſailed in November 1601, and off the ſouth cape had the misfortune in a violent guſt of wind to loſe their pinnace with all her men but three; ſteering their courſe from thence to the iſlands of Cape Verd, they landed one hundred men, and took one of them called St. Vincent, with a town of the ſame name; and, after having given the ſpoil of it to the ſoldiers, ſet fire to the place. Hence they haled over to the coaſt of the continent, and coming to La Rancheria, or the Pearl Fiſhery, in the ſmall iſland Cubagua, they there found the governor of Cumana, with a ſmall company of ſoldiers. This did not diſcourage them from landing, and though at firſt they were received with great warmth, they got at laſt the better of them, and took the place with ſeveral priſoners, barks, and boats, all which they ranſomed for the value of five hundred pounds, which was paid them in pearls.

They ſailed from thence directly for Cape de la Vela, where they took a great Portugueſe ſhip of 250 tons, coming from Angola and Congo, and bound for Carthagena; which, having little of value in her except three hundred and ſeventy negroes, they ranſomed for five hundred pounds. After this they went to the iſland of Cabecas, where they embarked one hundred and fifty of their men in two ſmall pinnaces and two ſhallops, and ſailed to the Baſtimentos, where they landed, and picking up ſome negroes for their guides, with their boats and pinnaces, they entered the river of Puerto Bello the 7th of February 1602; it being moon-light the watch diſcovered them at their firſt entrance into the haven, and haled them by the ſtrong caſtle of St. Philip; in which were thirty-five braſs guns, and ſoldiers enough to manage them. Having ſome on board who ſpoke the Spaniſh tongue, they pretended they were Spaniards coming from Carthagena.

The officer of the caſtle bid them come to anchor, which they did, but about an hour after Captain Parker gave them the ſlip with his two boats and above thirty men, leaving the pinnaces at anchor before the caſtle. With this force he went directly to the ſuburb of Triana, and, though the alarm was given, landed his thirty men, and ſetting it on fire left it burning, and marched into the great and rich town of Puerto Bello. As ſoon as he entered, he marched directly to the King's treaſury, where he found a guard of ſoldiers drawn up to receive him, with two braſs field pieces on their carriages; the fight was long and obſtinate, and Parker had loſt the beſt part of his men, when Captain Fugars and Captain Loriman, who commanded the pinnaces, hearing the noiſe, came timely to his relief, with one hundred and twenty men. This aſſiſtance ſoon turned the ſcale, and the Spaniards began to think of ſecuring themſelves by flight; a good number of them got into the King's houſe, which they defended very reſolutely for four or five hours; but at length the Engliſh became maſters of that, as well as of the whole town. They found but ten thouſand ducats in the treaſury, though there were often ſix millions in it; and if they had been ſeven days ſooner they would have found one hundred and twenty thouſand, which had been embarked in two frigates for Carthagena.

The ſpoil of the town, which in money, plate, and merchandize was conſiderable, was by Captain Parker given to the ſoldiers. But two frigates, which he took farther up the river, he carried away with him; after having kept poſſeſſion of the town two days, Captain Parker generouſly ſpared it with its churches, buildings, and forts from burning; and releaſed the priſoners, among whom were Don Pedro Melandez, the governor, the King's ſecretary, and ſeveral perſons of quality, without ranſom; ſatisfied with the honour of having taken with a handful of men, in ſo little time, and with ſo inconſiderable a loſs, one of the fineſt towns the King of Spain had in the Weſt Indies. His reaſon for this was to give the Spaniards an example of civil and generous deportment towards their enemies; and the governor he releaſed, becauſe he had fought ſo bravely, having received eleven wounds in the action.

The town had at this time two churches, ſix or ſeven fine ſtreets, three ſmall forts on one ſide, beſides the great caſtle of St. Philip; all which they might have demoliſhed, and have left the whole a heap of ruins. During their ſtay in the town they had not the leaſt diſturbance from any forces of the Spaniards, nor any alarm given; only as they were ſailing away the enemy began to appear, but it was only to exchange a few bullets, and to take leave of each other from the mouths of their great guns. Thus Captain Parker returned ſafely home with much honour, and not without reaſonable profit; and not only our own, but Spaniſh writers ſpeak of his expedition in very honourable terms.

The next year ſome of the Virginia company reſolved to fit out a veſſel for that country, and accordingly made choice of Captain Bartholomew Goſnold for their commander, who had been formerly there. He ſailed from Falmouth on the 26th of March 1602, in a ſmall veſſel, and no more than thirty-two perſons on board, of whom it was propoſed that twelve ſhould ſtay behind and form a ſettlement, in caſe he ſhould meet with any place which he ſhould judge convenient for that purpoſe. This Captain Goſnold was an excellent mariner, and therefore he did not go the former courſe, but a much ſhorter one; and on the 11th of May he arrived in the latitude of forty-two degrees and ſome few minutes, among the iſlands, forming the north ſide of Maſſachuſet's Bay, in New England; where, not finding the conveniencies he deſired, he ſet ſail again; and when he thought he had got clear of the

land, he fell upon the bay of Cod, now part of New England. He went aſhore on a ſmall uninhabited iſland, which he called Elizabeth Iſland, and on another iſland, which he named Martha's Vineyard, where the natives had left ſome marks of their habitations. Here ſome of his company ſowed Engliſh corn, and ſaw it come up very kindly; he built a little fort for his, and his mens', ſecurity, and traded from thence with the ſavages, to whom Europeans were no ſtrangers; for the commander of the firſt body of them that came to trade was dreſſed with waiſtcoat, breeches, ſhoes, ſtockings, hat, and all accoutrements befitting an Engliſhman; but his attendance had only deer-ſkins about their ſhoulders, and ſeal-ſkins about their waiſts; their hair was very long, and tied up with a knot behind; they were painted all over, but their natural ſwarthy colour was eaſy enough to be diſcerned.

On the north-weſt ſide of Elizabeth's Iſland the captain found a lake of freſh water, about a league in circumference, and very near the ſea; in the midſt of which was another little iſland of about an acre of ground; and this they pitched upon as the moſt commodious place for building their fort above-mentioned, and they begun it accordingly. About this lake they found an infinite number of tortoiſes, with ſeveral ſorts of fiſh and fowl; ſo that thoſe who propoſed to ſettle there had a fair proſpect of having proviſions enough. They viſited the main land adjoining to this iſland, which they found, in all reſpects, as charming as meadows, groves, brooks, and rivers could make it. They had ſome communication with the Indians of the main land, who came and bartered with them for ſome of their European rarities, and there was nothing hardly but what was ſo to theſe people. The commodities they gave in exchange for knives and other toys, were beavers, lucains, martens, otters, foxes, conies, ſeals, deer, and ſkins. The affairs of this plantation might have gone on very well, had all the planters been unanimous and eaſy in their ſettlement here; but they were intent upon their private intereſts, and contrived to make only a profitable voyage. The captain laboured againſt it, but to no purpoſe; ſo having gotten a large cargo of ſaſſafras, cedar-wood, furs, and other good commodities, they ſet ſail for England. They left their little fort on the 18th of June, and they arrived at Plymouth the 23d day of July following, A. D. 1602.

What the conſequences were of this voyage and diſcovery will appear in the next chapter; and therefore we ſhall paſs on to the laſt voyage, which we are concerned to take notice of here; and that was made in the ſame year 1602, by one Captain Mace of Weymouth, fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh; and as the ſhort account we have remaining ſerves to correct all that has been ſaid by different authors upon this ſubject; and does a very ſingular piece of juſtice to the memory of Sir Walter, who might ſeem to have abandoned thoſe who went upon his faith to ſettle in Virginia; I have judged it both reaſonable and requiſite to inſert the whole paper here, with this farther obſervation, that Mr. Richard Hackluit received, as he acknowledges, great aſſiſtances from Sir Walter Raleigh, in compiling his excellent collection, and the papers of Mr. Hackluit falling, upon his death, into the hands of Mr. Samuel Purchas, he made ſuch uſe of them as he thought fit, having by no means a capacity adequate to his undertaking; and from his fourth volume, page 1653, we tranſcribe the account before mentioned, which ſeems to be no more than a memorandum from a larger relation of the voyage to which it refers; and which, if it had been given us at length in the manner that ſuch things were given by Mr. Hackluit, would very probably have furniſhed us with other curious particulars. As it is, thus it runs:

*A brief*

*A brief Note of the ſending another Bark this preſent Year* 1602, *by Sir Walter Raleigh, for the ſearching out of his Colony in Virginia.*

" Samuel Mace of Weymouth, a very ſufficient mariner, an honeſt, ſober man, who had been at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to find theſe people which were left there in the year 1587; to whoſe ſuccour he hath ſent five different times at his own charges. The parties by him ſet forth performed nothing, ſome of them following their own profit elſewhere, others returning with frivolous allegations; at this laſt time, to avoid all excuſe, he bought a bark, and hired all the company for wages by the month, who departed from Weymouth in March 1602, fell forty leagues from the ſouth-weſtward of Hateraſke, in 34 degrees, or thereabouts; and having there ſpent a month, when they ſhould have come along the coaſt to ſeek the people, they did it not, pretending the extremity of weather, and loſs of ſome principal ground-tackle, forced and feared them from ſeeking the port of Hateraſke, to which they were ſent. From that place where they abode, they brought ſaſſafras, radix China, or the China root, benjamin, caſſia lignea, and the bark of a kind of a tree more ſtrong than any ſpice as yet known, with divers other commodities, which hereafter, in a large diſcourſe, may come to light."

17. It may be very natural for the reader to think that I ought to have changed the order of the two laſt paragraphs, and that I ſhould have concluded my account of the voyages to America, before I had drawn up a general view of ſuch naval tranſactions as happened in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but I dare aſſure him that I conſidered this attentively, and that I quitted what I ſaw was the regular method, in order to obtain what appears to me to be the great end of method, clearneſs, and being perfectly underſtood. By drawing together the naval tranſactions in the time of this famous Queen, I have ſhewn how ſhe was occupied throughout the whole courſe of the government, ſo as not to have it in her power to attend to the eſtabliſhment of colonies, which are a work of time, of leiſure, and of recollection. But what the nature and circumſtances of her adminiſtration would allow her to do for trade, ſhe moſt certainly did; and that ſhe did it by fits and ſtarts, was owing not to any fault in her or in her miniſters, but to the faults of the times, which did not permit her to do it otherwiſe. This, as I have diſpoſed the thing, will, to the reader, appear at firſt ſight to be the truth, becauſe he will ſee that in the latter part of her reign the deſire of planting revived, and in the courſe of it all the different parts of America, ſome from one motive, and ſome from another, were viſited and diſcovered.

This I take to be the true ſtate of the matter; for though there are many writers, who, in their general characters of that Queen, have aſcribed to her the beginning of our plantations, yet undoubtedly they were therein either miſtaken themſelves, or delivered their ſentiments in ſuch a manner as occaſioned their being miſtaken by others. The glories of that period of time are ſo many, and ſo great, that they need no falſe colours to heighten them; on the contrary, they are leſſened thereby: for when, upon enquiry, it is found that part of them are miſrepreſented, it naturally leads people to doubt of the reſt; and, as in all other caſes, ſo here, flattery debaſes what it meant to exalt, and really leſſens what it ſeems to extol. The buſineſs of planting is indeed highly advantageous; and I believe it will appear from the following chapters, that no nation has gained more by it than our own; but then it is the buſineſs of peaceable and ſettled times, when nations grow full, and diſcharges of

people become neceſſary, which was not ſurely the caſe under this great Princeſs. The great and real excellency of her adminiſtration conſiſted in this, that ſhe always, and in all things, conſulted the good of her people; and the wiſdom of her miniſters is viſible chiefly from hence, that they did not obſtinately purſue good things in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, but choſe, as the circumſtances of things directed, to do the beſt for the nation that their ſituation would allow. It was the opinion of ſeveral great men in her time, and upon their authority it has grown to be a received and ſettled notion ſince, that the Queen went rather too far into the Spaniſh war, and that her ſubjects would have been greater gainers, if ſhe had either avoided that war entirely, or if ſhe had ended it ſooner, which perhaps might be true.

But after conſidering, as maturely as it is poſſible for me to do, all that has been ſaid by Sir Robert Cotton and other able writers upon this ſubject, I am thoroughly convinced that the Queen acted upon right principles, and that ſhe began and continued the war with no other view than the good of her people. I am at the ſame time, however, perſuaded that ſhe extended her views in this reſpect, very far beyond her own times, and that ſhe was ſenſible enough ſhe might have ended the conteſt with Spain earlier, and with a proſpect of much more quiet to herſelf, than to her dying day ſhe enjoyed. But this was not the diſpoſition of Elizabeth; if it had, the whole turn of her conduct would have differed widely from what it was; and ſhe ſacrificed willingly and knowingly the tranquillity of her own government, to fix the welfare of her ſubjects upon a ſolid foundation. In this conſiſted the ſtrength of her mind and the greatneſs of her genius; whoever conſiders her in another light will miſtake her character. She ſaw plainly, that extenſive trade and ſuperior naval force were things neceſſary to the felicity of the inhabitants of this iſland; but ſhe ſaw at the ſame time that it was impoſſible theſe ſhould be attained, if the power of Spain was not deſtroyed. This therefore became her ſettled point, which, once gained, ſhe knew the other muſt follow, and therefore from this ſhe never departed; ſhe was very ſenſible that if the Spaniſh power was once removed, the trade and naval force of this nation would have room enough to grow and proſper, and therefore ſhe reſolved to remove it: ſhe could not but know that this would prove a work of great difficulty; that it would expoſe her to a long and expenſive war abroad, and, which was worſe ſtill, to many commotions, plots, and conſpiracies at home; but that did not at all move her; ſhe was bent upon doing what the ſafety and well-being of the nation required; and though ſhe could not but foreſee that the advantages ſhe laboured to procure muſt belong rather to poſterity, than to the people ſhe governed, yet ſhe reſolved to hazard all things to procure them.

This was her ſyſtem, vaſt and extenſive in itſelf, big with difficulties and dangers, extremely liable to be miſunderſtood, miſinterpreted, and miſrepreſented; full of uncertainties, and requiring a great length of time, and a conſtant ſeries of labours, to accompliſh it. If it had been poſſible to have ſet ſuch a ſcheme as this before the eyes of a monarch of ordinary qualities and virtues, it would, without doubt, have raiſed aſtoniſhment and terror; but to a mind like her's, capable of looking through the miſt of preſent events, and diſcerning the face of things beyond them; though few obſtacles were hid, yet none ſeemed unſurmountable; the toil was great, the journey long, the road extremely rough, and it was impoſſible for her to know how far ſhe ſhould be able to proceed; but, however, ſhe thought it neceſſary to ſet forward, and though for a time things grew worſe and worſe, yet ſhe knew that by perſiſting they muſt grow better and better. This reſolution, this conſtancy, this magnanimity, carried

ried her through all, and ſhe had the great comfort of ſeeing before ſhe died all the great ends accompliſhed, which, in the dawning of her government, her admirable underſtanding had preſented to her view; and, like the ſun, ſhe ſet when ſhe had accompliſhed that round propoſed at her riſing.

We are told of Auguſtus, that he boaſted of leaving Rome built with ſtone, whereas he found it of wood only. Queen Elizabeth might have boaſted of much greater things, and with much greater truth; for ſhe did not riſe to empire through blood and uſurpation, but came to it by ſucceſſion, and with the acclamations of all her people: acclamations that were ſure omens of ſucceſs; for without doubt there never was a kingdom in a lower, meaner, and more dejected ſtate than this; when the crown was placed upon her brow, and her ſubjects could not have either joy or hopes, but what aroſe from ſeeing it fixed there. She choſe for her motto, *ſemper eadem;* that is, always the ſame; and I hope I have ſhewn what ſhe meant by it. Her conduct is the eveneſt that we meet with in hiſtory; ſhe met with many difficulties, but ſhe created none; ſhe experienced misfortunes, but they were trials and not puniſhments; ſhe met with much proſperity, but all viſibly derived to her by the bleſſing of God upon her wiſe endeavours.

We will ſupport a few of theſe particulars by facts. She found ſcarce any navy; ſhe left a great one. She found the government much in debt, and though poſſibly her power might have borne her out, if ſhe had expunged it; yet ſhe paid it, even to the penſions granted by her father, to thoſe who were excluded from their monaſteries. She found her people poor and herſelf neceſſitous; yet ſhe ſpared them till they grew rich; and in the mean time grew rich herſelf, by managing frugally a very ſmall revenue; for at the time ſhe entered into the war with Spain ſhe had ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in her coffers. She ſpent above two millions in the war. She lent the ſtates eight hundred thouſand pounds at different times, and half that ſum to the French King, and yet ſhe did not raiſe quite three millions upon her ſubjects. She ſaw the inhabitants of her capital city doubled in her life-time, as appears from the computations, publiſhed by Sir William Petty. She found the cuſtoms producing no more than thirty-ſix thouſand pounds *per annum;* ſhe left them worth more than double that ſum, without heightening of duties. At the time of her acceſſion there were ſcarce any Engliſh merchants in England; but before her death there were conſiderable traders in every port of England. It is very true, that at the death of Queen Elizabeth our commerce was very trifling, to what it is; but it is no leſs certain, that if ſhe had not lived, our commerce would have fallen very far ſhort of what we find it.

The next chapter will fully ſhew that our great improvements were made in the two ſucceeding reigns; but, in this, we have made it evident, that no ſuch improvements could have been made if this reign had not gone before them. It was in Queen Elizabeth's time that the foundation of Engliſh commerce was laid, though the ſuperſtructure was raiſed in the days of King James and King Charles. It was under her that our ſhips viſited all parts of the known world. It was ſhe that protected the Ruſſia company; one of the moſt uſeful ever formed in this nation, and beyond compariſon the beſt conſtituted. She founded the company trading to the Eaſt Indies; and, in a word, ſhe encouraged every branch of trade that had been opened before her time, projected many, and made way for all. The room I had was much too little, to afford a juſt account of all that we owe in this reſpect to her memory, but I have made the beſt uſe of it I could, and am only ſorry that I could not make a better.

If

If what I have done expreſſes my ſenſe of the advantages derived to us, and which will deſcend to our poſterity, from what ſhe and her miniſters, who were truly ſuch; I mean the inſtruments, and not the directors of their miſtreſs, did, it will afford me great ſatisfaction; for to praiſe Queen Elizabeth, with judgment, is a character ſufficient to gratify the ambition of the moſt aſpiring author, and to have attempted it is the greateſt merit I ſhall have to plead.

CHAP.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERIES, SETTLEMENTS, AND OTHER TRANSACTIONS, OF THE ENGLISH NATION IN AMERICA,

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING JAMES I. TO THE RESTORATION.

1. *A ſuccinct View of the State of Affairs at the Acceſſion of King James; the Voyages of Captain Martin Pringe, and of Captain Gilbert, to Virginia, and the Conſequences of their Diſcoveries.* — 2. *The Earl of Southampton, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, ſend Captain Weymouth thither; his proſperous Voyage, and the Patent granted by the King for erecting two Virginia Companies.* — 3. *The London Company fit out Captain Chriſtopher Newport with a ſmall Squadron, who ſettles a Colony at James Town in Virginia, in* 1607, *and the various unlucky Accidents that befel this Colony.* — 4. *They deſert James Town, embark for England, and are met at the Mouth of Cheſapeak Bay by Thomas Weſt, Lord de la War, who carries them back, reſettles them, and effectually ſecures this valuable Country to the Crown of Great Britain.* — 5. *A ſhort Deſcription of this Colony, ſhewing its ſeveral Advantages, the Nature of its Trade, and its great Conſequence to this Nation.* — 6. *The firſt Attempts of the ſecond, or North Virginia Company, to ſettle within the Bounds of their Grant, and the Difficulties and Diſcouragements they met with in thoſe Attempts.* — 7. *The Colony is at laſt ſettled, under the Direction of the famous Captain Smith, and the Country named by Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) New England.* — 8. *A ſuccinct Account of the Tranſactions in this Colony, from its Eſtabliſhment to the Reſtoration.* — 9. *The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce and Trade of New England, briefly repreſented, and the Importance of this Colony ſet in a true Light.* — 10. *The Diſcovery and firſt Settlement of the Bermudas, or Summer Iſlands, with ſome Account of them before they came into our Poſſeſſion.* — 11. *A ſhort Deſcription of thoſe Iſlands, with an Account of their Commodities, and their Trade to England and to the Plantations.* — 12. *The Diſcovery of Hudſon's Bay, and the Countries in America, to which the Names of New North Wales, and New South Wales, were given by the firſt Diſcoverers.* — 13. *The Recovery of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and the Hiſtory of this Country within this Period, wherein is demonſtrated our clear and indubitable Right to the Iſland of Cape Breton.* — 14. *The ſeveral Voyages to Guiana, down to the Death of Sir Walter Raleigh, after his laſt Expedition thither, and an Account of our Settlement at Surinam.* — 15. *A ſhort Account of the firſt planting the rich and fruitful Iſland of Barbadoes.* — 16. *The Hiſtory of this advantageous Settlement, down to the Reſtoration.* — 17. *The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, and incredible Advantages that have accrued to Great Britain from this Colony, which is proved to be the beſt in the World.* — 18. *The Diſcovery, Conqueſt, and Settlement of St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis or Mevis, Montſerrat, &c.* — 19. *The Grant of the Province of Maryland to the Lord Baltimore, and the Settlement of that Country, with other Particulars relating to it within the Compaſs of this Period.* — 20. *The Expedition by the Direction of the Protector Cromwell, for the taking Hiſpaniola from the Spaniards, with the true Cauſes of its Miſcarriage.* — 21. *The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt and Settlement of the moſt noble and moſt important Iſland of Jamaica.* — 22. *A ſhort Deſcription of the Iſland, a View of the*

*vaſt Profits derived to Great Britain from the Poſſeſſion of it, and other Particulars. —23. The Concluſion of the Chapter, with ſome Remarks and Obſervations on the principal Events mentioned therein.*

1. AT the time of King James's Acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, there were the faireſt opportunities offered for extending and ſecuring the commerce of this iſland that could be wiſhed; and therefore we need not be ſurprized at finding ſuch vaſt improvements made, and ſuch mighty advantages gained to this nation, under a government that has not hitherto been repreſented in the faireſt lights to the people. We muſt, however, obſerve, that the peaceable temper of King James was of great uſe to the trading part of his ſubjects; for the power of Queen Elizabeth had raiſed ſuch a veneration in ſome, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into others, that there was ſcarce any nation which did not willingly embrace the friendſhip of King James, and offer him whatever terms could be thought moſt ſuitable to the commercial views of his ſubjects; which was extremely agreeable to the Engliſh at that time, who began to entertain very true notions of trade; to ſee its importance above all things, and to wiſh for the means of promoting and extending it on all ſides, to which they began to think a peace with Spain would not a little contribute. At the time of the Queen's deceaſe there was a fleet preparing under the command of Sir William Monſon, intended for the Spaniſh coaſt; for it was a wiſe and juſt policy in that Princeſs, to keep the war at a diſtance from her own dominions, to find her enemies work enough at home, and thereby prevent their diſturbing any of her territories. But upon the acceſſion of King James this fleet was countermanded; and, it ſeems, not without reaſon; for the archduke, who was then governor of the Low Countries, thought fit to recall his letters of reprizal, and thereby opened a free trade between England and Flanders, a thing highly ſatisfactory to the merchants, who immediately reaped the benefit of it.

There was likewiſe another deſign on foot at the time of the Queen's demiſe, which was the proſecuting the diſcoveries and trade to North America, in which ſeveral gentlemen and merchants of Briſtol were concerned, and amongſt them the Rev. Mr. Hackluit, whom we have ſo often mentioned; and who, having a prebend in the cathedral church of Briſtol, and having a great genius for promoting ſuch enterprizes, was fixed upon to apply in behalf of himſelf, and the reſt of the perſons concerned, to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was ſtill looked upon as the proprietor of Virginia, in order to procure his licence for this trade. Upon his application to that worthy perſon, they received all the encouragement they could deſire; for he not only granted them a licence under his hand and ſeal, but alſo made over to them all the profits which ſhould ariſe from the voyage.

After they were thus impowered, they raiſed a joint ſtock of a thouſand pounds, and fitted out two ſmall veſſels, the one called the Speedwell, commanded by Captain Matthew Pringe, of the burthen of fifty tons, with thirty men and boys; the other a bark of twenty-ſix tons, called the Diſcoverer, commanded by Mr. William Brown, who had under him a mate, and eleven men and boys beſides. Theſe veſſels were victualed for eight months, and had a large cargo on board, conſiſting of all ſorts of goods that were thought proper for that country. They ſailed from King's Road, near Briſtol, on the 20th of March, 1683. Being hindered by contrary winds, they put into Milford Haven, where they continued till the 10th of April following, and then continued their voyage. The rout they took was by the Azores, and they arrived without any remarkable accident on the coaſt of North America, in the latitude of 43 degrees;

and, after having examined the coaſt, on which they found nothing for their purpoſe, they ſailed on ſouth-weſt in ſearch of that part of the country where Capt. Goſnold had been.

At length they found, in the latitude of 41 degrees and ſome few minutes, a very convenient bay, to which they gave the name of Whitſon's Bay, in honour of Mr. John Whitſon, who was then mayor of Briſtol. Here they landed, and cut a good quantity of ſaſſafras, and carried it on board; but, leſt they ſhould be ſurprized in the woods by the natives while they were at work, they erected a little fort or redoubt, wherein they left their effects, and four or five men to guard them, while the reſt were at work. The natives came and trafficked with the Engliſh, forty or fifty in a company, and ſometimes upwards of an hundred, who eat and drank, and were very merry with our adventurers; eſpecially when they obſerved a lad in their company playing upon a guitar, they would get round about him, and, taking hands, dance twenty or thirty in a ring, after the American manner.

Our ſeamen obſerved, that the natives were more afraid of two maſtiff-dogs they carried with them than of twenty men; and when they deſigned to get rid of their company, they let looſe one of theſe maſtiffs; whereupon the natives would ſhriek out, and run away to the woods. But it is probable this uſage, and the erecting a fortification in their country, made the Indians at length look upon the Engliſh as their enemies: for our adventurers inform us, that a party of Indians came and ſurrounded their fort a few days after, when moſt of them were abſent, and would probably have ſurprized it, if the captain of the ſhip had not fired two guns, and alarmed the workmen in the woods, who thereupon returned to the relief of the fort.

The Indians pretended indeed they had no hoſtile intentions, but our people never cared to truſt them afterwards: and the day before the Engliſh embarked, the natives came down again in great numbers, and ſet fire to the woods where they had cut the ſaſſafras; which, it is probable, was deſigned to let the Engliſh know they would preſerve nothing in their country which ſhould invite ſuch gueſts to viſit them again; for no doubt the great guns and fire-arms had rendered the Engliſh very terrible to them, as well as their dogs. The account theſe people gave of the country and the inhabitants was, as might very well be expected, much the ſame with what had been given before by Captain Goſnold, and thoſe who had ſailed with him into thoſe parts, and therefore we need not dwell upon the ſubject. Amongſt other curioſities they brought back with them, the moſt remarkable was, one of the boats uſed by the inhabitants, made of the bark of a birch tree, ſowed together with twigs, the ſeams covered with roſin or turpentine; and though it was ſeventeen feet long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine perſons, it did not weigh ſixty pounds. Theſe boats the inhabitants rowed, or rather paddled, with two wooden inſtruments like to our bakers' peels, by the help of which they went at a great rate. About the middle of June they had completed the freight of their bark, which they ſent home before them into England. After her departure, they made all the diſpatch they could in loading their own veſſel; for which they procured a very valuable cargo of ſkins and furs, in exchange for the commodities they carried. On the 9th of Auguſt they quitted the coaſt of Virginia, and ſailed for England, arriving in the mouth of the Channel in five weeks; but meeting there with contrary winds, they could not reach King's Road before the 2d of October; but they had the ſatisfaction of finding that their bark was ſafely arrived a fortnight before them.

There was another attempt made the ſame year, upon the ſame account, which, however, did not end ſo fortunately. This voyage was performed by the Elizabeth

of London, a bark of fifty tons, commanded by Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who had been the year before at Virginia with Captain Gofnold. They departed from Plymouth the 10th of May, and in their paſſage traded at St. Lucia, Dominica, and Mevis, at the latter of which they cut about twenty tons of lignum-vitæ. The third of July they ſet ſail from thence for the coaſt of Virginia, and particularly for Cheſapeak Bay, which Captain Gilbert was very deſirous of failing to, that he might make ſome enquiry after the people near thoſe parts. On the 25th they came near the mouth of that bay.

But the wind blowing hard, with a high ſea, though they beat about for two or three days, they could not make it, and were obliged to bear more to the eaſtward. The 29th, being not far from ſhore, the captain with four of his beſt men landed in their boat, and, being provided with arms, marched ſome way up the country; but in this march, being ſet upon and overpowered by the inhabitants, they were all killed; and it was not without difficulty that the boat, with two young men who were left in her, reached the ſhip again to bring the news. They, being now in all but eleven men and boys in the ſhip, were afraid to venture the loſs of any more of their ſmall company; and their proviſions growing ſhort, the maſter, Henry Sute, who had taken the command, reſolved, though they were in extreme want of wood and water, to return homewards, which they did, and arrived in the river of Thames about the end of September.

The peace being concluded with Spain, in 1604, removed ſeveral obſtacles that ſtood in the way of the Britiſh trade; and at the ſame time opened to our ſhips a free acceſs to many iſlands, countries and ports, to which they had not before reſorted; which occaſioned a great increaſe in our exportations, and gave much encouragement to ſuch as were employed in the different branches of the woollen manufacture. As the buſineſs of ſettling and planting on the northern continent of America, that too was laid open, by the attainder of Sir Walter Raleigh, which happened at the beginning of this reign, on account of a plot, which appeared very improbable then, and with reſpect to him eſpecially, very ridiculous ever ſince. The reports made by thoſe who were concerned in the three laſt voyages being very favourable to the country, and the profits made by them being very conſiderable, induced ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to think ſeriouſly of promoting theſe diſcoveries, inſomuch that ſome of the nobility reſolved to engage in an undertaking of this kind.

2. Accordingly Henry Wriotheſly earl of Southampton, and Thomas lord Arundel, of Wardour, reſolved to fit out a ſhip for this expedition. This veſſel was called the Archangel, and was commanded by Captain George Weymouth, an experienced and ſkilful ſeaman, who ſailed on the laſt day of March, 1605, from Dartmouth, and met with nothing of conſequence, till ſuch time as they judged themſelves to be very near the coaſt of Virginia; but the winds carrying them to the northward, in the latitude of forty-one degrees, thirty minutes, and their wood and water beginning to grow extremely ſhort, they grew very deſirous of ſeeing land. By their charts they had reaſon to expect it, and therefore bore directly in with it, according to their inſtructions, yet they found none in a run of almoſt fifty leagues. After much expectation, on the 16th of May, they obtained ſight of an iſland of no great conſequence, and very woody along the ſhore; but by the fruits they found, it appeared no barren nor deſpicable ſpot, more eſpecially as there were ſtreams of freſh water running down the cliffs in great plenty, vaſt numbers of fowls, and fiſh enough all along the ſhore. This iſland is now called Long Iſland, and it was upon the eaſtern parts of it they fell, to their great ſatisfaction. From hence they could diſcern a great many other iſlands, and the

main land ſtretching from the weſt-ſouth-weſt, to the eaſt-north-eaſt. Several of the iſlands adjoining to the continent they viſited, and found very full both of timber and fruit-trees, of ſeveral ſorts.

Among thoſe iſlands they met with a harbour, in which ſhips of any burthen might lie, defended from all winds, in ſix to ten fathom water, upon a tough clay ouze. This they called Pentecoſt Harbour, becauſe it was about Whitſuntide they diſcovered it. The fir-trees, which were in great numbers on theſe iſlands, yielded an exceeding ſweet turpentine; and the muſcles which they found about the rocks, afforded ſmall pearl in abundance, and ſome that were large and orient; and the ſhell of theſe pearls on the inſide reſembled mother-of-pearl; but they wanted proper tackle to dredge for them, and therefore could not take any conſiderable quantity. The natives from the continent came oft in their canoes to trade with them while they lay in this excellent harbour, their commerce being much the ſame as in former voyages, all ſorts of ſkins and furs in exchange for knives, beads, and ſuch like trifles: and ſo good chapmen were they at that time, that they would give the value of ten or twelve pounds in their goods, for five ſhillings-worth of Engliſh iron ware. We ſhall not enlarge on the manners, habits and cuſtoms, &c. of the natives, which were the ſame we have already ſeen. Their bows, arrows, and canoes, had nothing in them but what was common among other ſavages. Their tobacco-pipes were ſometimes made of clay, and ſometimes the claw of a lobſter only, but always of a capacity to hold as much as ten or twelve of ours.

They grew pretty familiar with thoſe people, but found, as others had done, that, amidſt all their ſpecious ſhows of friendſhip, they were very treacherous, and ſought every opportunity of betraying them. Of this they had one very evident proof; when thoſe ſavages, having invited them on ſhore to traffic, had very near drawn them into an ambuſh of near three hundred men, armed after their manner, with bows and arrows; but they diſcovered their treachery in time, and eſcaped the ſnare. But the moſt extraordinary diſcovery made in this voyage was that of a river, eſteemed by thoſe who found it the moſt beautiful in America. They went up it with their ſhips ſeveral leagues, and gave this account of it; that as it runs up the main, it keeps a good breadth for forty miles together, in moſt places a mile, in ſome three quarters, but never leſs than half a mile: it flows ſixteen or eighteen feet; at low water it is from ſix to ten fathom deep; it has abundance of harbours for ſhips of all burthens, and will ſecure them better from wind and weather than any known in Europe. On both ſides there are, at a ſmall diſtance one from another, many fine coves, ſome of them capable of containing more than an hundred ſail, where the ground is ſoft ouze, with a tough clay underneath for anchor-hold. Nature alſo has made ſeveral convenient places, like docks to grave and careen ſhips of all burthens, and ſecure them from all winds; the neighbouring land trends along on both ſides in a ſmooth line, and, inſtead of rocks and cliffs, is bordered with green graſs, and tall trees of different ſorts. After they had remained here about ſix weeks, and during all that time carried on a very profitable trade with the natives, they thought of returning to England; with which view they hoiſted ſail June the 16th, and arrived that day month in ſight of the Land's-end of England.

This proſperous voyage induced many perſons of high rank, and many more of great fortune, to deſire to ſee this new trade thoroughly eſtabliſhed, who applied to the crown for ſuch legal authorities as were neceſſary; which deſire of their's was very ſoon complied with, and two companies formed for ſettling this large tract of land, which for the preſent was divided into North and South Virginia, and were ſo

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ſtiled many years after. It was to this intent King James, by his letters patents dated the 10th of April, 1606, reciting that Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, knights, and Richard Hackluit, clerk, prebendary of Weſtminſter, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, eſquires, William Parker, and George Popham, gentlemen, and divers others his loving ſubjects, had petitioned him for leave to ſend colonies to Virginia, and ſuch other parts of America as either appertained to his crown, or which were not actually poſſeſſed by any other Chriſtian prince or people, and lying between thirty-four and forty-five degrees of northern latitude, and within an hundred miles of the ſea-coaſt: and for the ſpeedy accompliſhment of the ſaid plantation, intended to divide themſelves into two ſeveral companies, the one conſiſting of the adventurers of the city of London, who were deſirous to fix themſelves between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of north latitude; and the other conſiſting of the adventurers of the cities of Briſtol and Exeter, and the town of Plymouth, who were deſirous to ſettle between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees on the coaſt of Virginia in America. His Majeſty, in order to promote ſo noble a work, which might tend to the glory of God, by propagating the Chriſtian religion among the infidels and ſavages, and bring them to humanity and civility, did graciouſly accept their petition, and for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, did grant and agree, that the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, adventurers of the city of London, and all others that ſhould aſſociate with them, ſhould be called the firſt colony, and might begin their firſt plantation at any place upon the ſaid coaſt of Virginia, or America where they ſhould think fit, between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of latitude; and ſhould have all the lands, woods, rivers, ports, fiſhing, and hereditaments whatſoever to the ſame belonging and appertaining, from the firſt ſeat of their plantation, for fifty miles either way along the coaſt, north and ſouth, and an hundred miles to the weſtward, within land, with all the iſlands over againſt the ſaid coaſt for the ſpace of an hundred miles at ſea; with all the lands, ports, rivers, harbours, fiſhings, and mines thereunto belonging or appertaining; and liberty to plant, build and fortify therein; and that no other ſubjects of this crown ſhould be permitted to ſettle themſelves in the lands to the weſtward of this colony without their leave. And his Majeſty did grant to the aforeſaid Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, of the cities of Briſtol and Exeter, and the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, and all others that ſhould aſſociate with them, that they ſhould be called the ſecond colony, and might begin their firſt plantation upon the ſaid coaſt of Virginia, or America, where they ſhould think fit between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees of latitude; and enjoy all the lands, ports, rivers, fiſhings and hereditaments thereto belonging, with the like extent of land and ſea, from the ſeat of their plantation, as was granted to the firſt colony. And it was provided, that the ſaid reſpective colonies ſhould not plant within the ſpace of one hundred miles of each other; that each company ſhould have a council, conſiſting of thirteen perſons, in whom the government ſhould be lodged, but limited by certain articles under the privy ſeal; they were impowered alſo to dig mines in and beyond their reſpective limits to the weſtward, paying the crown a fifth of all gold, and a fifth of all copper ore they ſhould get; they were alſo impowered to ſeize all ſhips that ſhould trade within their reſpective limits; to coin money, raiſe forces for their defence, &c.

3. The patentees firſt named were commonly ſtiled the London Company, and thoſe

thoſe laſt named the Weſtern Company, who no ſooner received this authority from the crown, than they began in earneſt to provide for making effectual ſettlements within the bounds preſcribed by their reſpective grants. With this view the London Company fitted out three veſſels, one of an hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnace of twenty; on board of which they embarked an hundred and ten land-men, with every thing requiſite for ſettling a colony. The command of this ſmall ſquadron was given to Captain Chriſtopher Newport, an experienced ſeaman, well acquainted with the Weſt-India navigation; but to prevent any diſputes in the paſſage, the orders which regarded the government of the colony, and the names of the council who were to be intruſted with the adminiſtration of it when ſettled, were delivered to them in a box ſealed up, with directions not to be opened till they were on ſhore.

They ſailed from London on the 20th of December, 1606; but by ſeveral unlucky accidents, were, for ſeveral weeks, detained on the coaſt of England. At laſt they continued their voyage, and, having taken in freſh water and other neceſſaries, at the Canaries, proceeded to the Caribbee Iſlands, where they arrived on the 23d of February, and ſtaid amongſt them, but chiefly on the iſland of Nevis, about five weeks. On the 3d of April they ſailed for Virginia, and arrived on the 26th of the ſame month at the mouth of Cheſapeak-Bay. The firſt place on which they landed was the ſouthern cape of that bay, where they built a fort, which they called Cape and Fort-Henry, as they did the northern Cape-Charles, in honour of the two princes; and the firſt great river they ſearched, the Indian name of which was Powhatan, they called James River, after the King's own name.

Of this river they made a full ſearch, before they would come to any reſolution about a ſettlement, and then, by unanimous conſent, they pitched upon a peninſula about fifty miles up the river, which, beſides the goodneſs of the ſoil, was eſteemed moſt capable to be made a place both of trade and ſecurity, two-thirds of it invironed by the main river, which affords good anchorage all along, and the other third by a ſmall river, capable of receiving ſmall veſſels of one hundred tons burden quite up till it comes within thirty yards of the great river again, and where generally, in ſpring tides, it overflows into the main river; for which reaſon the land they choſe to pitch their town upon had obtained the name of an iſland. In this back river ſhips and ſmall veſſels may ride laſhed to one another, and moored aſhore, ſecure from all wind and weather. They gave the ſame name to the town as to the river, *viz.* James-Town. The whole iſland thus incloſed contained about two thouſand acres of high land, and many thouſand of very good marſh, and is extraordinary good paſture as any in that country. By means of the narrow paſſage, this place was of great ſecurity to them from the Indian enemy; and to ſtrengthen it the more they built caſtles and a fort there. This was the firſt plantation of the Engliſh that ſucceeded, and which has continued to this day.

As to the colony, the firſt buſineſs they entered upon, after they landed, was to open their orders, where they found the following gentlemen appointed of the council, *viz.* Bartholomew Goſnold, Edward Wingfield, Chriſtopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, of whom Wingfield was choſen preſident; but they thought fit to leave Captain Smith out of the council: for it ſeems the reſt of the gentlemen were ſo ſet againſt him, that they had confined him priſoner ever ſince they left England, which Purchas inſinuates was occaſioned by their envy at his ſuperior talents, and becauſe the company in England ſeemed to rely more upon his ſkill and experience than upon any of the reſt; and it appears that the planters

themſelves

themſelves were ſo convinced of his abilities afterwards, that they were obliged not only to admit him into their council, but in a manner reſign their adminiſtration into his hands, after they had by their perpetual jars and weak management, almoſt ruined the company's affairs. After about five or ſix weeks ſtay before this their intended new town, the ſhips being diſpatched, Captain Newport departed with them for England about the middle of June, leaving upwards of one hundred men ſettled in the form of government already mentioned; but when the ſhips were gone, the ſame feuds and diſorders broke out again with freſh violence.

In the midſt of theſe feuds, however, they fell to planting, ſowing, building, and fortifying; but, above all they carried on a very advantageous trade with the natives. They might nevertheleſs have made much greater gains of it, and managed it more to the ſatisfaction of the Indians, as well as to the great eaſe and ſecurity of themſelves, if they had been under any rule, or ſubject to any method in trade, and not at liberty to outbid one another. By this means they not only leſſened their own profit, but created jealouſies and diſturbances among the Indians, by letting one have a better bargain than another; for they being unaccuſtomed to barter, ſuch of them as had been hardeſt dealt by in their commodities thought themſelves cheated and abuſed. Thence they conceived a grudge againſt the Engliſh in general, and made it a national quarrel, which ſeems to have been the original cauſe of moſt of their ſubſequent misfortunes from the Indians. Theſe Indians proved much the ſame as they had been found to be in other places, fair and friendly at firſt, but treacherous and deceitful in the ſequel. However, it was chiefly by the help of their proviſions that the Engliſh ſubſiſted till the return of their ſhips.

The next year two veſſels were ſent thither full freighted with men and proviſions for the ſupply of the plantation: one of them arrived directly; but the other, being beat off to the Caribbee Iſlands, did not arrive till the former was ſailed back for England. But what gave the greateſt interruption to their trade was, an object which drew their eyes and thoughts entirely, not only from that, but even from taking the neceſſary care for their preſervation, and for the ſupport of their lives, which was this: they found, in a neck of land on the back of James-town iſland, a freſh ſtream of water, ſpringing from a ſmall bank, which waſhed down, with a yellow ſort of duſt iſing-glaſs, which, being cleanſed by the freſh ſtreaming of the water, lay ſhining at the bottom, and ſtirred up in them an unreaſonable deſire after riches; for they, taking all to be gold that glittered, ran into the utmoſt diſtraction, neglecting both the neceſſary defence of their lives from the Indians, and the ſupport of their bodies by ſecuring proviſions, abſolutely relying upon the power of gold, and thinking that, where this was plenty, nothing could be wanting. Nay, they began to be ſo infatuated with the hopes of mountains of wealth, that they deſpiſed the mines of Peru and Mexico, in compariſon of their own ineſtimable ſtream.

They ſoon, however, grew ſenſible of their error, and found that if this gilded dirt had been really gold, it could then have been of no advantage, for, by their negligence they were reduced to an exceeding ſcarcity of proviſions, and that little they had was loſt by the burning of their town, while all hands were employed about this imaginary golden treaſure; ſo that they were obliged to live, for ſome time, upon the wild fruits of the earth, and upon crabs and muſcles, and ſuch like, not having a day's proviſion beforehand. By this neglect, likewiſe, they, many of them, became a prey to the cruelty of the Indians, and the reſt durſt not venture abroad, and ſo were forced to be content with what they could get. In this miſerable condition they were, when the firſt of the two ſhips arrived from England to their

their aſſiſtance. They neither thought or ſpoke of any thing but gold; and therefore they put into this ſhip all the yellow dirt they had gathered, and what ſkins and furs they had bartered for, and filling her up with cedar, ſent her away. When the other ſhip arrived, they ſtowed her likewiſe with this imaginary gold duſt, and filled her up with cedar and clapboard.

But being at length perſuaded that they might apply themſelves to other labours as profitable, as well as more neceſſary than collecting yellow ſand, which, ſuppoſing it valuable, would be always in their power, if they took care to fortify themſelves effectually, they began to beſtir themſelves for that purpoſe, and by the good management and direction of Captain Smith, they made ſeveral diſcoveries in James-river, and up Cheſapeak-bay; and in the year 1608, they firſt gathered Indian corn of their own planting. While Captain Smith was out on his expedition among the ſavages, he was treacherouſly fallen upon by three hundred of the Indians, under the command of one of their kings, called Pamaunkee, who put all his men to death, and taking him priſoner, carried him to Powhatan, their chief king, who would have put him to death had he not been ſaved at the interceſſion of Powhatan's daughter, Pacahunta.

Being releaſed, he returned to James-town, where Mr. Ratcliff reſigning his preſidentſhip, he was unanimouſly deſired to accept of that office. While theſe diſcoveries were making by Captain Smith, matters run again into confuſion in James-town; and ſeveral uneaſy people, taking advantage in his abſence, attempted to deſert the ſettlement, and to run away with the ſmall veſſel which was left to attend it; for Captain Smith was the only man among them who could manage diſcoveries with ſucceſs, or who could keep the ſettlement in any order. Nevertheleſs, amidſt all theſe inconveniencies which they brought upon themſelves, the plantation being increaſed to near five hundred men, they made two other ſettlements, one at Nanſamond in James-river, above thirty miles below James-town; and the other at Powhatan, ſix miles below the falls of James-river; which laſt was bought of Powhatan for a certain quantity of copper, each ſettlement conſiſting of one hundred and twenty men; and ſoon after they made a fourth ſettlement at Kiguotan, near the mouth of James-river. Captain Smith obſerved that two-thirds of the adventurers came over with a view of having every thing provided to their hands, without any care or labour of their own, and were ſubſiſted by the labours of the other induſtrious third, until he compelled them all to take ſhare in the work; and then he ſoon planted ground enough to ſubſiſt the colony in plenty, and, by moderate exerciſe and good food, ſaw them not only reſtored to their healths, but in a very flouriſhing condition; and as there was now no longer neceſſity of procuring food from the Indians by violence, they lived and trafficked very amicably together, and Powhatan ſuffered him to make ſeveral other ſettlements in the country.

When their affairs were in this proſperous ſituation there arrived ſix or ſeven ſhips from England, with between three and four hundred planters, and ſuch ample ſupplies of ammunition and proviſion, as would have enabled the colony to have made an entire conqueſt of Virginia, or at leaſt to have procured what terms they ſaw fit of the Indians, if they had been under any command; but as things were managed, this ſupply only brought the colony into confuſion. Upon report of which, the company in England, imagining the diviſions among the council in Virginia, in whom the government there was lodged, were the occaſion of moſt of the miſmanagements that had happened, procured a new patent from King James, whereby they were empowered to appoint a governor with a more ample authority than

they had by the preceding patent; and prevailed on the Lord de la War to accept of the government of their new colony; who thereupon made Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and Captain Newport, his deputies, until his arrival; and theſe gentlemen ſet ſail from England with nine ſhips and five hundred men, in the month of May 1609.

All the three deputy-governors, being embarked in one ſhip, were unfortunately caſt away on the iſlands of Bermudas, being then uninhabited, but they and all the people eſcaped to the ſhore; where, finding plenty of proviſions, they took poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands for the crown of England, and from Sir George Summers they have been ever ſince called the Summer Iſlands. In the mean time the reſt of their fleet arrived ſafe in the bay of Cheſapeak, with the reinforcement above mentioned; where they found Captain Smith preſident; but both old and new planters gave out they were not obliged to obey him, for there was another commiſſion granted which had ſuperſeded his, and they expected the arrival of the deputy-governors every day.

But notwithſtanding theſe jars, Captain Smith made a ſhift to keep them in ſome order while he remained among them, for otherwiſe the colony had been deſerted over and over; but as this gentleman was extremely active, and almoſt continually employed in ſome ſervice or other, he had the misfortune to be blown up by accident; which, though it did not coſt him his life, yet he was ſo wounded and maimed thereby, that it was found abſolutely neceſſary for him to return to England with the veſſels that ſailed not long after; a thing happy for himſelf, but extremely diſadvantageous for the ſettlement; ſince he was no ſooner on ſhip-board than every man took upon him to do what ſeemed right in his own eyes, which had deſperate conſequences, ſo that thoſe who had given him moſt trouble while he was amongſt them, deeply regretted the loſs of him; and yet this ſenſe of their own bad behaviour did not at all incline them to amendment, or to the ſetting up any other perſon with ſuch powers as might enable him to do what Captain Smith had done.

On the contrary, they emptied their magazines, and lived in the greateſt profuſion, till that brought on want; and then they rambled without order, and under no command through the country; taking proviſions by force from the natives, who failed not to employ all their cunning, of which they had enough, to deſtroy and cut them off; ſo that when the deputy-governors arrived, in two ſloops which they had built in Bermudas, they found them in a moſt deplorable condition; war, ſickneſs, and famine, having reduced them from upwards of four hundred, to fewer than four ſcore, and theſe too uneaſy and diſcontented. Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, took all the pains they could to quiet theſe uneaſineſſes, and to bring things once more into order; but it was all in vain; and the people ſhewing their empty warehouſes, their ruined ſettlements, and the number of ſick amongſt them, induced thoſe gentlemen to conſent to their embarking for England, as the only means of ſaving thoſe who were left; which they accordingly did, to the great joy, no doubt, of the Indians.

But juſt as they were ſailing out of the bay of Cheſapeak, they met with their new governor, who obliged them to return to James-town, to repair their habitations and forts there, and to diſpoſe every thing for maintaining the ſettlement. This worthy governor was the Right Honourable Thomas Weſt, Lord de la War, of an ancient, as well as noble, family; in which prudence ſeems to have been hereditary as well as title. He was endued with the virtues moſt requiſite for his ſtation

as governor of an infant colony; for, with great mildneſs and humanity, he had the warmeſt courage and the greateſt firmneſs of mind, and was equally capable of perſuading by words, animating by example, and awing by the juſt uſe of his authority. He accepted of this commiſſion from the company with a view of putting an end to theſe diſtractions, which had hitherto diſappointed all their expectations, and defeated all their endeavours, and which they juſtly attributed to the want of having there ſome perſon in ſupreme authority; who might be able to direct the induſtrious, encourage the deſerving, and puniſh the factious and diſobedient.

As ſoon therefore as theſe old, or rather new planters, were once on ſhore again, his Lordſhip, in a free and plain diſcourſe, ſet before them the folly and madneſs of their proceedings, reproving them for their diviſions, idleneſs, and ill conduct, which had occaſioned their misfortunes, adviſing them to reform, or he ſhould be compelled to draw the ſword of juſtice, and cut off the delinquents; declaring, however, he had much rather draw his own ſword in their defence; and telling them for their encouragement, that he had brought them ſuch plenty of proviſions, that they would be in no danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themſelves, in providing ſuch things as the country produced; then he proceeded to conſtitute a council, conſiſting of Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant-general; Sir George Summers, his admiral; the Honourable George Piercy, one of his captains; Sir Ferdinand Wenman his maſter of the ordnance; and Chriſtopher Newport his admiral: theſe, and the reſt of his officers, having taken the oaths to the government, and entered on their ſeveral employments, his next care was, to furniſh his people with fleſh; for notwithſtanding there were not leſs than five or ſix hundred hogs in the plantation when Captain Smith went to England, there was not one left alive at this time; they had either been eat by the colony, or deſtroyed by the Indians, who, to diſtreſs them, had driven all the deer, and other game, out of the country; and the Engliſh were ſo ill provided with nets, that though there was plenty of fiſh in the rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The company had ſent over a ſupply of cloathing, biſcuit, flour, beer, and other liquors; but taking it for granted, that they had hogs, veniſon, fowl, and fiſh enough in the country, had made no proviſion of fleſh; whereupon Sir George Summers the admiral, was diſpatched to Bermudas, to bring over live hogs from thence, for of thoſe Sir George found plenty in that iſland when he was caſt away there, though there were no people upon it. The governor alſo ſet ſome to fiſhing within the bay, and others without, where there were ſhoals of cod-fiſh; but their nets and tackle were ſo defective, that they could not catch any. Hereupon he endeavoured to ſettle a correſpondence with Powhatan and other Indian princes, that he might purchaſe fleſh of them for Engliſh goods; and in ſome of theſe negotiations he ſucceeded, particularly with the king of Patowmack, one of the moſt potent of the Indian princes; but notwithſtanding he repreſented to Powhatan that he had already promiſed to acknowledge the King of England for his ſovereign, accepted of a crown and ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty from him, with preſents of great value; this prince would give him no other anſwer, but, that he expected the Engliſh ſhould depart his country, or confine themſelves within the limits of James-town iſland, and not range through every part of the country, as they continued to do, only with a view of ſubduing it, as he apprehended; threatening to iſſue his orders to cut them off and deſtroy them, if ever they were found without the limits he preſcribed them; and commanded the meſſengers his Lordſhip ſent to him, not to ſee his face again unleſs they brought

him a coach and ſix horſes; for in theſe, he had been informed by ſome Indians who had been in England, their great Weroances were drawn.

The Lord de la War finding he was to expect no friendſhip from Powhatan, determined he ſhould fear him: having taken an Indian priſoner, therefore, he cut off his right hand, and ſent him to his maſter Powhatan, letting him know, that he would ſend all his ſubjects in that manner, and burn all the corn in his country (which was ripe at this time) if he did not forbear all acts of hoſtility for the future; which had ſo good an effect, that the colony lived in peace and plenty for ſome time, every day making freſh diſcoveries, and forming new alliances with ſome Indian princes.

And thus the company's affairs being happily eſtabliſhed again by the conduct of Lord de la War, Sir Thomas Gates was ſent to England, to give an account of the ſtate of the colony; the ſhips being freighted home with cedar, black wallnut, and iron ore; which returns appeared ſo inconſiderable, that the company were in ſuſpence whether they ſhould not ſend for the Lord de la War and the colony home. However they firſt deſired Sir Thomas Gates's opinion upon it; who told them that theſe were not the only returns they were to expect; that if they would ſend over men who underſtood how to make pitch and tar, and plant hemp and flax, they might furniſh England with all manner of naval ſtores; and that it would be very eaſy alſo to ſet up a manufacture of ſilk, the country abounding in mulberry trees, as well as ſilk-graſs; that the ſoil was exceeding fruitful, producing corn, graſs, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; that European cattle and corn multiplied prodigiouſly; and that there was great plenty of veniſon, fiſh and fowl, which they would never want when they could be provided with boats, nets, and engines to take them. The company need then to be at very little charge to ſupport the colony; on the contrary, they would in a ſhort time meet with returns anſwerable to their expectations. Whereupon the patentees reſolved to proceed with alacrity to improve their Virginia plantation, in which reſolution they were confirmed by the Lord de la War, who returned to England about this time (1610) for the recovery of his health.

He left behind him the honourable Mr. Piercy, as his deputy; and while he reſided in England, took as much care of this plantation as if it had been his paternal eſtate; and was no leſs ſolicitous about the welfare of its inhabitants than if they had been his neareſt relations: to ſay the truth, it was to the wiſdom and foreſight of this worthy Lord that this nation owes the preſerving ſo great and ſo beneficial an acquiſition; as it was to his courage and ſteadineſs they were indebted for the plantation itſelf. In ſhort, he ſpent the whole remainder of his life, which was about eight years, in the ſervice of the company and the colony, and actually died in his voyage back to Virginia in 1618, with a great ſupply of people, cloathing and goods, for that ſettlement, which however, arrived ſafe. As I have now given an account of the ſettling this country, I have executed all that falls within the compaſs of my deſign; but, as I apprehend that it may be both entertaining to the reader, and better anſwer the deſign of this collection, I ſhall juſt run over a few of the principal facts relating to the hiſtory of this province, and then give a ſhort deſcription of it as it ſtands at preſent; in order to ſhew what advantages have accrued to the nation from an eſtabliſhment which it coſt ſo much labour and pains to effect; and the ſame method I ſhall take in regard to other plantations, as moſt earneſtly deſiring to render this work as agreeable, as uſeful; and as perfect, as it is in my power to make it.

While Lord de la War was in England the colony was governed by his deputies, who applying themſelves to bring about a peaceable correſpondence with the natives,

advanced it at laſt ſo far, that ſeveral intermarriages took place, and amongſt theſe the Indian princeſs Pachahunta eſpouſed Mr. John Rolf, an Engliſh gentleman, whoſe poſterity enjoy, at this day, the lands deſcended to them from this lady. In the year 1616 one Captain Yardly was at the head of affairs; and the reaſon I take notice particularly of his adminiſtration is, becauſe under it they firſt began to cultivate tobacco, which is ſince become the ſtaple commodity of the colony. He was ſucceeded by Captain Argoll, afterwards Sir Samuel Argoll; who was a man of a military turn, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention frequently hereafter: he repaired the forts that had run to ruin, and put the colony into ſuch a ſtate of defence, that there was no great danger of any attempts that could be made againſt them by the Indians.

After the death of Lord de la War, Captain Yardly, who was likewiſe in England, and who, being knighted by King James, had the title of Sir George Yardly, was ſent over with the title of Governor; and a very good governor he proved, for to him the people owed their being made as free as their countrymen in this iſland, ſince he augmented the number of the council, and allowed the planters to ſend their repreſentatives to the aſſembly, the firſt of which ſat at James-town, in May 1620. In his time negroes were firſt brought into Virginia, the lands divided, ſalt-works erected at Cape Charles, and an iron mine wrought with good effect. He was ſucceeded, in 1621, by Sir Francis Wyat, a young gentleman of a very good diſpoſition, who endeavoured all he could to promote the welfare of the colony, yet in his time it was that this ſettlement ran a very great hazard of being totally deſtroyed; for the Indians who had lived amongſt them now for ſeven or eight years with great freedom and familiarity, formed a deſign of extirpating them entirely, on account of one of their war-captains being killed, though he had committed murder and robbery, and died in defending himſelf from falling into the hands of juſtice. The method they took to revenge this was, by a general maſſacre, which they fixed for Friday the 22d of March, 1622, and, in all probability, it had effectually anſwered their end if it had not been diſcovered by a converted Indian, the very day on which it was to have taken place; ſo that the advanced plantations could not receive intelligence time enough, which gave the natives an opportunity of cutting off three hundred and thirty-four perſons. The Engliſh revenged this in a manner very unbecoming them, ſince, pretending to be reconciled to the Indians, and thereby gaining their confidence, they maſſacred likewiſe in their turn, and purſued their firſt blow ſo effectually as to drive moſt of theſe poor people to ſeek for new habitations.

But it was not long before the Engliſh gave them an opportunity of ſatisfying that vice which is deepeſt rooted in their nation, I mean revenge; for dividing amongſt themſelves, and falling into factions and parties; and, at the ſame time, running out new ſettlements, the Indians fell upon them again, and cut them off in great numbers. As this misfortune was chiefly owing to the imprudent grants made in England, it occaſioned loud complaints; and the fatal conſequences of the company's mal-adminiſtration cried ſo loud, that King Charles I. coming to the crown of England, expreſſed a tender concern for the poor people that had been betrayed thither, and loſt; upon which conſideration he diſſolved the company in the year 1626, reducing the country and government under his own immediate direction, appointing the governor and council himſelf, and ordering all patents and proceſs to iſſue in his own name, reſerving to himſelf a quit-rent of two ſhillings for every hundred acres of land, and ſo *pro rata*. The country being thus taken into the King's hands, his Majeſty was pleaſed to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution by a governor, council, and aſſembly,

and

and to confirm the former methods and juriſdictions of ſeveral courts, as they had been appointed in the year 1620, and placed the laſt reſort in the aſſembly; he likewiſe confirmed the rules and orders made by the firſt aſſembly, for apportioning of land, and granting patents to particular adventurers.

This was a conſtitution according to their hearts' deſire, and things ſeemed now to go on in a happy courſe, for encouragement of the colony; people flocked thither apace, every one took up land, by patent, to his liking; and, not minding any thing but to be maſters of great tracts of land, they ſettled themſelves ſeparately on their ſeveral plantations. Nor did they fear the Indians, but kept them at a greater diſtance than formerly; and they, for their parts, ſeeing the Engliſh ſo ſenſibly increaſe in number, were glad to keep their diſtance, and be peaceable. This liberty of taking up land, and the ambition each man had of being lord of a vaſt, though unimproved territory, together with the advantage of the many rivers, which afforded a commodious road for ſhipping at every man's door, has made the country fall into ſuch an unhappy ſettlement and courſe of trade, that, to this day, they have not any one place of cohabitation among them that may reaſonably bear the name of a town. The next governor, after the ſettling of this new conſtitution, was Sir John Harvey, who proved of a ſpirit very improper for ſuch an employment, ſince he began early to differ with his council; and ſoon after oppreſſed the people to ſuch a degree, that they were reſolved to be rid of him, at all events; and accordingly in 1639 they ſeized him, and ſent him home priſoner, with a long charge againſt him, accompanied by two of the council, appointed to manage the proſecution againſt him. But as ſoon as he came to London, the King, who highly reſented this outrage on his prerogative, ſent Sir John back again, with the ſame authority as before; but the very next year removed that oppreſſive governor, and appointed Sir William Berkley to ſucceed him.

This gentleman held the government longer than all his predeceſſors put together, and deſerved it; he was, in all reſpects, an excellent governor; ſo careful of the colony, and ſo kind to the people, that he preſerved loyalty in Virginia long after it was loſt at home; nor did he ſubmit to the Rump, till he was forced to it; and then withdrew to his own plantation, where he lived as a private perſon, and would have no concern in public affairs at all; but he was ſtill reſpected by the inhabitants for the great things he had performed. He had purſued the war with the Indians till he had reduced them ſo low as to be no longer troubleſome, after having made their Emperor priſoner; he encouraged the making of pot-aſhes, ſoap, ſalt; planting of flax, hemp, and cotton; and the manufacture of ſilk, which he brought to great perfection. After he retired from the government there were three perſons ſent from England, who ruled one after another ſeven years; the firſt of them was Colonel Diggs, who acted under the parliament's authority; then Mr. Bennet was ſent over by Oliver; and afterwards one Mr. Matthews, who died governor; and, upon this accident, the people of Virginia deſired Sir William Berkley to reſume the adminiſtration of affairs. He had a commiſſion from King Charles II. then in exile; but he abſolutely refuſed to act, unleſs the people would acknowledge his maſter, to which they very readily conſented, which will appear the leſs ſurprizing, when it is conſidered, that abundance of gentlemen, who had been ruined in the ſupport of the royal cauſe, had retired into this colony from England.

In conſequence therefore, of this reſolution, King Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia, before he was acknowledged in any of his three kingdoms; but it happened very luckily for Sir William that his maſter was ſoon after reſtored; and as a mark of his affection for the province, he wore at his coronation a robe of ſilk, ſent from Virginia.

ginia. Soon after Sir William went over to compliment the King upon his return, and left Colonel Francis Morrifon, his deputy; who behaved, in his abfence, to the general fatisfaction of the plantation. He ordered the laws to be revifed and collected into a body, to be laid before the aſſembly, at their next ſeſſion. He took the ſame care of the church as he did of the ſtate; he regulated the pariſhes, ſettled the miniſters' allowance, got a revenue for the ſupport of the government, and other laws for the encouragement of the linnen and woollen manufactures, the breeding of ſilk-worms, tanning, and ſalt-works.

Whilſt the deputy-governor was ſo buſy for the ſervice of the colony, Sir William Berkley was in England, taking his inſtructions from the King for his future conduct. His Majeſty ordered him to promote huſbandry, manufactures, ſilk and vineyards, that all ſhips trading to Virginia ſhould go to James-town, and be entered at the cuſtom-houſe there before they broke bulk; which orders were given, with an intent, that by them the people might be tempted to come thither, and dwell there for the conveniency of trade; and had they been obeyed it might have increaſed the number of buildings in that city, which is now much leſs than it was fourſcore years ago; every body coveting to live at his plantation, and ſettle where he thinks he ſhall have the beſt crops and conveniency of ſhipping. This is the reaſon that there are ſo few towns in Virginia, and thoſe that are there ſo very ſmall. Sir William, being fully inſtructed by the King how to proceed on his return to his government, ſet ſail from England to Virginia, where he arrived in the year 1662, and immediately put the people upon improving their plantations, and advancing manufactures. He ſummoned an aſſembly, and got an act paſſed for building James-town; each county was to build ſo many houſes, and ſome actually built their quota; which, notwithſtanding the act, were converted into taverns and eating-houſes, and the town was very little the bigger for them. Sir William Berkley, at his return, gave a ſanction to the new body of laws, and took all the care he could to carry them into execution, which was all that he could do, or that indeed could be expected from him. And, as we are now come down in the hiſtory of this colony as low as this period will permit, we are next to give a ſuccinct account of the nature and condition of this plantation, that it may appear how well it deſerves the pains that have been taken about it, and how amply it rewards this nation for all the care and expence beſtowed in planting of it, which will alſo acquit us of all the promiſes made to the reader upon this ſubject.

5. The ſituation of Virginia is remarkably happy and convenient, having the river Potowmac upon the north-eaſt, the Atlantic Ocean on the eaſt, the province of Carolina on the ſouth, and the Apalachian Mountains on the weſt, which ſeparate it from Florida. It lies from 36 to 39 degrees north latitude, and between 74 and 80 degrees of weſtern longitude; it extends about 240 miles in length from north to ſouth, and may be in breadth 120 miles from eaſt to weſt. As to the air of this country it depends very much on the winds. The north and north-weſt are either very ſharp and piercing, or boiſterous and ſtormy, the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth being hazy and ſultry. The winter is dry and clear, which makes it very pleaſant; ſnow falls in great quantities, but it ſeldom lies above a day or two, and their froſts though quick and ſharp, yet ſeldom laſt long. Their ſpring is ſomewhat earlier than ours; in April they have frequent rains; May and June are very pleaſant months, the heat being greatly tempered by cooling breezes; July and Auguſt are ſultry hot, the air growing in a manner ſtagnant, which produces dreadful thunderings and lightning; in September the weather breaks, and there fall prodigious ſhowers of rain, at which ſeaſon it is that the inhabitants

habitants are moſt ſickly. It ought, however, to be obſerved, that in this, and indeed in all our colonies, the climate grows daily better, and theſe thunder ſeaſons leſs violent, which the inhabitants very juſtly aſcribe to the clearing the country, and cutting down the woods, which gives the air a freer paſſage, and is attended with many other conveniences.

As to the ſoil it is generally low towards the ſea coaſts, and for one hundred miles up into the country there is hardly a hill or ſtone to be met with, except that here and there ſome rocks of iron ore appear above the ground, and ſome banks of a kind of petrified oyſter-ſhells, that are of a prodigious thickneſs; the whole country before it was planted was either foreſt or moraſs, which in the Weſt Indies they call ſwamps. The bay of Cheſapeak runs directly up the country, almoſt due north, for three hundred miles; at the entrance it is eſteemed about twenty-one miles broad, or ſomething more; and it continues navigable as long as it waſhes the coaſt of Virginia, and much farther. Into the weſt-ſide of this bay fall four great rivers, which riſe in the Apalachian Mountains, all of them running from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt: the moſt ſoutherly of theſe is James-river, the Indian name whereof was Powhatan, being generally about two miles over, and navigable, at leaſt, fourſcore miles. York-river, whoſe Indian name was Pamaunkee, is a little to the northward of James-river, and in ſome places they approach one another ſo near, that they are not five miles aſunder. To the northward of York-river is the river Raphanack, which in ſome places is not ten miles diſtant from York-river, and either of them as broad or broader than James-river. North of Raphanack is the great river of Patowmack, which in ſome places is not above ſeven miles diſtant from Raphanack-river, and in other places upwards of fifty. This river of Patowmack is navigable above two hundred miles, being nine miles broad in ſome places, but generally about ſeven. The mouth of the river Patowmack, and that of James-river, are about one hundred miles aſunder; but the heads of all the four rivers riſe in the ſame hills, pretty near each other. There are great plenty of ſprings in all parts of the country, but the water is ſomewhat harſher than in England.

As to animals, there were neither horſes, cows, ſheep, or ſwine, before the coming of the Engliſh, but they have now plenty of them all; and their horſes are very ſerviceable, and travel at a great rate. They have likewiſe elks, but not common; red-deer in great plenty; hares, ſquirrels of ſeveral kinds, muſk-rats, rackoons, wild cats, beavers, wolves, foxes, and ſeveral ſorts of dogs. As for reptiles, they have lizards, ſeveral kinds of ſnakes, particularly the rattle-ſnake, of which an account will be given hereafter. As to birds, they have eagles of three ſorts: the firſt is the grey eagle, about the ſize of a kite; the ſecond, the bald eagle, ſo called becauſe the upper part of the neck and head is covered with a ſort of white down; the third, a black eagle, reſembling thoſe in England, very ravenous, and which do a great deal of miſchief; moſt ſorts of hawks, two kind of owls, both very large; and the white owl, very beautiful, all the feathers of her back and breaſt being bright as ſilver, except a black ſpot immediately below the throat. They have a large bird of prey, which they call a buſtard, but it is rather a kind of kite; they have wild turkeys very large, ſome of them weighing forty pounds; their partridges are ſmaller than ours, but to the full as well taſted; they have a bird called the mocking-bird, of two ſorts, grey and red, eſteemed the fineſt ſinging bird in the world; it receives its name from imitating the notes of all other kind of birds it hears: the humming-bird with a long bill and very fine feathers. As to water-fowl they have of all ſorts, ſuch as herns, bitterns, curlews, wild ſwans, geeſe, ducks, teal, wigeons, cormorants, and gulls.

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As for fiſh, no country in the world has greater plenty: in February, March, April, and May, there are ſhoals of herrings come up into their very brooks, ſome of the ſize of ours, but for the moſt part much bigger. There are alſo plenty of cod-fiſh and ſting-graſs; which laſt is ſaid to be peculiar to this country, being ſo called from having a ſting in its tail; it is eſteemed good food. In their rivers there are the old wife, the ſheep's-head, an excellent fiſh; trouts, green-fiſh, ſturgeons in great plenty; plaice, flounders, whitings, carp, pikes, mullets, and perch. And for ſhell-fiſh they have oyſters, crabs, cockles, and ſhrimps. Of thoſe that are not eaten, they have in their ſeas, whale, dog-fiſh, ſharks, porpoiſes, gar-fiſh, and ſword-fiſh: there is alſo a fiſh they call the toad-fiſh, from his ſwelling monſtrouſly when taken out of the water; and the rock-fiſh, ſome ſpecies whereof are poiſonous, and have been fatal to thoſe that have eaten them; though others, which are not eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from the former, are very wholeſome food; the ſkip-jack, ſo called from his ſkipping out of the water, is tolerable good food; and ſo is the tobacco-pipe-fiſh, ſo called from its being long and ſlender like a tobacco pipe. They have many inſects, ſuch as muſkitoes, bugs, ſeed-ticks, red-worms, which lie only on old trees and rotten logs; on which if a man ſits down in the midſt of ſummer, he is ſure to catch them, but they are eaſily got off with warm water. We may add to theſe the worm that eats plank, which has a kind of horn or ſcrew in its head, with which it forces a paſſage through any wood to which it ſticks; and as we have heard much of theſe worms, and perhaps not a little concerning them that is wide of the truth, it may not be amiſs to give an account of them, from a gentleman who reſided long in Virginia, and made very exact obſervations. In the month of June, annually, there riſe up in the ſalts vaſt beds of ſeedling worms, which enter the ſhips, ſloops, or boats, wherever they find the coat of pitch, tar, or lime worn off the timber, and by degrees eat the plank into cells, like thoſe of an honey-comb. Theſe worms continue thus upon the ſurface of the water, from their riſe in June, until the firſt great rains after the middle of July; but after that do no freſh damage till the next ſummer ſeaſon, and never penetrate farther than the plank or timber they firſt fix upon.

The damage occaſioned by theſe worms may be four ſeveral ways avoided; 1ſt, By keeping the coat (of pitch, lime, and tallow, or whatever elſe it is) whole upon the bottom of the ſhip or veſſel; for theſe worms never faſten or enter but where the timber is naked. 2dly, By anchoring the large veſſels in the ſtrength of the tide, during the worm ſeaſon, and hauling the ſmaller aſhore; for in the current of a ſtrong tide the worms cannot faſten. 3dly, By burning and cleaning immediately after the worm ſeaſon is over, for then they are but juſt ſtuck into the plank, and have not buried themſelves in it; ſo that the leaſt fire in the world deſtroys them entirely, and prevents all damage that would otherwiſe enſue from them. 4thly, By running up into the freſhes with a ſhip or veſſel, during the five or ſix weeks that the worm is thus above water; for they never enter, or do any damage in freſh water, or where it is not very ſalt.

We come now to ſpeak of what is produced by their ſoil. And firſt with reſpect to trees; of which we may affirm, few countries are better ſtocked, or afford greater variety. As to timber, they have oaks, cedars, firs, cypreſs, elm, aſh, and wallnut; ſome of their oaks meaſure two feet ſquare, and ſixty feet in height. They have alſo beach, poplar, hazel, &c. beſides ſaſſafras, ſarſaparilla, and many other ſweet woods, and ſuch as are uſed in dying. Their fruits are, grapes of ſeveral kinds, cherries of various ſorts, plumbs from the bigneſs of a damſon to that of a pear;

peaches in ſuch plenty that in ſome places they feed their hogs with them; quinces in abundance, and apples and pears in as great plenty as can be wiſhed. Their corn is of two ſorts, Engliſh wheat, barley, oats, rye, which all thrive very well, and yield from fifteen to thirty fold increaſe; and maize or Indian corn, which is not unlike our peaſe in taſte, but grows in a great ear or head as big as the handle of a large horſe-whip, having from three hundred to ſeven hundred grains in one ear, and ſometimes one grain produces two or three ſuch ears or heads; it is of various colours, red, white, yellow, blue, green and black, and ſome ſpeckled and ſtriped, but the white and yellow are moſt common; the ſtalk is as thick as an ordinary walking cane, and grows ſix or eight feet high, in joints, having a ſweet juice in it, of which a ſyrup is ſometimes made, and from every joint there grow long leaves in the ſhape of ſedge leaves: The manner of planting is in holes or trenches, about five or ſix feet diſtance from each other; the earth is opened with a hoe (and of late years, with a plough), four inches deep, and four or five grains thrown into each hole, or trench, about a ſpan diſtant from each other, and then covered with earth: they keep it weeding from time to time, and as the ſtalk grows high they keep the mould about it like the hillocks in a hop-garden: they begin to plant in April, but the chief plantation is in May, and they continue to plant till the middle of June: what is planted in April is reaped in Auguſt; what is planted in May is reaped in September; and the laſt in October.

But as the great produce of this country is tobacco, and as that of Virginia is looked upon as the beſt in the world, it is but juſt that we ſhould give a more particular account of it. It is certain that the country produced vaſt quantities of it before any Europeans went thither, and that the uſe of it was taught them by the natives; but in what manner they cultivated it, or how they cured it, is now no longer known, ſince at preſent they buy what they conſume from the Engliſh, and therefore it is of their manner of managing this plant that we ſhall ſpeak. The tobacco ſeeds are firſt ſown in beds, where having remained a month, the plants are tranſplanted into the little hillocks, like thoſe in our hop-gardens, the firſt rainy weather; and being grown a foot high there, within the ſpace of another month they top them, and prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only ſeven or eight on the ſtalk, that they may be the better fed; and theſe leaves, in ſix weeks time, will be in their full growth; the planters prune off the ſuckers, and clean them of the horn-worm twice a week, which is called worming and ſuckering; and this work laſts three weeks or a month, by which time the leaf from green begins to turn browniſh, and to ſpot and thicken; which is a ſign of its ripening; as faſt as the plants ripen, they cut them down, heap them up, and let them lie and ſweat a night, and the next day they carry them to the tobacco-houſe, where every plant is hung up at a convenient diſtance one from another, for about a month or five weeks; at the end of which time they ſtrike or take them down, in moiſt weather, when the leaf gives, or elſe it will crumble to duſt; after which they are laid upon ſticks, and covered up cloſe in the tobacco-houſe for a week or a fortnight to ſweat; and then opening the bulk in a wet day, the ſervants ſtrip and ſort them, the top leaves being the beſt, and the bottom the worſt tobacco; the laſt work is to pack it in hogſheads, or bundle it up, which is alſo done in a wet ſeaſon; for in curing of tobacco, wet ſeaſons are as neceſſary as dry to make the leaf pliant.

Yet tobacco is very far from being the only thing of value which this country produces; on the contrary, they have flax, hemp, and cotton; and ſilk they might have if they were not ſo extremely addicted to their ſtaple commodity, as never to

think of any thing elſe, if tobacco can be brought to a tolerable market. They have likewiſe ſilk graſs, of which they make very little advantage, though, no doubt, under proper management, moſt profitable manufactures might be raiſed from it, ſince its threads are finer than thoſe of flax, and ſtronger than hemp. We may add to this, that all kind of naval ſtores might be produced in Virginia with great eaſe, and in vaſt plenty: ſuch as plank-timber, maſts, yards, pitch, tar, roſin, and turpentine, beſides ſails, cordage, and iron. It is commonly ſaid, and there are ſome who have lived in Virginia ready enough to affirm it, that there is hardly a ſtone to be found in the country; but however, this is far enough from being true; for at the water-falls there are ſtones enough of different kinds fit for paving, and other uſes; and towards the hills there are quarries of ſlate, and a kind of freeſtone; there are likewiſe a ſort of ſhining pebbles, not at all inferior to Kerry-ſtones, and though, generally ſpeaking, they are ſoft, yet I have heard that when long expoſed to the air, they become very hard, and if poliſhed are extremely beautiful. As to mines, they have ſeveral of good iron in almoſt all parts of the country, more eſpecially in the Northern Neck, which belongs to Lord Fairfax. There was once a lead mine diſcovered, but loſt in the firſt maſſacre; there has been likewiſe a talk of ſilver and gold mines; but it is certain that they have a great many coals, antimony, and other things of value in the bowels of that country, which they would not fail to ſearch out if tobacco alone did not ſupply them plentifully.

Thus far we have deſcribed the country itſelf: let us next enquire into its condition as a colony; and in this light we find it divided into twenty-five counties, ſome ſay twenty-nine; of theſe the firſt is James-county, lying on both ſides James-river, which contains five pariſhes and the only two towns that are in Virginia. The firſt is Jamestown, on the north ſide of the river, and about forty miles from the mouth of it; it is very far from being conſiderable, as it does not contain above ſixty or eighty houſes at moſt, and of theſe, as we obſerved before, the greater part are taverns or public houſes for the entertainment of ſea-faring people, the gentlemen of Virginia making it their choice to live on their plantations, in order to ſee how their eſtates are managed; and in theſe ſeats of theirs they live ſo handſomely and ſo hoſpitably, that how much ſoever ſtrangers may diſapprove their method before they come into the country, they are quickly reconciled to it afterwards. The ſecond is Williamſburgh, to which the ſeat of government is now transferred, and yet it does not conſiſt of above forty houſes. The reſt of the counties are denominated as follows: Henrico county, Prince George, Charles county, Surry, Iſle of Wight, Nanſamond, Norfolk, Princeſs Anne, York county, Warwick, Elizabeth, New Kent, King William, King and Queen, Glouceſter, Middleſex, Eſſex, Richmond, Stafford, Weſtmorland, and Lancaſter, Northumberland, Acomack, and Northampton.

The number of people in theſe counties, taken altogether, men, women, children, and negroes, may amount to about half a million; of theſe one hundred and twenty thouſand are freemen, or their wives and children, and above twenty thouſand are capable of bearing arms. As for the Indians, there are ſtill many nations of them, but ſome of them ſo ſmall, that they do not exceed four or five families; and it is thought that amongſt them all, they could ſcarce raiſe ſeven hundred, ſome think not five hundred fighting men. As to the government it reſembles that of England; for the legiſlative authority is lodged in the governor, or council and aſſembly: the governor repreſents the King; gives his aſſent to laws, and has a negative voice. As Governor, he is at the head of the civil adminiſtration, and being by his commiſſion a lieutenant-general and vice-admiral, the military and naval power are likewiſe

wiſe in his hands. In other reſpects, the government is very well regulated, and the church alſo is well taken care of; neither has any plantation belonging to us been under better management, or the people more happy than thoſe of Virginia; and this appears very plainly from the face of the country, though there are no great towns in it, and but very few villages; for the gentlemen's ſeats are very thick, all of them good convenient houſes, many of them large and magnificent. The roads are no where better, the country being, for the moſt part, level, and ſcarce any rugged or deep ways; ſo that it is a common thing to travel forty or fifty miles in an afternoon, and ſometimes an hundred in a ſummer's day. They have likewiſe as great conveniencies with reſpect to water carriage as any country in the world; and it is this that has chiefly hindered them from living in great towns, which, though prejudicial to the manufactures, has certainly proved very advantageous to their plantations, which are larger, more frequent, and better ſecured, than in almoſt any other colony; and as it has flouriſhed extremely hitherto, ſo at this time it is as thriving a colony, and as likely to continue ſo, as any that belong to this nation.

The laſt thing we propoſe is, to give the reader ſome idea of the advantages that ariſe to the nation from this particular plantation, which I muſt confeſs is a very difficult thing to do; but, however, I ſhall labour to give as much ſatisfaction as I can, and if I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to meet with any farther informations, care ſhall be taken that the public ſhall not loſe the benefit of them, ſince they will come in properly enough in the latter part of the work. In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that as the value of labour differs in ſeveral parts of this kingdom, ſo the labour of a man in moſt of the plantations is not only as advantageous to his native country as if he worked at home, but much more ſo: I believe, upon a moderate computation, we may reckon that ſuch a perſon contributes to the public ſtock, by which I mean, the income and wealth of the Britiſh nation, four times as much: ſo that we may with reaſon reckon, that the white people in Virginia, one with another, produce twelve pounds to this nation; the reaſon of which will appear, when we conſider the nature of their commerce more particularly. But beſides this, the negroes are of great advantage to this kingdom, though of infinitely leſs than white people would be, if they were employed in the ſame work; for every one of theſe poor creatures conſume yearly two hilling-hoes, two weeding-hoes, two grubbing-hoes, beſides axes, ſaws, wimbles, nails, and other iron tools and materials. On the whole, there can be no ſort of queſtion, becauſe it appears a plain matter of fact, that theſe people neceſſarily take off the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, in the commodities of this country. How far it might have been more expedient for the infant-colony to have intermarried with the Indians, and thereby ſo increaſed their numbers as to have been in a condition to manage their affairs without ſlaves at all, I will not take upon me to determine; but this ſeems ſo clear as to admit of no diſpute, that ſuch a ſettlement would have been by far more beneficial to the mother-country, and out of compariſon more commodious and ſecure for the planters themſelves. But I mention this only incidentally, and that it may paſs the conſideration of perſons better verſed in theſe things than I pretend to be; and, from juſt hinting how things might be, return to the detail of how they really are.

I have before ſtated (agreeable to what able authors have aſſerted upon this ſubject) ſome general principles of computation, ſuch as that every head in this plantation may be reckoned worth twelve pounds a year to this nation, which muſt ſeem prodigious, and indeed ſo does every thing grounded on calculation, to ſuch as have not applied themſelves thereto; and ſo they always will, unleſs clearly explained, which is

what

what I ſhall next attempt, as deſiring to inculcate uſeful truths, capable of influencing men's practice, and not to write paradoxical diſcourſes for my own, and other people's amuſement. In order to untie theſe knots, we muſt conſider that the people in Virginia live exactly as we do, or rather more freely, in that generous, open, hoſpitable, and conſequently expenſive method that prevailed here in the laſt age. But as they are ſupplied both with neceſſaries and conveniences, with the inſtruments of labour, as well as the means of luxury, from England; it follows of courſe that they muſt employ an infinite number of hands to provide theſe. For it is generally known that theſe demands muſt be ſupplied from thoſe handicrafts and mechanics that have moſt hands in their ſervice; ſuch as weavers, ſhoemakers, hatters, ironmongers, turners, joiners, taylors, cuttlers, ſmiths, bakers, brewers, ropemakers, hoſiers, and indeed all the mechanics in England; their manufactures being good merchandize in Virginia. The commodities ſent thither, beſides linnen, ſilks, India goods, wine, and other foreign manufactures, are cloth, coarſe and fine ſerges, ſtuffs, bays, hats and all ſorts of haberdaſhers' ware; hoes, bills, axes, nails, adzes, and other iron ware; cloaths, ready made; knives, biſket, flour, ſtockings, ſhoes, caps for ſervants, and, in ſhort, every thing that is made in England.

But if they employ theſe people they muſt feed them likewiſe, and pay them their wages; and not only them, but thoſe who take the pains to go between the planters and theſe workmen; by which I mean the agents, merchants, or factors; who, though fewer in number, yet have their ſervants and dependents; who, from the nature of their employments, expect to be paid at a better rate. Neither is this all, for when things are made and brought to the factor, they are never the nearer to the planter in Virginia, but muſt be put into the hands of a new ſet of people, who are to be paid for the carriage of them; ſo that now I think the moſt common capacity may underſtand how the labour of every head in any plantation muſt be worth four times as much to the community of his mother-country, as if he wrought at home; for if he ſpends ſo much, and pays for what he has, both of which are undeniable, his labour muſt produce ſo much. This ſhews the benefit of plantations to their mother-country; and I hope there is no need to ſay that this ſhews how much regard and reſpect is due from thoſe who manage the affairs of the mother-country, to thoſe who live and labour for her in the plantations. But becauſe it is not impoſſible we may err a little in the meaſure of theſe computations, and as I am far from deſiring to magnify theſe advantages beyond the truth, I ſhall lay it down as a thing certainly to be depended upon, that every white perſon in Virginia, one with another, is worth to this nation ten pounds, which will make the value of the whole plantation equal to an annuity of 1,200,000l. to Great Britain.

This I think is already, in a great meaſure, demonſtrated; but as I am very ſenſible that many people will ſtill think full ſatisfaction is not given upon this head, if they are not ſhewn how this, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it, is received; that we may not do things by halves, my next care ſhall be to remove this difficulty likewiſe. In order to this, we muſt conſider that the trade of this colony, as well as that of Maryland, conſiſts almoſt entirely of tobacco; for though the country would produce ſeveral excellent commodities fit for trade, yet the planters are ſo wholly bent on planting tobacco, that they ſeem to have laid aſide all thoughts of other improvements. This trade is brought to ſuch perfection, that the Virginia tobacco, eſpecially the ſweet-ſcented, which grows on York-river, is reckoned the beſt in the world, and is what is generally vended in England for a home conſumption; the other ſorts, called Oronoac, and that of Maryland, are hotter in the mouth, but they turn to as good account, being

being in demand in Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany; it is therefore from this commodity that we are to look for the beſt part of that vaſt ſum which we have mentioned; and if we proceed diligently, and with attention, I dare ſay we ſhall not ſearch in vain.

In time of peace, I am perſuaded, from ſeveral different calculations, and from the compariſon of the informations I have ſought and received from ſuch as are, or ought to be, beſt acquainted with theſe matters, that there is very little leſs than one hundred thouſand hogſheads of tobacco exported every year from this colony; that between three and four hundred ſhips are employed in this trade; and upwards of four thouſand ſeamen. If we take things upon this foot, then the hundred thouſand hogſheads of tobacco will produce about the ſum at which I have fixed the produce of this colony to the nation; but it may be ſaid, that if we take tobacco for the commodities and manufactures that we ſend to Virginia, it differs very widely from an annuity; and that inſtead of receiving 1,200,000l. from the perſons inhabiting this plantation, we return them the moſt valuable things we have, to 60,000,000 of pounds of tobacco, which in itſelf is no neceſſary of life, and which we might very well do without: thus we are all at ſea again, and it is my buſineſs to ſet us once more aſhore; and if I am able to clear up this laſt miſt, I hope there will, for ever after, be fair weather for the plantations.

In anſwer therefore to this objection, which ſeems to deſtroy all, and to demoliſh entirely that ſtructure which I have been erecting, I ſay, that ſtrictly conſidered, it makes more in favour of the colony of Virginia, than all that I have been ſaying for it; and this I ſhall be able to make as plain as any thing can be made, in a very few words. It is, I think, generally agreed, that Sir Walter Raleigh firſt brought tobacco into England, or rather, as I apprehend, had it brought over to him from this colony; and we find the uſe of it much recommended by the learned and worthy Mr. Harriott, whom he ſent over thither. But we muſt not infer from thence that Virginia tobacco was always uſed here, ſince the contrary is very certain; for, as the reader has been told, it was Sir George Yardly who introduced the planting and cultivating tobacco in that country by the Europeans, in the reign of King James I.

Yet before this time the practice of taking tobacco was become ſo common in England, that King James wrote a book againſt it. I do not concern myſelf in the controverſy, whether he was right or wrong in his oppoſition to this practice; but I mention it to ſhew that it was become common, and that the faſhion of uſing it was growing ſtrong. We had moſt of our tobacco then from Brazil, and ſome from the Spaniſh plantations; the price of it was from four to ſeventeen ſhillings a pound, and if we had come to uſe as much of it as we do of the Virginia tobacco, and had paid for it at the rate only of five ſhillings, this ſingle article of luxury would have ſtood us in upwards of ſeven millions every year. I very readily allow that this would be a very abſurd and improbable ſuppoſition, ſince it cannot be imagined that, in ſuch a caſe, the common ſort of people either could or would have ſmoaked tobacco; but then let us conſider what a number of people there are to whom the dearneſs of this commodity would have proved no reſtraint; and let us ſuppoſe that we ſhould, in this reſpect, have been no wiſer than our neighbours, which I look upon to be a very modeſt and rational ſuppoſition; we might then, inſtead of forty thouſand hogſheads, have conſumed ten or twelve thouſand, which would have amounted to a million or upwards, and conſequently ſo much ready money is hindred from going out of the nation by the bringing in of Virginia tobacco, which, viewed in this light, is equivalent to the importing of ſo much ſilver.

But

But to proceed, beſides the money ſaved to the nation by the uſe of this tobacco, we export one way or other ſixty thouſand hogſheads, which, at five pound per hogſhead, amounts to 300,000l. excluſive of the duty of this tobacco, which is not drawn back. I might have taken another method of reaſoning upon this ſubject, by ſhewing that whatever exchange of commodities contributes to the maintenance and employment of a certain number of people, is not only equal to, but is really much better than, an annuity that would maintain the ſame number of people in the ſame way, had I not been inclined to render this matter as evident as it is poſſible. After this I ſhall make but two ſhort obſervations, and ſo quit this part of my ſubject.

The firſt is, that in caſe what we receive from Virginia in tobacco ſhould fall ſhort of the ſum I have computed we derive from thence, this deficiency is certainly made up ſome other way; or, in other words, the Virginians ſend us other commodities, or pay us with the balance of their trade with other places. The ſecond obſervation is, that there is not the leaſt danger of ſeeing this country over-peopled, and thereby ſinking the value of tobacco, becauſe there are a multitude of things to which the people may turn their hands; ſeveral of which have been enumerated already, and therefore I ſhall only obſerve that in the articles of ſilk and iron the inhabitants of this colony might ſave us 300,000l. a year, and bring us in very near the ſame ſum from other nations. But it is now time to quit this agreeable topic, which however is a very hard taſk for one who has any tincture of public ſpirit, in order to proceed with the proper buſineſs of this chapter.

6. In what we have delivered concerning Virginia, we have purſued the hiſtory only of the firſt company eſtabliſhed by King James's patent, called alſo the London, or South Virginia company; but we are next to account for the conduct of the other adventurers, or the weſtern or Plymouth company, as they are ſtiled by the writers of thoſe times, who contented themſelves for ſome years with trading with the natives of North Virginia for furs, and fiſhing upon that coaſt. Two ſhips being employed in this fiſhery in the year 1614, commanded by the famous Captain John Smith and Captain Thomas Hunt: Captain Smith went on ſhore, and took a particular view of the country of the Maſſachuſetts, and had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the natives; after which he returned to England, ordering Hunt to ſail with the other ſhip to Spain, and diſpoſe of the fiſh he had taken there; but Hunt, propoſing to make a market of the natives themſelves, as well as of their fiſh, after Captain Smith was gone, enticed twenty-ſeven men of the Indians on board his ſhip, and then ſetting ſail with them to Malaga, ſold them there to the Spaniards for ſlaves, at the rate of twenty pounds a man, among whom was an Indian called Squanto, afterwards very ſerviceable to the Engliſh.

This outrage was ſo reſented by the Indians for the preſent, that all commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the firſt time the natives had been thus violently carried away by the Engliſh; for Captain Harlow, in the year 1611, ſurprized one Epenow, and two more of his countrymen, and brought them to England; where Epenow learned Engliſh enough to impoſe upon his maſters; and underſtanding that the hopes of acquiring mountains of gold was the principal inducement the Engliſh had to viſit his country; the cunning Indian, in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich gold mine not far from the country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a ſhip on ſuch an expedition. This overture had the ſucceſs Epenow expected, and Captain Hobſon was diſpatched the next year with proviſions, tools, and materials, proper to make a ſettlement, and open the mines Epenow had given them intelligence of. This ſhip arriving on the coaſt of Maſſachuſetts, ſeveral Indians came on board, pro-

promiſing to return again the next day with furs and other merchandize; and they did, indeed, return, but in an hoſtile manner, with twenty canoes full of armed men; and Epenow, beckoning to them to approach nearer the ſhip, jumped into the ſea, and made his eſcape to them; whereupon the Engliſh fired upon the canoes, and were anſwered with a flight of arrows, and ſeveral were wounded on both ſides, among whom was Captain Hobſon himſelf; after which the captain, without attempting any thing farther, thougt fit to return to England.

In the year 1619, Captain Dormer was ſent to New England, and with him Squanto, the Indian, as an interpreter, to endeavour to make peace with the natives, and ſettle a colony in the Maſſachuſetts bay, but to no purpoſe; the Indians would not be reconciled, and, in a ſkirmiſh with them, Dormer received further wounds, whereupon he proceeded to Virginia, leaving Squanto on ſhore in New England. The patentees, having met with ſuch diſcouragement, were, at laſt, ſo much diſheartened, that they gave up all thoughts of making a ſettlement; however, other adventurers carried on a trade to New England; eight ſhips were employed in it by the merchants of London and Plymouth, this, and the next year, and the ſucceſs was ſuch, that the ſeamen, who were ſharers alſo, had each ſeventeen pound in ſix months time, as much as thirty pounds now, and as good as five pound a month, or maſter's pay. It is very probable that the commerce might have gone on in this manner for ſeveral years, without any thoughts of planting, though that was the motive upon which their patent was granted, ſo early began the faſhion with companies, to make that their leaſt care for which they were conſtituted. But it ſo fell out, that a congregation of Independents or Browniſts, that for the ſake of their religion had retired to Holland, and formed themſelves into a church under one Mr. John Robinſon, who was their miniſter, found themſelves more uneaſy there than they had been in England; and therefore formed a project of ſeeking an eſtabliſhment in the New World, where they imagined they might enjoy peace and quiet; yet before they could carry this deſign into execution, it was neceſſary to have King James's licence, not only in regard to the rights of the crown; but to ſecure them, when ſettled, from being turned out, either by their own countrymen or ſtrangers. In order thereto they got Sir Robert Nanton to procure the King's conſent for their tranſporting themſelves to America. Sir Robert aſked His Majeſty that ſuch a people might enjoy liberty of conſcience under His gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of His dominions, and promote the Goſpel: the King replied, "It is a good and honeſt propoſal," and yielded to it.

This congregation, by their agents in England, treated firſt with the council at Plymouth for a large tract of land towards Norembegua and New Scotland; but upon better conſideration they abandoned their purpoſes, and reſolved to ſeat themſelves more to the ſouthward on the bank of Hudſon's-river, which falls into the ſea at New York. To this end, they contracted with ſome merchants, who were willing to be adventurers with them, in their intended ſettlement, and were proprietors of the country; but the contract bore too hard upon them, and made them the more eaſy in the diſappointment they met with in ſettling on Hudſon's-river; ſeveral of Mr. Robinſon's congregation ſold their eſtates, and made a common bank for a fund to carry on this undertaking. The agents hired the May-Flower, a ſhip of one hundred and eighty tons, which was freighted with proper goods and merchandize, and ordered to Southampton, where ſhe took aboard the company that came from Holland with Mr. Brewſter. The whole company, about one hundred and twenty perſons, ſailed from Plymouth, the 6th of September, and fell in with Cape Cod, on the 9th of November,

November, an ill time of the year to begin building, planting, or indeed any hard and difficult labour; and nothing could be more difficult and hard than theirs was like to be: here they refreſhed themſelves about half a day, and then tacked about to the ſouthward for Hudſon's River; but Jones, the maſter of the Speedwell, having been bribed by the Hollanders, who intended themſelves to take poſſeſſion of thoſe parts, as they did ſome time after, inſtead of putting out to ſea, entangled them among the dangerous ſhoals and breakers, where, meeting with a ſtorm, the ſhip was driven back again to the Cape, upon which they put into the harbour, and reſolved, conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, to attempt a ſettlement there, and to proceed forward to the bay. But Cape Cod not being within the limits of the land they had a grant for under the patent, they aſſociated themſelves into a body politic, by a formal inſtrument; in which, having declared themſelves ſubjects of the crown of England, they ſolemnly engaged ſubmiſſion to the laws that ſhould from time to time be made for the good of the colony.

The place they made choice of to build a town on was very commodious, and the country about it not leſs agreeable; ſo they reſolved not to trouble themſelves or their friends about obtaining any farther licence, but to riſque their fortunes where Providence had caſt them; in conſequence of which reſolution they went hard to work in raiſing their new town of Plymouth, for that was the name they gave it, and which lies in the latitude of 42 degrees north. The planters deſigned to ſtay in the country, including women and children, were about an hundred, of whom only one boy died in the paſſage. Their hiſtorians mention no more than nineteen families that ſettled at Plymouth, and give us the names but of forty-one effective men, among whom the chief were John Carver, whom they choſe governor, William Bradford, Edward Winſlow, John Brewſter, aſſiſtant to Mr. Robinſon, and ruling elder of his church, Iſaac Alerton, Miles Standiſh, John Howland, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Tilly, Chriſtopher Martin, William White, Richard Clack, and Thomas Engliſh. But ſuch were the fatigues this infant colony underwent the firſt winter, that out of an hundred planters fifty died within the ſpace of two months; and had the Indians attacked them, they had probably all periſhed, but they met with no diſturbance.

After they had fixed themſelves at Plymouth Bay, they ſaw very few of the natives till the middle of March, when Samoſet, one of their ſagamores, or captains, came to them in a friendly manner, and gave them to underſtand they were welcome into the country, and that his people would be glad to trade with them; and coming again the next day with other Indians, they informed the Engliſh that their great Sachem, whom they called Maſſaſſoiet, had his reſidence but three days march to the northward, and intended them a viſit. And accordingly Maſſaſſoiet arrived the 22d day of March, with a retinue of ſixty people; and, being received by Captain Standiſh at the head of a file of muſketeers, was conducted to a kind of throne they had prepared in one of their houſes. This monarch was of a large ſtature, middle-aged, of a grave countenance, and ſparing in his ſpeech; his face was painted red, and both head and face ſmeared over with oil; he had a mantle of deer-ſkin, and his breeches and ſtockings, which were of a piece, were all of the ſame materials; his knife or tomahawk hung upon his breaſt on a ſtring, his tobacco-pouch behind him, and his arms covered with wild cat-ſkins, and in the ſame garb were his principal attendants. They did not obſerve any marks of diſtinction between this prince and his ſubjects, unleſs it were a chain of fiſh-bones, which Maſſaſſoiet wore about his neck. Soon after the Prince was ſeated, Mr. Carver, the governor, came in, with a guard of muſketeers, whereupon Maſſaſſoiet roſe up and kiſſed him, after which they both ſet down, and an entertainment was provided by the Indians, of which no part appeared more acceptable than

the brandy, the Sachem himſelf drinking very plentifully of it. In Maſſaſſoiet's retinue was Squanto, who had been carried to Europe by Hunt, and brought to New England again. This Indian, it ſeems, had a very great affection for the Engliſh, among whom he had lived ſeveral years; and it was to his favourable repreſentation of the colony, that the Sachem was induced to make them this friendly viſit; and, at this firſt meeting, to enter into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Engliſh, and even to acknowledge King James for his ſovereign, and to hold his dominions of him; and, as an evidence of his ſincerity, Maſſaſſoiet granted part of his country to the planters and their heirs for ever.

This alliance, being founded upon the mutual intereſts of the contracting parties, was maintained inviolably many years. The Sachem, who had been informed by Squanto how powerful a people the Engliſh were, both by ſea and land, promiſed himſelf their aſſiſtance againſt the Naraganſet Indians, his enemies; and the Engliſh ſtood in no leſs need of his friendſhip to eſtabliſh themſelves in that country. The treaty being concluded, Maſſaſſoiet returned to his capital, leaving Squanto with the colony, who was extremely ſerviceable to them, not only as an interpreter, but by inſtructing them how to plant and manage their Indian corn, in piloting them along the coaſt, and ſupplying them with fiſh, fowl, and veniſon. The Engliſh ſtill remained ſickly, and many of them died; among whom was Mr. Carver, their governor, in the month of April, 1621. The ſeamen alſo had their ſhare of illneſs, inſomuch that they were not in a condition to ſail till May, when the ſhips returned to England to give their friends an account of the circumſtances of the colony.

While theſe ſhips were gone to or remained in the Britiſh dominions, the colony made choice of Mr. Bradford for their governor, who enjoyed that poſt for many years, and ſaw the plantation thoroughly eſtabliſhed; notwithſtanding that, in his time, there aroſe ſuch differences about religion as actually occaſioned great feuds and jealouſies, and ſeemed to threaten worſe conſequences. It may be expected, that I ſhould give ſome competent reaſon for the quick progreſs of this colony beyond that of Virginia, which met with no ſuch ſucceſs; and this ſeems to be the rather neceſſary, becauſe at firſt ſight one might be inclined to think that it ought to be attributed to the ſuperior diligence and application of the Weſtern Company, in compariſon of that of London; which is, however, ſo far from being true, as in reality this company had no ſhare at all in the ſending over or eſtabliſhing this flouriſhing plantation. On the contrary, it was raiſed by the ſpirit, vigilance, and ardour of the malcontents in the reign of King Charles I. who, before the breaking out of the civil war, and when they had little hopes of getting the government into their own hands, projected the ſecuring to themſelves a ſafe retreat in New England, which induced them to ſend thither ſuch regular ſupplies, and thoſe too under the direction of men very capable of anſwering the ends for which they were ſent thither. We have ſeen with what wonderful ſucceſs their firſt attempts were attended, and how ſoon their new colony was in a condition to defend and ſupport itſelf, not only without any aſſiſtance, but almoſt without any notice from the crown, which in the beginning they did not deſire; but afterwards, foreſeeing many inconveniences that were likely to attend this manner of proceeding, they very prudently reſolved to alter it, and to procure to themſelves ſuch farther ſecurity as appeared to them requiſite towards attaining thoſe ends of which they were in purſuit.

This, therefore, being the caſe, and the colony of Plymouth ſtill remaining without a patent, or any title to the lands they poſſeſſed from the North Virginia (or New England) Company, ſent over Mr. Winſlow, one of their number, to ſolicit for both in the

year 1624; and this gentleman ſucceeded beyond their expectation; for the charter he procured, enabled the planters to elect a governor, a council, and magiſtrates, and to make laws, provided they were not oppoſite to ours, or encroached on the prerogatives of the crown. After conducting the hiſtory thus low, and ſhewing how, where, and when the firſt regular Engliſh ſettlement was founded and fixed in this country, now the largeſt, beſt improved, and moſt populous of our plantations upon the continent, I muſt excuſe myſelf from going farther in this way, becauſe it would extend this ſection to an unproportionable length: and becauſe the hiſtory of New England has been already written by ſeveral able men, much better informed thereof than I can poſſibly be; and therefore I ſhall be very well content with endeavouring, in as ſmall a compaſs as I can, to do as much towards explaining the ſtate of this colony, as I have already done for that of Virginia.

7. In order to this, it will be neceſſary to explain what is meant by New England, ſince it differs thus far from all our colonies, that, in reality, it is a general name for ſeveral of them, though there is no particular plantation, or even province, properly ſo called. We are therefore to obſerve, that under this denomination was originally comprehended that part of the continent of North America, which had been formerly ſtiled North Virginia and Norembegua, and the way it acquired this name was thus: When Captain Smith made his voyage thither, which has been before mentioned, he went aſhore, with no more than eight perſons; and at that time drew a plan of as much of the country as he had ſeen. This, as I apprehend, was in the year 1614; and upon his return he ſhewed the Prince of Wales his account of the country, and the map he had drawn of it. His then Royal Highneſs, afterwards King Charles I., read the one, and examined the other, giving ſeveral Engliſh names to places diſtinguiſhed by Indian appellations in the book; and from Captain Smith's information of the ſoil and climate of the country, called it New England, which name it has ever ſince borne. This work, thus ſeen, peruſed, and approved by the Prince, Captain Smith publiſhed to the world, under the title of "A Deſcription of New England," in which he gave a very fair and true account of it, as well as of the advantages that might be hoped from a ſettlement there; in attempting of which, however, he had the misfortune to be taken priſoner by the French; but notwithſtanding this, his treatiſe produced the intended effect, and actually brought about that eſtabliſhment, of which we have already given the hiſtory. He likewiſe wrote and publiſhed another book, which he called "New England's Trials," which was very well received, inſomuch that we may ſafely aver, that all the advantages derived ſince to Great Britain, from the ſeveral ſettlements made in this large and fruitful country, are originally due to the virtue and induſtry of this indefatigable man.

The name and bounds of this country being thus ſettled, it is neceſſary next to take notice of the ſeveral plantations made in New England in the proper order of time, and then we ſhall ſhew in what ſituation they now ſtand. We have already given an account of New Plymouth, which was the firſt of them; and we are next to ſpeak of that which, though later in point of time, is now become the moſt conſiderable in every reſpect, and which had its beginning and progreſs much in the ſame manner with it. For in the year 1625 (as the New England hiſtorian relates) Mr. White, miniſter of Dorcheſter, obſerving the ſucceſs of the Plymouth colony, projected a new ſettlement in the Maſſachuſets Bay in New England, and prevailing with Mr. Conant, and ſome others, to go over, and make choice of a proper ſettlement, he and his friends purchaſed or procured a grant from the North Virginia, or New England Company, in the year 1622, to Sir Henry Roſwell, Sir John Young, knights;

Thomas Southcot, John Humphreys, and Simon Newcomb, eſquires, their heirs, aſſigns, and aſſociates, of all that part of New England which lies between the great river Merimack and Charles River, at the bottom of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, and all lands, &c. three miles north of Merimack River, and three miles ſouth of Charles River, and in length, or in longitude, between thoſe rivers, from the Atlantic to the South Sea; and obtained a patent from King Charles I. to hold the ſame as of his manor of Eaſt Greenwich in common ſoccage, yielding and paying to His Majeſty a fifth part of ſuch gold and ſilver ore as ſhould be from time to time found within theſe limits. Theſe gentlemen having taken in Sir Richard Saltonſtal, Mr. Iſaac Johnſton, Samuel Addeſly, John Van, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goff, George Harwood, Samuel Moor, and ſeveral more, the following year 1628, procured a new patent with the names of the laſt-mentioned gentlemen inſerted, as the proprietors; by which patent they and all others who ſhould join with them, were incorporated by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Maſſachuſets Bay in New England;" and were empowered to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and magiſtrates, and make laws for the good of the plantation, not repugnant to the laws of England; and liberty of conſcience was granted to all that ſhould ſettle there. The adventurers, by virtue of this patent, elected Mr. Cradock their governor, and Mr. Endicot their deputy-governor, and ſent over the latter immediately to reinforce Mr. Conant, who was ſettled at Neumkeak (now Salem), ſituated on the coaſt of New England, between the promontories of Marblehead and Cape Anne.

This new colony was ſupported with the ſame ſpirit and vigour as the former, and ſuch mighty embarkations made for its ſervice, as ſhewed plainly enough of how great conſequence it appeared to thoſe who were its protectors in England; and ſo much they were ſet upon having ſome man of diſtinction on the ſpot, that in the year 1630 they choſe John Winthorp, eſquire, governor, in the room of Mr. Cradock, who declined going over; and he appointed Mr. Thomas Dudley his deputy-governor: both of them embarked the ſame year, with Sir Richard Saltonſtal, Iſaac Johnſon, eſquire, and the Lady Arabella his wife, Mr. Eaton, and ſeveral other patentees, on board a fleet of ten ſail of large ſhips, with about two hundred planters every way completely furniſhed; ſo that ſoon after their arrival they erected two new ſettlements, the one ſtiled Charles Town, on the north-ſide of Charles River, and the other Dorcheſter, at the bottom of Maſſachuſet's Bay; and in a ſhort time part of the inhabitants of Charles Town paſſing over to the oppoſite ſhore, erected Boſton, which is now the capital of New England. As new planters arrived every year, the colony quickly became over-ſtocked; and diviſions breaking out amongſt them, one Mr. Roger Williams, who was paſtor of a church of Browniſts, went and ſettled without this government, and called his new plantation Providence, which afterwards was united to the government of Rhode Iſland; of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

In 1635, arrived a larger fleet from England than at any time before, and amongſt other perſons of diſtinction, who came over in it, was Henry Vane, eſquire, ſon to Sir Henry Vane, ſecretary of ſtate to King Charles I. with whom the people were ſo taken that they elected him governor, in the room of Mr. Winthorp; but as he had the misfortune to have a very roving and extravagant genius, he quickly loſt his credit with them, and ſaw his predeceſſor reſtored: upon which he formed a project of erecting a new plantation to the north-weſt of the Maſſachuſet's, which, however, he did not carry into execution; but returning into England, was knighted, and made an extraordinary figure under the name of Sir Henry Vane the younger, as every body knows that is acquainted at all with our hiſtory. But the project for a plantation on Connecticut

ticut River was not dropped, though Sir Henry Vane did not proceed in it. This ſettlement was become the more neceſſary, becauſe the Pequet Indians began to grow very troubleſome; and as the building a town and fort on that river would make a good frontier on that ſide, agents were ſent to view the country, who made ſuch an advantageous report of the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and largeneſs of the river, as made many of the planters of Newton, Dorcheſter, Weatherton, and Roxbury entertain thoughts of tranſplanting themſelves thither, being already ſtraightened for room where they were.

Mr. Hooker, miniſter of Newton, put himſelf at the head of theſe new adventurers, about a hundred in number, who ſet out in the month of July, and travelling on foot with their children and baggage, about nine or ten miles a day, came in ten or eleven days to the banks of the river, where they began a town, which they called Hartford; after theſe came another draught from Dorcheſter, who built a little town, which they called Windſor; a third detachment, from Waterton, built Weathersfield; and a fourth from Roxbury, built Springfield. The towns the planters built on this river were fifty and ſixty miles from its mouth, ſo that the ſhip freighted with proviſions for theſe planters at the Maſſachuſets, came ſo late in the year that it was frozen up at the mouth of it, ſixty miles from the plantation; upon which many of the new adventurers travelled back in the depth of winter, and others who attempted it were frozen to death. The calamities which attended them are ſuch as all new ſettlements are liable to; but, however, thoſe that had courage to ſtay till the ſpring, carried on their ſettlements with ſuch ſucceſs, that they were not only in a capacity of ſubſiſting, but making head againſt their enemies. They had a ſort of commiſſion from the government of the Maſſachuſets Bay; but finding they had extended their plantations beyond the limits of that colony, they entered into a voluntary aſſociation to obey the laws that ſhould be made by proper perſons for the common good, and choſe Edward Hopkins, eſq. their governor; and in this ſituation they remained as to conſtitution, till John Winthorp, junior, eſquire, obtained an ample charter for them from King Charles II. authorizing them to elect their own governor, council, and magiſtrates; and enact ſuch laws as they thought moſt advantageous to the colony, not oppoſite to the laws of England; the benefit whereof they enjoy to this day.

8. By that time this ſettlement was brought into tolerable order, George Fenwick, eſq. was ſent to New England, in order to make choice of the moſt commodious ſpot he could find, for the heads of that party which had hitherto ſupported all theſe colonies; and it was conceived he would execute his commiſſion the more readily, ſince the Lord Viſcount Say and Seal, and the Lord Brook, two heads of the party, held lands on Connecticut, by virtue of a grant from the Earl of Warwick, another Puritan, who held a patent for all that part of the country, extending from the river Naraganſet forty leagues, in a ſtrait line near the ſea-ſhore towards Virginia, as all the continent ſouth of New England was then called, as far as Florida. The Earl of Warwick aſſigned his grant to theſe two lords, Brook and Say, Charles Fiennes, eſq. brother to the Lord Say, Sir Nathaniel Rich of the Warwick family, Sir Richard Saltonſtall, Richard Knightly, eſq. John Pym, eſq. John Hampden, eſq. and Herbet Pelham, eſq. Mr. Fenwick ſeated himſelf at the mouth of the river, and built a town which he called Saybrook, in which he was aſſiſted by Mr. Winthorp, junior, ſon of the governor of the Maſſachuſets; but the gentlemen for whom Mr. Fenwick acted, finding matters grew more to a head at home, and foreſeeing they ſhould be more uſeful there for their country and their cauſe, gave over the thoughts of removing to New England, and authorized Mr. Fenwick to diſpoſe of their lands to the colony of Connecticut,

who were the more willing to buy them becauſe they had no title to their plantation without the limits of the Maſſachuſets patent than what poſſeſſion gave them. The very next year there came over ſuch numbers of people to ſettle in New England, that the old colonies were over-ſtocked, and there was an abſolute neceſſity of looking out for new plantations.

Amongſt thoſe who put themſelves at the head of ſuch as were inclined to remove in the ſummer of the year 1637, were Theophilus Eaton, eſquire, a noted merchant of London, and the Reverend Mr. Davenport. Theſe gentlemen finding there was not room at the Maſſachuſets, and being informed of a large bay to the ſouth-weſt of Connecticut River commodious for trade, purchaſed of the natives all the land that lies between that river and New York or Hudſon's River; thither they removed, ſeated themſelves in the bay over againſt Long Iſland, and built New Haven; from whence that colony, province, and government were ſo denominated, as alſo Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Brainford; they alſo went over to Long Iſland, and made there ſeveral ſettlements, erecting churches in all places where they ſettled; but being without the limits of the Maſſachuſets juriſdiction, they had no charter, and no other title to the lands than what they had from the natives; the men who ſettled in this colony were generally Londoners and merchants, who applied themſelves firſt to trade, after the example of Governor Eaton, who had been an eaſt-country merchant, and travelling into Denmark, was employed by the King as his agent at that court. But the new comers met with ſo many loſſes, either as novices in the American trade, or ſome unfortunate accidents, that they were diſcouraged in their trade, and were going to tranſport themſelves to Maryland or Ireland, until at laſt turning to huſbandry, they thrived wonderfully, and thought no more of removing.

While the ſouth-weſt parts of New England were thus filling with inhabitants, the north-eaſt were not neglected: the Engliſh very much frequented the coaſt for the benefit of fiſhing and the fur trade, for which that part of the country lay convenient. This put ſome of them on attempting a ſettlement between the rivers Merimack and Sagadahock, and it ſucceeded ſo well in a few years that there were two counties laid out, New Hampſhire and Main, and ſeveral towns built, as Dover, Hampton, Wells, Kittery, &c. Theſe planters and traders being ſettled without the limits of the Maſſachuſets colony, entered into a voluntary combination, and formed themſelves into a body politic, after the example of Connecticut colony; thus they continued, till being wearied out with feuds and diviſions, they petitioned the general court of the Maſſachuſets to be brought within their juriſdiction, which was done: yet, in 1684, they made an abſolute reſignation of their charter, and the government has remained in the hands of the crown ever ſince. Thus the reader has ſeen, in few words, the riſe and progreſs of the ſeveral plantations raiſed in New England, which had a quicker growth than any that were ever attempted from hence, or perhaps from any other country; for in the ſpace of about twenty years, they had above twice as many good towns, well ſettled, and the people in a very happy and thriving condition; and indeed it muſt be allowed, the inhabitants were the moſt laborious and induſtrious that were any where ſettled in America; for though they had ſcarce any ſtaple commodity, yet they made every thing turn to account, and that chiefly, as I have been informed, by purſuing ſteadily theſe two maxims: firſt, to fix themſelves well, and to raiſe one or more good towns in convenient places, and next to build and freight ſhips with ſuch commodities as they had, and to ſend them any where to find a proper market.

9. The country of New England comprehends, at preſent, four conſiderable colonies, or governments, viz. the Maſſachuſets, which with New Plymouth and the Main are

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now included in one charter; New Hampſhire, which remains a ſeparate government; Connecticut, which likewiſe comprehends New Haven; and Rhode Iſland, with Providence Plantation. The whole country extends from 41 to 45 degrees north latitude, and lies betwixt 67 and 73 degrees of weſtern longitude; bounded on the north-weſt by Canada; on the north-eaſt by Nova Scotia; on the eaſt and ſouth by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the weſt by New York; ſtretching in length ſomewhat more than three hundred miles, and in ſome places it is near two hundred in breadth. The air of this country is ſharper than ours, though it lies ſo much farther to the ſouth, and the winters are longer and ſeverer than they are here; but then their ſummers are warmer, though ſhorter than ours; and, at the ſame time, the inhabitants have the advantage of a clear ſky, which renders the country very wholeſome; ſo that none of our plantations agree better with an Engliſh conſtitution. Their longeſt day at Boſton is about fifteen hours, and their ſhorteſt about nine; the land, next the ſea, is generally low, and in ſome places marſhy; but farther up, the land riſes into hills; along the north-eaſt the country is rocky and mountainous.

As it is waſhed by the ocean on the eaſt and ſouth, it has many good harbours, ſome of them ſo capacious as to be able to receive large fleets. There are few countries better watered; for, beſides ſeveral ſmall lakes and rivulets, there are no leſs than ſeven navigable rivers. The moſt weſtern of theſe is Connecticut; which, riſing in the north of New England, runs almoſt directly ſouth, till it falls into the ſea, and runs, at leaſt, two hundred miles, and navigable to a great height, having at its mouth two large towns, called Saybrook and Lime: to the eaſt of this lies the River of Thames, though leſs conſiderable than the former; it likewiſe runs ſouth, and falls into the ſea a little below New London. The river Patuxet riſes in the north-weſt of the country of Maſſachuſets, and running ſouth-eaſt, falls into a noble bay near Swanſey: the river Merimack riſes in the north of New England, and runs directly ſouth for near one hundred miles, and then turning eaſt, falls into the ſea between Saliſbury and Newbury. The river Piſcataway runs from weſt to eaſt, and falls into the ſea at Portſmouth, where the opening is ſo large that it affords a port capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips: the river Saco riſes in the north of New England, and running ſouth, falls into the ſea between the capes Porpus and Elizabeth: the river Caſco runs parallel thereto, till it falls into a bay of its own name.

It is owing to the conveniency of ſo many fine rivers that this country is ſo full of large and populous towns; and in the country between the rivers there is ſuch plenty of ſmall brooks and ſprings, that there is ſcarce any place where water may not be had, by ſinking a well to the depth of ten foot; and, which is another ſingular advantage, the water is almoſt every where good and fit for all kinds of uſes.

As to quadrupeds or four-footed animals, they are here in great plenty, both tame and wild; among the former are cows, ſheep, goats, hogs, and horſes, all originally brought from England, but now very numerous here; the latter are, generally ſpeaking, of a much ſmaller breed than ours, but they are ſomewhat larger than the Welſh: they are, notwithſtanding the inferiority of their ſize, extremely ſerviceable; and, though they have but one pace, and that too not very agreeable, being a kind of a ſhuffle, yet they go at a very great rate; ſome ſay, not leſs than twenty miles an hour, which would be a little incredible, if ſome New England horſes had not been brought over to Britain, which are ſaid to have put the matter beyond diſpute; but though there are plenty of theſe horſes, yet they ſell at a good rate, twenty pounds being looked upon to be a very low price for a ſound horſe at the prime of his age. As for beaſts of the foreſts they have almoſt all ſorts, ſuch as deer, elks, rackoons, bears, wolves,

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which ſeem to be only a kind of wild dogs; which, when they are taken very young, may be made tame; foxes, hares, rabbets, ſquirrels, beavers, marſins, opoſſums, which are ſmall beaſts about the ſize of a fox, and grey as a badger; remarkable for having a falſe belly, in which they hide their young, and from whence they may be taken without any prejudice either to them or to the beaſt itſelf. They have alſo a great many cur-dogs, but theſe I ſuppoſe were originally from Europe. When the Engliſh firſt ſettled here, they made a great profit of furs, but they are ſince much fallen in their value. I have been the ſhorter in the accounts of theſe creatures, which are common enough in other countries of America, that I might have the more leiſure to deſcribe a creature which is peculiar almoſt to New England; and which ſeems therefore to deſerve a more particular deſcription.

The mooſe is found no where but in North America, and is one of the nobleſt creatures in the foreſt: there are two ſorts, the common grey mooſe, by the Indians called wampooſe, (theſe are more like the ordinary deer, and like them herd ſometimes thirty in a company) and the large and black mooſe, of which we have the following account: He is the head of the deer kind, has many things in common with other deer, in many differs, but in all very ſuperior. The mooſe is made much like a deer, parts the hoof, chews the cud, has no gall, and his ears large and erect; the hair of the black mooſe is a dark grey, upon the ridge of his back ten or twelve inches long, of which the Indians make belts; he has a very ſhort tail. The New England hunters have found a ſtag mooſe of fourteen ſpans in height from the withers, reckoning nine inches to the ſpan, that is ten feet and an half; a quarter of this veniſon weighed more than two hundred pounds. A few years ago a gentleman ſurpriſed one of the black mooſe in his grounds, within two miles of Boſton. It proved a doe or hind of the fourth year; after ſhe was dead they meaſured her upon the ground, from the noſe to the tail between ten and eleven feet; ſhe wanted an inch of ſeven feet in height. The horns of the mooſe, when full grown, are about four or five feet from the head to the tip, and have ſhoots and branches to each horn, and generally ſpread about ſix feet; when the horns come out of the head they are round, like the horns of an ox, about a foot from the head they begin to grow a palm broad, and further up ſtill wider, of which the Indians make good ladles, that will hold a pint. When a mooſe goes through a thicket, or under the boughs of trees, he lays his horns back on his neck, not only that he may make his way the eaſier, but to cover the body from the browſe or ſcratch of the woods. Theſe prodigious horns are ſhed every year.

A mooſe does not ſpring or riſe in going as deer, but ſhoves along ſideways, throwing out the feet like a horſe, in a raking pace. One of theſe large black mooſe, in his common walk, has been ſeen to ſtep over a large gate, five feet high: after you unharbour a mooſe, he will run a courſe of twenty or thirty miles before he turns about, or comes to a bay; when they are chaſed they generally take to the water. The common deer, for a ſhort ſpace, are ſwifter than a mooſe; but then a mooſe ſoon out-winds a deer, and runs much farther. The meat of a mooſe is excellent food; and though it is not ſo delicate as the common veniſon, yet it is more ſubſtantial, and will bear ſalting; the mooſe is looked upon as a great dainty. The black mooſe are rarely found above four or five together; the young ones keep with the dam a full year. A mooſe calves every year, and generally brings two; they bring forth their young ones ſtanding, and the young fall from their dam upon their feet. The time of their bringing forth is generally in the month of April.

The mooſe being very tall, and having very ſhort necks, do not graze as the common deer, other cattle, &c. do, and if at any time they eat graſs, it is the top of that which grows

grows very high, or on ſteep riſing ground; in the ſummer they feed upon plants, herbs, and young ſhrubs, that grow upon the land, but moſtly, and with the greateſt delight, on water plants, eſpecially a ſort of wild colt's-foot and lilly that abound in their ponds and near the banks of rivers, and for which the mooſe will wade far and deep; and by the noiſe they make in the water, the hunters often diſcover them. In the winter they live upon browſe, or the tops of buſhes and young trees, and being very tall and ſtrong, they will bend down a tree as big as a man's leg; and where the browſe fail them they will eat off the bark of ſome ſort of trees as high as they can reach; they generally feed in the night, and lie ſtill in the day. The ſkin of the mooſe, when well dreſſed, makes excellent buff; the Indians make their ſnow-ſhoes of them. Their way of dreſſing it, which is very good, is thus: After they have haired and grained the hide, they make a lather of the mooſe's brains in warm water, and after they have ſoaked the hide for ſome time, they ſtretch and ſupple it.

There is hardly greater variety and plenty of fowl any where, ſuch as turkies, geeſe, partridges, ducks, herons, ſtorks, heath-cocks, ſwans, wigeons, dapers, black-birds; all ſorts of barn-door fowl, crows, ravens, cormorants, &c. Vaſt flights of pigeons come and go at certain ſeaſons of the year.

The fiſh in the ſea and rivers here are excellent, and in vaſt abundance, as cod, thornback, ſturgeon, ſalmon, haddocks, herrings, mackrel, ſmelts, eels, lampreys, ſharks, ſeals, porpuſſes, grampuſſes, whales, and other fiſh, great and ſmall. The beſt months for fiſhing are March, April, May, and June. Six or ſeven ſtar-fiſh were formerly taken off the ſhore near Nantucket, of which Governor Winthorp gave the Royal Society an account, having obſerved that this fiſh divides itſelf into no leſs than 81,920 ſmall parts by branchings, and is one of the moſt wonderful works of the creation. Some years ſince there ſtranded on the coaſt of New England a dead whale, of the ſort which in fiſher's language is called trumpo, having teeth like thoſe of a mill, its mouth at a good diſtance from and under the noſe, and ſeveral partitions in the noſe, out of which run a thin oily ſubſtance they candied; the remainder, which proved a thick fat ſubſtance, being ſcraped out, was ſaid to be the ſpermaceti. We have ſome very curious accounts, not only of this, but of other kinds of whales, by the ingenious Mr. Dudley, which for want of room I omit; and alſo, becauſe, I ſhall be obliged to mention this ſubject again more largely in another place.

We will now proceed from the animal to the vegetable kingdom, which is in full as flouriſhing a condition, and yields very little to any country in America. There is plenty of good timber in the woods and ſwamps of New England; but that plenty is ſo much leſſened within ten or twelve miles from the ſea, that, we are told, there is a neceſſity of a law to prevent the waſte of woods, which three or fourſcore years ago the planters would have been glad to have ſeen waſted. Oak, elm, fir, aſh, cypreſs, fine cheſnut, walnut, cedar, beech, aſpin, ſaſſafras, and ſhumack, are common here; their fir is of an extraordinary growth for maſts, yards, and planks. The ſhumack is of uſe for dyers and tanners; and as there is no want of hides or ſkins, nor bark, there muſt be much leather in New England, if thoſe advantages are improved; the oak has ſupplied the ſhipwrights for building; the fir produces pitch, tar, roſin, and turpentine. All ſorts of garden and orchard trees grow in perfection, ſo that it is no hard thing for one planter to make a hundred hogſheads of cyder in a ſeaſon, and the export of apples to the ſugar iſlands is one of the conſtant articles in the trade of the province.

It is affirmed, their apples are larger and ſweeter than ours in England; and the ſame obſervation extends to their plums, cherries, peaches, pears, &c. All ſorts of

roots for the table are in great plenty here, as turnips, parſnips, carrots, radiſhes, much larger and richer than in England, though originally their ſeeds came from hence. There are alſo pompions and onions, good ſtore of water-melons; and ſquaſhes grow here, perhaps from ſeeds that were firſt brought from Portugal; whither the traders here have long ſent, and ſtill ſend, their fiſh in great quantities. Flax and hemp grow as naturally here as in any country on the Baltic, and in as great perfection; oats, barley, peas, beans, and indeed every thing of this kind, ſucceed as well as can be wiſhed; but amongſt them all, there is nothing ſo much planted as Indian corn, of which Mr. Winthorp having given a large account to the Royal Society, we ſhall take as much as is neceſſary for ours, or the reader's purpoſe, from thence, and inſert it here.

The natives called it Weachin, and in ſome ſouthern parts of America it is known by the name of maiis or maize; the ear is a ſpan long, compoſed of eight rows of grain, or more, according to the goodneſs of the ground, about thirty grains in a row; it is of various colours, as red, white, yellow, blue, olive, greeniſh, black, ſpeckled, ſtriped, and ſometimes in the ſame field, and in the ſame year; but the white and yellow is the moſt common; the ear is defended from the cold and ſtorms by ſtrong thick huſks, the ſtalks grow ſix or eight feet high; that of New England is not quite ſo tall as that of Virginia, and at Canada it is ſhorter than at New England; 'tis jointed like a cane, and full of ſweet juice, like the ſugar cane, and a ſyrup as ſweet as ſugar may be made of it, as has been often tried; at every joint there are long flags, and at the top a branch of flowers like rye bloſſoms.

It is generally planted from the middle of April to the middle of May. In the northern parts the Mohawk corn is not planted till the middle of June, and yet is ripe in ſeaſon. The ſtalks of this ſort are ſhort, and the ears near the bottom, and are of ſeveral colours. The manner of planting maize is in rows, at equal diſtance every way, about five or ſix feet; the earth is opened with a hoe four inches deep, and four or five grains are thrown into it, at a little diſtance from one another in the breadth of a hoe, then they are covered with earth; if they grow the crop will anſwer. The corn is weeded at a hand's length, and the earth is looſened about it with a hoe. This labour muſt be repeated as the weeds come up; when the ſtalk begins to grow high, a little earth ſhould be drawn about it, and on putting forth the ear ſo much as to make a little hill, like a hop-hill. It is ripe about the middle of September; it muſt be ſtripped as ſoon as gathered, unleſs it is laid thin, to prevent its growing mouldy or ſprouting. The common way is to move the ear together, in long traces, by ſome part of the huſks left thereon, which is called tracing. Theſe traces they hang upon bearers, without doors, and will keep ſo all winter good and ſweet. The Indians thraſh it as they gather it. They dry it well on matts in the ſun, and bury it in holes in the ground, lined with moſs or matts, which are their barns. The Engliſh of late plant it with the help of the plough; they turn up ſingle furrows, ſix feet diſtance; then plough acroſs, at the ſame diſtance, throw in the corn where theſe meet, and cover it with a hoe, or run another furrow over it with the plough.

The Indians boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with fiſh or veniſon inſtead of bread; ſometimes they bruiſe it in mortars, and ſo boil it. The moſt uſual way is to parch it in aſhes, ſtirring it ſo artificially as to be very tender, without burning; this they ſift and beat in mortars into fine meal, which they eat dry, or mixed with water. The Engliſh mix it into a ſtiff paſte, make bread of it, which they bake all day or all night. The beſt ſort of food which is made of it is called ſamp: to make it, the corn is watered half an hour, beaten in a mortar to the bigneſs of rice, ſifted, boiled, and eaten with milk, or butter and ſugar, like rice; and this ſeems to be ſo good and whole-

ſome

ſome a diet, that 'tis a ſtrange ſort of folly in ſome that deſpiſe it becauſe it is Indian corn; and the Indians have no other corn to eat. The Engliſh have alſo made good beer of it by malting it, or making it of bread; when they malt it, it muſt chit both ways, root and blade; to do which they heap it up at a convenient time, then take away the top of the earth of a garden-field, two or three inches deep; after which they cover the ground with the corn and the corn with the earth; when the plat is green all over with the corn-ſprouts, which it will be in about ten days, it muſt be taken up, the earth ſhaken from it and dried, and then waſhed and dried again on a kiln; this makes the malt and that the beer, which will be pleaſant, wholeſome, and of a brown colour. The beer made of bread is more durable, and altogether as pleaſant; to make this they cut the bread into great lumps as big as a man's fiſt, maſh and manage it as they do malt; adding or omitting hops, of which they have enough, and as good a ſort of their own as is deſired. No Indian corn grows wild now; but both that and kidney-beans were found among the natives. The Indians have a tradition that the firſt grain of corn was brought thither by a black-bird, and the firſt bean by a crow.

We are now to proceed from the deſcription of the country, and an account of its produce, in which we ought by all means to include iron ore, of which there is in this country great plenty: I ſay our method leads us to go on to the political ſtate and condition of this colony, that the ſituation of the Engliſh therein may be rendered more obvious, and be the better apprehended. In order to do this as ſuccinctly as poſſible, we ſhall obſerve there are very few countries in which ſo many different forms of government have prevailed within ſo narrow a ſpace of time as in New England. At the firſt going over of the people thither they framed a government of their own, and afterwards procured, as themſelves boaſt, or ſome of their writers have boaſted for them, the eſtabliſhment of a republic, by virtue of a patent from King James I. which, however, they managed ſo indifferently, and were guilty of ſuch flagrant oppreſſions, on account of differences in religion, that their charter was in the reign of King Charles II. declared forfeited; and though it was renewed under the reign of King William, yet it was under various reſtrictions, and with ſeveral material alterations; ſo that we may ſafely affirm that there are at preſent three kinds of governments eſtabliſhed by law in thoſe four colonies; which, as we before obſerved, are eſtabliſhed within the limits of New England. The firſt kind of government I ſhall mention is that old form of charter government which allows the people to chuſe annually their own governors, deputy-governors, council, and aſſembly, with all their officers, civil and military, and to make ſuch laws as to them ſhall ſeem expedient, provided they are not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain. This kind of government, which, I believe, is more independent than that of any colony belonging to any other nation in the world, is enjoyed in its full extent by the people who inhabit the plantations of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland; but they make a very different uſe of it; for thoſe of the firſt-mentioned colony are very ſtrict in point of religion, whereas thoſe in Rhode Iſland are the freeſt in that reſpect of any in the world; for there are among them people of all religions, or rather of all thoſe ſects into which Proteſtants are divided, but without the leaſt prejudice to their temporal concerns, every man being alike capable of magiſtracy; and with reſpect to an eſtabliſhed church there is none, but each body of Chriſtians live according to their own ſyſtem, and chuſe and pay their miniſters as they think fit. The great colony of Maſſachuſets is likewiſe a charter-government, but the appointment of the governor, lieutenant-governor, ſecretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, is veſted in the crown. The people have not only the choice of the aſſembly but of the council;

upon which, however, the governor in his turn has a negative; and, by virtue of his commiſſion as captain-general, has the power of the militia; ſo that here the ſupreme authority reſts neither in the governor nor the people, but in them both, whenever they can agree to exert it. The government of New Hampſhire is entirely in the hands of the crown, in the ſame manner as that of Virginia and other colonies.

The capital of this country is Boſton, in the county of Suffolk, and within the province of Maſſachuſet Proper: it is ſituated in the latitude of 42 degrees 20 minutes north, and in 71 degrees of longitude weſt from London; it ſtands on a peninſula about four miles in circumference, at the bottom of a fine bay of the ſea, at the entrance whereof are ſeveral rocks which appear above water, and above a dozen ſmall iſlands, ſome of which are inhabited. There is but one ſafe channel to approach the harbour, and that ſo narrow that two ſhips can ſcarce ſail through abreaſt; but within the harbour there is room enough for five hundred ſail to lie at anchor. The entrance is defended by the caſtle of Fort William, on which are one hundred guns mounted, twenty of which lie in a platform, level with the water, ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for an enemy to paſs the caſtle; and, to prevent ſurprize, they have a guard placed on one of the rocks about two leagues diſtant, on which alſo there ſtands a little houſe, from whence they make ſignals to the caſtle when any ſhips come near it: there is alſo a battery of great guns at each end of the town, which commands the harbour, to the fire whereof any enemy would be expoſed if he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to paſs the caſtle.

At the bottom of the bay there is a pier near two thouſand feet in length, with warehouſes for the merchants on the north ſide of it; and ſhips of the greateſt burden may come up cloſe to the pier and unload, without the help of boats. The greateſt part of the town of Boſton lies in the form of a creſcent about the harbour, the country beyond riſing gradually, and affording a moſt delightful proſpect from the ſea. There are in it ſeveral ſtreets, not much inferior to the beſt in London, the chief of which runs from the pier up to their town-houſe or guild-hall, a handſome building, where are walks for the merchants, as on the exchange; and there alſo are the council-chamber, the houſe of repreſentatives, and their courts of juſtice, the exchange being ſurrounded with bookſellers-ſhops, who have trade enough to employ five printing-preſſes. There are ten churches of all denominations, of which ſix are Independents, the moſt prevailing party in New England; and the number of ſouls in the town of that perſuaſion may be about fourteen or fifteen thouſand. The epiſcopal church is handſomely built and adorned, and the congregation ſaid to be about a thouſand in number. Their church furniture and ſome pieces of plate were given them by King William and Queen Mary, and their organ by Thomas Brattley, eſquire. There is alſo in this church a magnificent ſeat for the governor, who comes thither when he happens to be of the church of England. Boſton is the moſt flouriſhing town for trade in Engliſh America, and there are ſeveral hundred ſail of ſhips, brigantines, and other veſſels, annually loaded here with timber, beef, pork, fiſh, and other commodities, for Europe or the American iſlands: their merchants and tradeſmen are a polite ſort of people, many of them having travelled into Europe, or converſed with foreigners of ſeveral nations at home: their houſes are elegantly furniſhed, and their tables as well ſerved as thoſe of the merchants and tradeſmen of London; all manner of proviſions being as plentiful as in any town in Old England.

A late writer tells us in relation to the fortreſs before-mentioned, that it is a beautiful caſtle, by far the fineſt piece of military architecture in Britiſh America; being a quarry ſurrounded by a covered way, and joined with two lines of communication to the main battery,

battery, as alſo a line of communication from the main gate to a redoubt, to prevent any enemies landing; and the battery is ſituated ſo near to the channel, as to hinder ſhips coming up to the town, which muſt all come within piſtol-ſhot of it. In time of peace there is but one company on duty in the caſtle; but in time of war, there are five hundred able bodied men, exempted from all other military duty, to attend the ſervice of the caſtle at an hour's warning, when the ſignal is given from the night-houſe of the approach of an enemy. The caſtle thereupon makes a ſignal to the town; and if five ſhips or more appear in time of war, the neighbouring country is alarmed, by firing a beacon. In this city commonly the governor reſides; here the general court and aſſembly meet, and almoſt all the public buſineſs of the province is here tranſacted. The number of houſes is computed at four thouſand four hundred; the number of people at about twenty-four thouſand; and the ſhipping of this port is computed at between ſix and ſeven hundred. There are, beſides this, ſeveral great towns and good ports and a multitude of ſmall ones, in New England; but I have not room to enter into more particular accounts.

As to the number of people, writers differ extremely, and it is not eaſy to know which is in the right; but the following about twenty years ago was ſaid to be the beſt authority; viz. that in the Maſſachuſets colony there were eighty thouſand ſouls; in that of Connecticut, thirty thouſand; and in Rhode Iſland, ten thouſand; in the whole, one hundred and twenty thouſand: but I am perſuaded that, at preſent, they amount to one hundred and ſixty thouſand at leaſt.

The commerce of theſe colonies is very conſiderable, and extends itſelf over all America, and into ſome parts of Europe; they furniſh our ſugar-colonies with fiſh, cattle, boards, hoops, pipe-ſtaves, bark, ſkins, butter, cheeſe, oil, tallow, corn, apples, turpentine, &c. and this in ſuch vaſt abundance, that it is computed the iſland of Barbadoes alone takes off to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds every year; they deal beſides with the other ſugar-colonies, ſometimes with the French, largely with the Spaniards, and they ſhip off prodigious quantities of fiſh to Italy, Spain, and Portugal. They take from us all kinds of mercery goods, linen, ſtockings, ſhoes, ſail-cloth, cordage, haberdaſhery ware, and a vaſt many other things; in return they build a prodigious number of ſhips, and export a vaſt quantity of maſts, plank, and yards, for the royal navy; pitch, tar, turpentine, ſkins, furs, oil, whale-fins, logwood, and other commodities.

The obſervations made by the famous Sir Joſiah Child, in reference to this colony, are very well worthy our notice, as they will lead us to form the trueſt judgment poſſible, as to that important point, what the profit is which reſults to this kingdom, from our plantations in New England; upon which he reaſons in the following manner: "1ſt. All our American plantations, except the New England, produce commodities of different natures, as ſugar, tobacco, cocoa, wool, ginger, ſundry ſorts of dyeing woods, &c.: whereas New England produces generally the ſame we have here; viz. corn and cattle; ſome quantity of fiſh they do likewiſe kill, but that is taken and cured altogether by their own inhabitants, which prejudices our Newfoundland trade; where, as has been ſaid, very few are, or ought, according to prudence, to be employed in theſe fiſheries but the inhabitants of Old England. The other commodities we have from them are ſome few great maſts, furs, and train oil, of which the yearly value amounts to very little; the much greater value of returns from thence being made in ſugar, cotton, wool, tobacco, and ſuch like commodities, which they firſt receive from ſome other of His Majeſty's plantations, in barter for dry cod-fiſh, ſalt, mackarel, beef, pork, bread, beans, flour, peaſe, &c. which they ſupply Barbadoes,

Jamaica, &c. with, to the diminution of the vent of thoſe commodities from this kingdom; the great experience of which, in our own Weſt India plantations, would ſoon be found in the advantage of the value of our lands in England, were it not for the vaſt and almoſt incredible ſupplies thoſe colonies have from New England.

"2dly. The people of New England, by virtue of their primitive charters, being not ſo ſtrictly tied to the obſervation of the laws of this kingdom, do ſometimes aſſume the liberty of trading, contrary to the act of navigation; by reaſon of which many of our American commodities, eſpecially tobacco and ſugar, are tranſported in New Engliſh ſhipping, directly into Spain, and other foreign countries, without being landed in England, or paying any duty to His Majeſty; which is not only a loſs to the King, and prejudice to the navigation of Old England, but alſo a total excluſion of the Old Engliſh merchant from the vent of thoſe commodities in thoſe ports where the New Engliſh veſſels trade; becauſe there being no cuſtom on thoſe commodities in New England, and a great cuſtom paid on them in Old England; it muſt neceſſarily follow that the New Engliſh merchant will be able to afford his commodity much cheaper than the Old Engliſh merchant; and thoſe that can ſell cheapeſt, will infallibly engroſs the whole trade ſooner or later.

"3dly. Of all the American plantations, His Majeſty has none ſo apt for the building of ſhipping as New England, nor none comparably ſo qualified for the breeding of ſeamen, not only by reaſon of the natural induſtry of that people, but principally by reaſon of their cod and mackarel fiſheries; and, in my poor opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and in proſpect more dangerous, to any mother-kingdom, than the increaſe of ſhipping in her colonies, plantations, and provinces.

"4thly. The people that evacuate from us to Barbadoes and the other Weſt India plantations, as was before hinted, do commonly work one Engliſh to ten or eight blacks; and if we kept the trade of our ſaid plantations entirely to England, England would have no leſs inhabitants, but rather an increaſe of people, by ſuch evacuation, becauſe that one Engliſhman, with ten blacks that work with him, accounting what they eat, uſe, and wear, would make employment for four men in England, as was ſaid before; whereas, peradventure, of ten men that iſſue from us to New England or Ireland, what we ſend to or receive from them does not employ one man in England."

But with great ſubmiſſion to ſo knowing a man and ſo able a judge as he was in theſe matters, what he has delivered upon this ſubject, though hitherto received with general approbation, is liable to many objections, which, being duly conſidered, will give the ſtate and utility of this colony another aſpect. For with reſpect to his firſt head of objections, it is not the fault of New England that they have not a ſtaple commodity, as well as the ſugar and tobacco plantations, but it is our own; ſince we might be furniſhed from thence with as great plenty, and in as great perfection, as from any part of the Baltic, with all the naval ſtores, which are ſo neceſſary, and for which we actually pay yearly a vaſt ſum of ready money. It is therefore very unjuſt to call New England a uſeleſs province, becauſe we will not make uſe of her commodities, which we might command for our own manufactures, at our own time and on our own terms, but rather pay our money for them to foreigners, who, whenever an opportunity offers, never fail to force their own terms upon us. As to the proviſions furniſhed to our ſugar colonies by the people of New England, it is ſo far from being a diſadvantage to the nation, that it is a very great convenience; for without it they could not poſſibly ſubſiſt. This, at firſt ſight, may ſeem a very bold aſſertion, but I am very confident that it is true; for in time of peace, if the ſugar colonies were to

draw all their proviſions from hence, it would make their commodity much dearer, and conſequently enable foreigners to beat us out of that trade entirely, and in time of war the people in thoſe colonies would be in danger of ſtarving, as the inhabitants of the French ſugar iſlands generally are; to avoid which inconveniency, they are now labouring to render Louviſiana as uſeful to their ſugar colonies, as New England is to ours: and after all, what the New England people get by this trade comes hither. To this we may add, that if we had not ſettled New England the French certainly would; the conſequences of which may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed.

The ſecond objection admits of the ſame anſwer. We have the benefit of all the trade the people in this colony carry on in Europe, as well as America; and while we have this certain advantage, there ſeems to be no juſt cauſe for our diſturbing ourſelves with the thoughts of the advantages that might be gained if this trade ran in another channel; ſince theſe are uncertainties, as to which, however, our government has already taken all the precautions that are poſſible, or at leaſt that are practicable, without running into greater inconveniences than thoſe they are calculated to guard againſt. The breeding of ſeamen and the building of ſhips are not found by experience to be attended with the inconveniences that were feared from them; but, on the contrary, have had many advantageous conſequences, both in time of war and of peace. The fourth objection, which ſeems to have the greateſt weight of any, we know now by experience has in reality no weight at all; for without having colonies compoſed entirely of white people, it would be impoſſible for us to defend our other colonies againſt our enemies in America; and, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter in ſpeaking of Georgia, inſtead of repining at the want of negroes in New England, we ought rather to wiſh that there were fewer negroes elſewhere. The reader will eaſily perceive that I do not affect to contradict this great author, I only expreſs the reaſons why his arguments do not convince me, and, from the lights of experience ſhew that it is not impoſſible even for the greateſt men to be miſtaken.

Sir Joſiah Child ſaw this himſelf, as appears by the manner in which he finiſhes his remarks, which I look upon to be one of the fineſt paſſages in his whole work. "To conclude," ſays he, "and to do right to that moſt induſtrious Engliſh colony, I muſt confeſs, that though we loſe by their unlimited trade with our foreign plantations, yet we are very great gainers by their direct trade to and from Old England. Our yearly exportations of Engliſh manufactures, malt, and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to ten times the value of what is imported from thence; which calculation I do not make at random, but upon mature conſideration, and peradventure, upon as much experience of this very trade, as any other perſon will pretend to do; and, therefore, whenever a reformation of our correſpondency in trade with that people ſhall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require great tenderneſs and very ſerious circumſpection."

I ſhall not dwell much longer upon this ſubject, or pretend to give the reader any calculation of the value of thoſe advantages which from this colony are derived to Great Britain, becauſe I am ſenſible that though the thing may be practicable in itſelf, yet ſufficient informations are not hitherto fallen into my power; I deſire therefore to leave only theſe three remarks with the ingenious and impartial reader: the firſt is, that we have it in our power to bring from this colony all the naval ſtores that we now bring from the Baltic; which, whenever it is thoroughly conſidered by our parliament, will produce ſome law, which cannot fail of rendering this colony twice as beneficial to the nation as it has hitherto been, or could be till enabled by ſuch a law. In the ſecond place I muſt obſerve, that as we derive a great part of our ſugars from the aſſiſtance

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given to the colonies which produce them by New England, ſo this part of their produce ought to be placed to the New England account. I am to remark laſtly, that the complaints which have been made of the inhabitants of this colony dealing in goods, and employing themſelves in manufactures which interfere with thoſe of Great Britain, is a complaint which, though well founded, is ill applied; for though it be true that this may be an injury to us, yet the fault lies in ourſelves, and not in the people of New England, who only raiſe and manufacture for themſelves what they cannot purchaſe from us; ſo that not content with having their all, (for, as we have ſhewn, the whole balance of their trade comes hither) we ſeem to be angry that they endeavour to ſupply themſelves with what we could ſell, and they want wherewithal to purchaſe; which want, however, might be removed by taking their naval ſtores. But it is now fit that we ſhould give a ſhort view of the plantation of our next colony, which though we cannot call it one of the moſt profitable, yet it muſt be allowed one of the moſt pleaſant of our plantations.

10. The Iſlands of Bermudas were diſcovered by one John Bermudas, a Spaniard; after which they were frequently touched at by his countrymen in their paſſage to the Weſt Indies, but were quite unknown to us till the year 1593, when one Henry May was ſhipwrecked upon them in a French veſſel, whoſe report made them very famous; but they became more ſo by the like misfortune of Sir George Summers, and Sir Thomas Gates, in their paſſage to Virginia in 1609, of which we have before given a particular account, as well as of his being ſent thither a ſecond time to fetch hogs, it was with great difficulty he found theſe iſlands, and not long after he breathed his laſt in them, being upwards of threeſcore, and much fatigued for many months before. It was from him their name was changed to Summers's Iſlands, which our mariners call the Summer Iſlands; a name they very well deſerve for their pleaſantneſs and fertility. Sir George directed his men to return to Virginia with black hogs for the relief of that colony, but they reſolved otherwiſe after his death; and ſtoring their cedar ſhip with ſuch proviſions as they had, they ſet ſail for England, where they arrived at Whitchurch in Dorſetſhire, having Sir George Summers's corpſe on board, only the heart and bowels they left at Bermudas, where Captain Butler, twelve years afterwards, built a handſome monument over them.

Theſe men, at their return, gave ſuch an account of the country to the Virginia Company, that they thought it worth their while to eſtabliſh a correſpondence between England and Bermudas; accordingly they ſold theſe iſlands to one hundred and twenty perſons of the ſame ſociety, who obtained a charter from King James, and became the proprietors of them. When Sir George Summers was firſt here, two of his men ſtaid behind, having committed ſome crime for which they would have been put to death. They were ſtill there when Sir George returned, and had ever ſince his departure, ſupported themſelves on the productions of the place, and built them a hut, and took poſſeſſion of St. George's Iſland. Theſe two men, whoſe names were Chriſtopher Carter and Edward Waters, ſtaid alſo behind Sir George's ſecond company, of whom they perſuaded one Edward Chard to remain with them: and now Carter, Waters, and Chard, were ſole lords of the country, but ſoon fell out among themſelves; Chard and Waters were coming to a pitched battle; but Carter, though he hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatening to declare againſt the man who ſtruck firſt. At laſt neceſſity made them good friends, and they joined together in making diſcoveries, in one of which expeditions they found the largeſt piece of ambergreaſe among the rocks that ever was ſeen, weighing eighty pounds, beſides other ſmaller pieces. This treaſure made them almoſt mad; they

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grew giddy with the thoughts of it; and, that they might have an opportunity to make uſe of it, reſolved on the moſt deſperate attempt that men could run upon, which was to build a boat after the beſt manner they could, to ſail to Virginia or Newfoundland, according as wind and weather ſhould preſent.

But before they could put their project in execution, a ſhip arrived from England; for Captain Mathew Summers, Sir George's brother, had promiſed to come to them, or ſend a veſſel to their relief. The ſhip they diſcovered ſtanding in with the ſhore was the Plough, which had ſixty perſons aboard, ſent by the new Bermudas Company to make a ſettlement, of which Mr. Richard Moor was governor, who was an honeſt induſtrious perſon. He pitched upon a plain in St. George's Iſland to ſettle on, and there firſt built himſelf a houſe, or rather a cabin, for the building was only of palmeto leaves; yet he made it large enough for him, his wife, and family; and the reſt of the adventurers following his example, it became a ſort of a town, which in time grew to a conſiderable bigneſs, and is now St. George's Town, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt built in our American colonies; for all the houſes are of cedar, and all the forts of hewn ſtone. This man proved an excellent governor in every reſpect; and in the year 1614 diſappointed the Spaniards in a deſign they had formed of landing upon and conquering theſe iſlands.

He was ſucceeded by Captain Daniel Tucker, who was a perſon of better education and more experience in the world, who took upon him to eſtabliſh a regular form of government; to diſtinguiſh and trace out plantations; to oblige every man to build uniformly in the town, and to plant regularly in the country; by which method the iſlands were very much improved, and the exportations for England increaſed; he likewiſe eſtabliſhed a tolerable militia, and put the iſlands in ſuch a poſture of defence as, together with their ſituation, put it out of the power of any of their enemies to diſembark ſuch a force as might hurt them. But the ſeverity of his government was ſo grievous to ſome licentious perſons, that five of them executed as deſperate a deſign to eſcape him, as Waters and his companions had projected to get away from the iſland. They knew the governor would not give them leave to go off, and therefore invented this contrivance to effect it:—Hearing Captain Tucker had a great deſire to go a fiſhing out at ſea, but was afraid to do it, becauſe ſeveral fiſher-boats had been driven off by the weather and the men periſhed, they propoſed to him to build a boat of two or three tons, with a deck, and ſo fitted that ſhe ſhould live in all weathers. The governor conſenting to it, they fell to building in a private place, pretending it was convenient for getting timber and launching the boat. They finiſhed it ſooner than was expected; and the governor ſent hands to fetch it, intending to go in it aboard a ſhip which he was then diſpatching for England. When his men came to the place, neither the boat nor the builders were to be found; all that they could hear of them was that the boat being finiſhed the night before, thoſe that built it went off to ſea in it, to try how it would ſail. At laſt they found, by ſome letters they left behind them, that they were gone for England; and the ſtory of their adventure is told us in this manner.

They borrowed a compaſs-dial of a neighbour, on ſome pretence or other, and went on board the ſhip bound for England, where they trucked with the ſeamen ſuch things as they had for proviſions. One of them, at parting, told the mariners, that though they were forbidden to go with them, yet they hoped to be in England before them. At which the maſter of the ſhip laughed, and away theſe fearleſs adventurers ſailed, with a fair wind and weather for one and twenty days; they then met with a ſtorm,

which reduced them to extremity for eight and forty hours, and obliging them to bear up afore it drove them a little out of ther courſe to the weſtward; but the wind coming fair again, and continuing ſo ten days, they went on cheerfully. In that time they met with a French privateer, where they went aboard to beg ſome relief; but inſtead of helping they plundered them of the little they had, took away even their inſtrument of navigation, and turned them adrift. In this miſerable condition they ſailed on, growing every day weaker and weaker; their proviſions were almoſt ſpent, their firewood quite gone, not a drop of freſh water left, nor food for above a day, when at laſt, in the very hour they expected to periſh, they made land to their unſpeakable joy. This land was Ireland, where they went aſhore in the county of Cork, and were nobly entertained by the Earl of Thomond, to whom they related their voyage, which had then laſted forty-two days.

There were but five perſons concerned, of whom there was one Mr. James Barker, a gentleman, Richard Saunders who contrived the deſign, William Goodwin, a ſhipcarpenter, who built the boat, and Henry Puet, a common ſailor, who undertook to navigate this veſſel. Both theſe ſtories may ſeem a little beſide our preſent purpoſe, but I have inſerted them as belonging more immediately to a Collection of Voyages, and becauſe I look upon both theſe incidents to be very well worth preſerving. Captain Tucker reſigned, in the year 1619, to Captain Butler, who arrived at that time with four good ſhips, in which he brought five hundred paſſengers, and there being as many Engliſh on the iſland, the colony began to make a conſiderable figure. This governor raiſed a noble monument over the remains of Sir George Summers that were left in the iſland, depoſiting them in the church in St. George's Town. He divided the iſlands into diſtricts; and now the government by governor, council, and aſſembly, was eſtabliſhed, which before had been only the governor and council. The laws of the country were alſo ſettled, as near as the circumſtances and conveniences of the place would admit, to the laws of England; as is done in all the colonies in America. After bringing down the hiſtory of theſe iſlands to their becoming a regular and ſettled colony, I am next to give an account of the iſlands themſelves, in order to ſhew the value of them.

11. There are ſome who would perſuade us, that theſe iſlands have received their name from the vaſt quantity of black hogs found upon them: Bermudas, in the old Spaniſh tongue, ſignifying a black hog; but though this derivation be plauſible, yet the fact upon which it is founded is moſt certainly falſe; for when the Spaniards firſt diſcovered them there was not a ſingle hog upon theſe or perhaps upon any other iſland whatever; neither is it well known upon what part the Spaniards landed. Theſe iſlands lie very contiguous to each other; but authors differ ſo much as to the number of them, that it is very difficult to ſpeak of them with certainty; for ſome ſay there are but three hundred, others affirm there are more than five hundred. They lie in the latitude of 32 degrees 30 minutes north, and in 35 degrees of weſtern longitude, at a vaſt diſtance from the continent, ſince the neareſt land, which is Cape Hatteras in Carolina, lies at leaſt two hundred and fifty leagues to the weſt of them, and they are above ſixteen hundred leagues from England. The air here has always been thought extremely wholeſome, and the country wonderfully pleaſant, inſomuch that people were wont to remove hither from the other colonies, in order to recover their broken conſtitution. The heat in ſummer is very ſupportable, and with reſpect to winter, they have really none; nay, ſome go ſo far as to affirm, that there is but one ſeaſon in the iſland of Bermudas, and this is a perpetual ſpring; which, however, may be in ſome

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meaſure aſcribed to the ſoil, which though it be thin is very rich and very fruitful, though remarkably ſtony. The earth is of ſeveral colours, brown, white, and red; the firſt is the beſt, and the laſt the worſt. Two or three feet under the mould they find a white hard body, which the inhabitants call the rock, but which ſeems more to reſemble chalk, or a pumice-ſtone, through which the roots of their trees force a paſſage; and a kind of clay is generally found under it.

Maize, or Indian corn, which is the main ſupport of the people here, is twice reaped; for what they ſow in March they cut in July, in a fortnight after they ſow again, and reap in December. They have all the plants peculiar to the Weſt Indies, and all kinds of herbs, roots, flowers, and trees, brought from Europe, thrive to perfection. They have ſome tobacco, but it is of an indifferent ſort, and therefore does not yield them any great profit; but certainly, with a little care, they might be able to produce any kind of tobacco, or other vegetables that turns to account almoſt in any climate. They have palmetos, a kind of wild palm, that is extremely uſeful, the leaves being eight or ten feet long, and near as broad, with which they cover or thatch their houſes; it produces a very luſcious fruit, which in ſhape, ſize, and colour reſembles a damſon. Laurel, olive, mulberry, and date trees, are very common; and their foreſts abound with variety of odoriferous woods, ſome black, ſome of a yellow, and ſome of a red colour: the berries of theſe trees have the ſtiptic quality of a ſloe, and are much uſed by the Engliſh to cure the flux, which they frequently get by eating the luſcious palm-berries too greedily. But amongſt a multitude of ſhrubs and trees peculiar to theſe iſlands, and equally valuable for their timber and fruit, there are two which, though found in other parts of the world, have a peculiar excellence here; the firſt is their orange, which in point of ſize, ſcent and flavour, far exceeds any either in the Weſt or Eaſt Indies: the ſecond is their cedar, which, from the nature of the ſoil wherein it grows, is firmer and more durable than any of its kind that we are acquainted with; anſwers in every reſpect to oak-timber, and is found of extraordinary uſe in ſhip-building, ſo that the beſt ſloops, brigantines, and other ſmall veſſels, both for ſervice and ſailing, which are in uſe throughout the Weſt Indies, are built at Bermudas.

They have likewiſe two very ſingular plants, one uſeful the other noxious, but both ſo remarkable as to deſerve particular notice; the firſt is called the Summer Iſland redwood, the berry of which is as red as the prickle-pear, giving alſo ſuch a tincture; out of which berry come firſt worms, which afterwards turn into flies, ſometimes bigger than the cochineel fly, and a medicinal virtue much exceeding it. The poiſon-weed is the other ſtrange plant, which grows much in the ſame manner as our ivy, and, if we may depend upon a gentleman who lived long in theſe iſlands, and ſent an account of what was remarkable in them to the Royal Society, there is not a more ſurpriſing production than this in nature: he ſays he had ſeen a man ſo infected by it as to have all the ſkin of his face peel off, though he paſſed by without touching it, and yet he affirms that he had chewed it in his mouth without feeling any inconvenience, whence he infers that it is not hurtful alike to all conſtitutions. In this all who have been upon theſe iſlands agree, that this weed is very prejudicial, but then they agree likewiſe that there is nothing venomous beſides in any of theſe iſlands.

As for animals, there were none in Bermudas but hogs, inſects, and birds, when Sir George Summers was ſhip-wrecked there: he found out that there were ſome hogs in the iſland, by ſending out two or three of his own to feed, and when they rambled home, a huge wild boar followed them, and being killed was found to be excellent meat; the hogs they killed afterwards were found to be all black, and from thence

it is concluded that the Spaniards had left them there to breed, becauſe they were of the ſame kind with them they carried to the continent of America: they now fat them at Bermudas with palm and cedar berries; but their number is very much decreaſed.

Theſe iſlands abound in more and greater variety of fowl than any in America. There are hawks of all ſorts, herns, bitterns, offſpreys, cormorants, baldcoots, moorhens, ſwans, teal, ſnipe, duck, and wigeons; bats and owls are alſo very common here, with multitudes of ſmall birds; as wood-peckers, ſparrows, &c. The Engliſh, at their firſt coming found a ſort of fowl here they called cowkoes, which bred in the holes of the rocks, and in burrows like rabbits, and were ſo numerous and gentle, that they were taken by hand. They are now almoſt deſtroyed, being very eaſy to be caught. This bird is of the bigneſs of a ſea-mew. There are alſo the tropic-bird, and the pemlico, ſeldom ſeen by day, and when it is, held to be the unwelcome foreteller of a ſtorm.

Fiſh there is as plenty as fowl, of which there are ſo many ſorts that authors have not yet found out names for them. They have of the ſcaly and the ſhelly kind; the whale and ſword-fiſh, and the threſher; but particularly the tortoiſe abounds to a wonder, and is as good and great, of the ſort, as any in the world. Whale-fiſhing has been attempted, but without ſucceſs. The whales about Bermudas are found only in the months of February, March, and April; the female whales have abundance of milk, which the young ones ſuck out of the teats that grow by her navel; they have no teeth, but feed on graſs growing on the rocks at the bottom during theſe three months, and at no other ſeaſon of the year; when this is conſumed and gone, the whales go. There have been ſpermaceti whales driven upon the ſhore, which ſperma, as they call it, lies all over the bodies of theſe whales: theſe have divers teeth, which may be about as big as a man's wriſt. Ambergreaſe and ſpermaceti have been found here in great quantities, and pearl: all which are almoſt as rare here now as elſewhere; which is a little wonderful.

The inſects in theſe iſlands are, generally ſpeaking, the ſame as before mentioned in other plantations, except it be the ſpider, which is thought to be larger here than in any other country in the world, and ſo adorned with beautiful colours, that it takes off very much, if it does not entirely remove, that diſtaſte which otherwiſe the ſight of creatures of this kind, and of ſo enormous a ſize, would naturally occaſion. One of theſe ſpiders, with its legs extended, would take up a ſpace equal to the breadth of a man's hand. Their bodies are compoſed of two parts, one flat and the other round, not unlike, either in ſhape or ſize, to a pigeon's egg. On their backs they have an orifice, which ſerves, as well as in ſome kinds of hogs, for a navel; their mouths are covered with a kind of grey hairs, intermixed ſometimes with bright red, and on each ſide of their mouths they have a kind of crooked tooth, of a fine poliſhed ſubſtance, extremely hard, and of a bright ſhining black, and therefore they are often ſet in ſilver or gold for tooth-picks. When theſe creatures grow old, they are covered all over with a kind of dark brown or black down, ſmooth, ſoft, and ſhining like velvet; on the flat part they have their ten legs, five on each ſide, each of which has four joints and two ſmall claws at the ends. They caſt their ſkins every year, together with thoſe hard teeth-like ſubſtances before-mentioned; they live upon flies and gnats, in catching of which they ſhew great cunning and no leſs agility. Their webs, which are very large, they ſpirt into the air, by which means they are lodged upon trees at ſome diſtance, and then run along the threads, and weave them ſo ſtrong, that birds of the ſize of a thruſh are ſometimes caught in them.

There

There is ſcarce an eighth part of theſe iſlands inhabited, and all but St. George's, St. David's, and Cooper's Iſles, have only a few houſes ſcattered up and down; they all together make the figure of a ſheep-hook, and are within the circuit of ſix or ſeven leagues at moſt. There are none of them of any conſiderable bigneſs, yet ſome much bigger than others; as time and the ſea continually waſhing upon them, have worn them away in different proportions. The main or great iſland of all is called St. George's, and is about ſixteen miles in length, from eaſt-north-eaſt to weſt-ſouth-weſt; it is not a league over in the broadeſt place, but is fortified by nature all round, the rocks every way extending themſelves a great way into the ſea. To natural ſtrength, eſpecially towards the eaſtward, where it is moſt expoſed, the inhabitants have added that of forts, batteries, parapets, and lines; the cannon of the forts and batteries being ſo well diſpoſed as to command the ſeveral channels and inlets into the ſea. There are no more than two places where ſhipping may ſafely come in, and it is not eaſy for a man to find thoſe places out; the rocks lie ſo thick in ſuch a manner, and ſome ſo undiſcovered, that without a good pilot from the ſhore, a veſſel of ten tons could not find the way into thoſe harbours, which being once known the biggeſt ſhips in the world may enter. Theſe two havens are ſo fortified, that if an enemy ſhould attempt either, he might eaſily be kept out. The rocks, at moſt places, appear at low water; it ebbs and flows there not above five feet; the very ſhore itſelf is, for the moſt part, a rock, and it is impoſſible to find out any iſlands better guarded by rocks than theſe; indeed they are all of them ſo environed with them, that they ſeem to threaten all ſhips who venture on that coaſt with preſent deſtruction, and ſo many have been ſhipwrecked upon them, that the Spaniards gave them the name of Los Diabolos, the Devil's Iſlands; this place having been fatal to them and all nations.

The town of St. George ſtands at the bottom of the haven of the ſame name, covered by no leſs than ſix or ſeven forts and batteries, as King's Caſtle, Charles Fort, Pembrook Fort, Cavendiſh Fort, Davie's Fort, Warwick Fort, and Sandy's Fort, mounted with above ſeventy pieces of cannon; and they are ſo diſpoſed that they can be all brought to bear upon any ſhip before ſhe can make her entrance. In this town there is a fair church with a fine library, for which the inhabitants are indebted to Dr. Thomas Bray. There are near a thouſand houſes in it handſomely built, and a ſtate-houſe for the meeting of the governor, council, and aſſembly. Beſides the town and diviſion of St. George, there are eight tribes, Hamilton's tribe, Smith's tribe, Devonſhire's tribe, Pembrook's tribe, Paget's tribe, Warwick's tribe, Southampton's tribe, and Sandy's tribe, of which Devonſhire in the north, and Southampton in the ſouth, are pariſhes, have each a church and a particular library. In the whole iſland there are plantations of oranges, mulberries, and other productions of the country, which render it a very delightful proſpect. There is a haven in Southampton tribe or diſtrict which is alſo called Southampton, and other harbours, as the Great Sound, Harrington's inlet in Hamilton's tribe, Paget's port in Paget's tribe, and others. There are no pariſh churches in any of the leſſer iſlands, and all the inhabitants are ranged under one or the other of the eight tribes. The number of people in the whole who inhabit theſe iſlands has been computed to be nine thouſand, and it is thought they do not much increaſe, many of the younger ſort removing, for the ſake of making their fortunes, into other colonies.

The government is like that of Virginia; the crown appointing both a governor and council, but the people, by their repreſentatives, compoſe the aſſembly; they have fewer bye-laws than any of our other ſettlements, which we impute to the ſmallneſs of their

their trade; for this colony produces no conſiderable commodity by which the inhabitants may be enriched; and their commerce conſiſts chiefly in timber and proviſions, which they ſend to the other parts of America that ſtand in need of them, and ſome tobacco imported to England; ſeveral families retired thither formerly, on account of their religion or health, from England, and carried conſiderable effects with them. The building of ſhips and ſloops is the moſt advantageous branch of their trade; and the people of Bermudas ſeem to content themſelves with the pleaſure and plenty of their country, with a ſafe and quiet retreat from the troubles and cares of the other part of the world, without any ambition to enrich themſelves; and if they had any ſuch deſire, it is to be queſtioned whether they have any opportunity of gratifying it: be that as it will, the inhabitants have conſtantly maintained a moſt excellent reputation; inſomuch that I knew a very ingenious gentleman, as well acquainted with this and our other plantations as thirty years trading to them all could render him, who was wont to ſay that Bermudas was the fineſt country, and inhabited by the beſt people he ever knew.

It was this report of the place and people that induced the Reverend Dean Berkley, who is ſince become, very worthily, a biſhop of our church, to think of erecting an academy there for promoting uſeful learning and true religion in the Weſt Indies; and the ſociety for propagation of the goſpel had ſo good an opinion of the propoſal made them by the biſhop of erecting a college or ſeminary at Bermudas, that they aſſiſted him in procuring a patent for it from King George I., and contributed to the expence of the undertaking. And the Doctor, with three fellows of Trinity College, in Dublin, viz. the Reverend Mr. William Thompſon, Jonathan Rogers, and James King, maſters of art, with ſeveral of the Doctor's relations, who were people of fortune, embarked for Bermudas, in order to lay the foundation of the intended college; but they were unfortunately driven by a ſtorm to Long Iſland, in the province of New York; from whence the Doctor, with his companions, viſited Boſton and ſeveral other great towns in New England, where they preached, and performed other parts of their function. But the deſign of erecting a college was laid aſide, the expence appearing larger than it had been firſt calculated, and many of thoſe who had promiſed ſubſcriptions failing in their performance; ſo that Dr. Berkley found himſelf obliged to return home, and was not long after promoted to the ſee of Cloyne, in the kingdom of Ireland, which he ſtill enjoys.

There remains nothing farther to be ſaid of this plantation, which, though it has flouriſhed exceedingly, and is ſtill in a very good condition, yet has no great trade with Great Britain, at leaſt that we can obtain any account of, though undoubtedly we receive very conſiderable advantages from thence annually, as the people make uſe of a conſiderable quantity of our goods, are cloathed with our manufactures, and employ tools ſent from thence in all kinds of work. There might perhaps, if due encouragement was given, be a poſſibility of raiſing ſeveral rich commodities in this country, but more particularly two, for which it ſeems fitter than any of our plantations, viz. cochineal and ſilk; and with this view, as I have been informed, a very worthy merchant of this city has collected, digeſted, and printed the beſt accounts that are to be met with on theſe heads, and alſo with reſpect to indigo, and has ſent them to be diſtributed at his own expence in Carolina and the Bermudas Iſlands, which is an inſtance of public ſpirit that deſerves to be mentioned with honour, and it is hoped may be likewiſe thought worthy of imitation. A very few attempts of this kind, ſupported with ſubſcriptions inferior to thoſe made for ſome diverſions, might produce immenſe

public

public advantages to this nation, and prove the means of making multitudes of people happy.

12. All the miſcarriages that had happened in attempting diſcoveries to the north-eaſt and north-weſt for a new paſſage to the Indies, could not ſo far diſcourage the merchants of England as to oblige them to lay aſide their deſigns of that ſort; and therefore when any opportunity offered they never failed to lay hold of it, in hopes that ſome time or other they might accompliſh one or both of theſe great projects. It was with this view that they fitted out Captain Henry Hudſon in 1607, who undertook to ſail directly north, which he did to the height of 81 degrees 30 minutes, on the coaſt of Groenland, where he was on the 16th of July, the weather being pretty warm. His ſcheme, it ſeems, was to have paſſed round that great tract of country which the Danes call Groenland, and falling into Davis's Streights, have returned that way home. After being diſappointed in this, he undertook two voyages for the diſcovery of a north-eaſt paſſage, in which his conduct was very good, though his ſucceſs no better than that of thoſe who went before him; upon which he reſolved to make an attempt towards the north-weſt. He ſailed on this voyage April the 17th, 1610; and thus Mr. Pricket deſcribes the principal events in that undertaking:—

"We continued ſteering north-weſt; on the 8th of July we raiſed land to the ſouth weſt, covered with ſnow, which our maſter named Deſire Provokes; lying in the latitude of 60 degrees. Here we heard the noiſe of a great overfall of a tide that came out of the land, and were now ſenſible that we had been embayed before; and we were now ſo well acquainted with the ice, that in foggy or foul weather we ſought out the broadeſt iſland of ice, and there anchoring, we went out and ſported upon the ice, and filled water that ſtood in ponds upon the ice very ſweet and good, being now in the tides-way, the ice opened, by being firſt carried one way and then another, whereas in bays it is immoveable; and in that bay where we had been ſo troubled with ice, we ſaw many of thoſe mountains of ice a-ground in ſixty or ſeventy fathom water. We ſtill plied to weſtward as the ice would give us leave, and fearing a ſtorm we found an harbour at the weſt end of an iſland, whereunto we went at a full ſea, over a rock which had then two fathom and a half of water upon it, and the next morning was two fathoms above water. Our maſter named it The Iſland of God's Mercies. The water flows here better than four fathoms, and the floods come from the north, flowing eight the change day, latitude 62° 9′. Then plying to ſouth-weſt we were on the 16th in the latitude of 58° 50′, but found ourſelves embayed and much peſtered with ice; whereupon we ſtood to the ſouth-weſt until we ſaw the land, which our maſter named Hold with Hope; and being gotten again into a clear ſea, our maſter ſtood to the weſt along the ſouth ſhore, and raiſed three capes or head-lands, lying one beyond another, which he named Cape Henry, Cape James, and Queen Anne's Foreland; we alſo raiſed a high hill, which he named Mount Charles. We paſſed on in ſight of the ſouth ſhore until we raiſed a fair head-land, (which our maſter took to be part of the main north land, but is an iſland,) and named it Deep's Cape, and the land on the ſouth ſide now falling away to the ſouth makes another cape or head-land, which our maſter called Worſenham's Cape.

"The maſter ſent me, the carpenter, and ſome others, aſhore near Deep's Cape; we there ſaw ſome deer, twelve or ſixteen in a herd, but could not come within ſhot of them; we found plenty of ſorrel and ſcurvy-graſs, and ſaw ſome round hills of ſtones like to graſs-cocks; and when we came to them I turned off the uppermoſt ſtone, and found them hollow within, and full of fowls hanged by their necks; we turned back and

and told the maſter what we had ſeen, and what refreſhment might be had; intreating him to ſtay a day or two in this place, but he was not pleaſed with the motion, nor could be perſuaded to ſtay. Then ſtanding ſouthward we loſt ſight of the main land that we had all this while followed, and came into ſhallow water, broken ground, and rocks, and paſſed down ſo far ſouthward till we had land on both ſides, and the water ſhoaling a-pace we came to an anchor. From hence we ſtood back again towards the north; and one day a debate ariſing concerning our coming into this bay, and how we ſhould get out again, the maſter took occaſion to revive old matters, and to diſplace Robert Ivet his mate, and boatſwain, for words ſpoken on the firſt great bay of ice, and made Robert Bilet his mate, and William Wilſon our boatſwain.

"We plied to and fro from the north to the ſouth, and thence to the north again, till we came to the ſhoal-water, where we anchored in ſeven fathom, and there lay eight days; in all which time we could not get one hour to weigh our anchor; but the eighth day the wind beginning to ceaſe, our maſter would have the anchors up again againſt the minds of all that knew what belonged thereunto; ſo to it we went, and when we had brought it a-peak, a ſea took her, and caſt us all off from the capſtern, and hurt many of us; here we loſt our anchor, and if the carpenter had not been nimble we had loſt our cable too; but he fearing ſuch a matter, was ready with his ax, and ſo cut it from thence. We ſtood to the ſouth and divers courſes, until we came to a bay on the north ſhore, where we anchored. While we lay here we ſaw a ledge of rocks to the ſouthward, about a league long, which were covered at full ſea; for a ſtrong tide ſet in here. At midnight we weighed, and ſtood to go out as we came in, and had not gone long before the carpenter told the maſter that if he kept that courſe we ſhould be upon the rocks; the maſter conceived that he was paſt them, when preſently we ran on them, and there ſtuck faſt twelve hours, but by the mercy of God we got off unhurt. We ſtood to the eaſt and anchored in a bay; here the maſter ſent me and the carpenter in a boat to ſeek a place to winter in, and it was time, the days being long and cold, and the earth being covered with ſnow, having ſpent three months, to no purpoſe, and it being now the laſt day of October.

"On the firſt of November we found a place whereunto we brought our ſhip, and haled her aground; on the 10th we were frozen in, and now it concerned us to take care of what we had, and ſo to ſpend, that we might have wherewith to keep us alive, until we ſhould come at the capes where the fowl breed; for there were all the hopes we had of finding ſubſiſtence to bring us home. Our maſter therefore appointed a reward to them that killed boat-fiſh or fowl. We were victualled for ſix months, in good proportion, and of that which was good; and if our maſter would have had more he might have been ſupplied at home and in other places; and it is ſtrange he did not prevent the hunger we endured, which occaſioned the overthrow of himſelf and many other honeſt men."

It appears very clearly from this relation, which is indeed the only one we have of this famous voyage; concerning which it is not eaſy to determine if it was moſt for the advantage of this nation or ruinous to the brave man who undertook it; that he was reſolved to ſtrike out ſomething new, and not to waſte his time in retraceing other people's footſteps; and therefore when he came to the mouth of Davis's Streights, he continued ſteering directly weſt, and then as the coaſt directed him through thoſe ſtreights that ſince bear his name, till he doubled Cape Worſenham, and then he ſailed down the weſt coaſt of New Britain to the very bottom of the bay, where he made choice of a place to winter in, that was very near as far ſouth as any part of the iſland

of Great Britain, and at the very back of the French ſettlements in Canada. Captain Hudſon was a very good judge of the importance and conſequences of his diſcovery, which induced him to winter there, in hopes of performing ſomething very conſiderable the next ſeaſon, which very probably he would have done if his men had not mutinied, and conſigned him over to the ſavages to be murdered.

The relation we have of his voyage from Pricket, is chiefly calculated to give an account of this mutiny; but as it is more to our purpoſe to come at as good an account as we can of the voyage itſelf, we ſhall endeavour to pick out of it what relates to that matter, and then give a ſhort relation of that accident which deſtroyed Captain Hudſon and all his hopes. "It would be tedious (ſays he) to relate the hardſhips we endured whilſt we wintered in this place; the cold was ſo extreme that it lamed moſt of our company; but I muſt not forget God's great mercy to us in ſending ſuch ſtore of white partridges during the firſt three months, that we killed above one hundred dozen, beſides other fowl of ſundry ſorts.

"The ſpring approaching the partridges left us, and were ſucceeded by other fowl; as ſwans, geeſe, ducks, and teal, but hard to come by; they came from the ſouth and flew to the north; but if they be taken ſhort by a northerly wind, then they fall, and ſtay till the wind ſerves them, and then fly to the northward. As the ſummer came on the fowls were gone, and few or none to be ſeen. Then we ſearched the woods, hills, and vallies, for any thing that might ſerve for food, though ever ſo vile; the frogs (in the time of their engendering, as loathſome as toads) were not ſpared, nor the moſs that grew on the ground; but amongſt divers ſorts of vegetables, Thomas Woodhouſe brought home a bud of a tree full of a turpentine ſubſtance; of this our ſurgeon made a decoction to drink, and applied the buds hot to ſuch as were troubled with aches in any part of their bodies; and I muſt confeſs I received thereby preſent eaſe of my pain. As ſoon as the ice began to break out of the bays, a ſavage came to our ſhip, being the firſt we had ſeen in all this time; our maſter entertained him well, promiſing to himſelf great matters by his means, and therefore would have to his own uſe all the knives and hatchets that every man had, but received none except from John King the carpenter, and myſelf. To this ſavage our maſter gave a knife, a looking-glaſs, and buttons; who received them thankfully, and made ſigns that after he had ſlept he would come again, as he did. When he came again he drew after him a ſledge, and upon it two deer-ſkins and two beaver-ſkins; he laid the knife upon one of the beaver-ſkins, and his glaſs and buttons upon the other, and ſo gave them to the maſter, who received them; and the ſavage took thoſe things the maſter had given him, and put them into his ſcrip; then the maſter ſhewed him an hatchet, for which he would have given the maſter one of his deer-ſkins; but the maſter would have them both, and ſo he had, but not willingly.

"After many ſigns of people to the ſouth and to the north, and that after ſo many ſleeps he would come again, he went his way; but never came more. The ſound being now clear of ice, ſo that our boat could go from one place to another, Wilſon, Green, and five more, were ordered to go a fiſhing with our net. They caught the firſt day five hundred fiſhes as big as large herrings, which put us all in good hopes to have our wants ſupplied; but thoſe were the moſt that ever they caught in one day, and many days they got not a quarter ſo many. In this time of their fiſhing, Green, Wilſon, and ſome others plotted to take the net, and the ſhallop which the carpenter had newly ſet up, and ſo to ſhift for themſelves; but the ſhallop being ready, our maſter would go in it himſelf to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, to ſee if he could meet with people;

for that way we could ſee the woods burning: ſo taking with him as much proviſion as would ſerve for eight or nine days, he went towards the ſouth, and ſet no time for his return; becauſe he was perſuaded if he could meet with people he ſhould have fleſh of them, and that good ſtore; but he returned worſe than he went forth; for although he was ſo near them as to ſee them ſet the woods on fire, yet could he not by any means come to the ſpeech of them.

"Being come on board, he fitted all things for his return; and firſt delivered all the bread out of the bread-room, which came to a pound a piece for every man's ſhare; and delivered alſo a bill of return, willing them to have that to ſhew, if it ſhould pleaſe God they ſhould come home, and wept when he gave it to them: but to help us to ſome relief in this poor eſtate, our boat went to work on Friday morning, and ſtaid till Sunday noon, and brought fourſcore ſmall fiſhes; a poor relief for ſo many hungry bellies. Then we weighed, and ſtood out of our wintering-place, and anchored without at the mouth of the bay: where, our bread being gone, what ſtore of cheeſe we had was to ſtop a gap, whereof there were five, at which time the company grudged, becauſe by their reckoning there ſhould have been nine, but thoſe that were left were equally divided by the maſter, although he was adviſed to the contrary, becauſe there were ſome who could not govern themſelves."

It was this reſolution of the maſter's, to make all fare alike for the ſake of proſecuting the voyage with effect, than which no man was more like to do it than himſelf, that drew upon him his deſtruction; for his old mate, one Green, and ſome other people in the ſhip, reſolving to leſſen the number of hands, and ſo get all the proviſions that were left to themſelves, moſt barbarouſly contrived to turn Captain Hudſon, the carpenter, and all the ſick men, out of the ſhip; after which they determined to make the beſt of their way for England. This they performed the 19th of June, 1611, by forcing Captain Hudſon and eight more into the ſhallop without proviſions, though moſt of them were taken ſick out of bed, who after that time were never heard of, but were either drowned, ſtarved, or murdered by the ſavages: neither did the leaders of this mutiny eſcape much better; for being obliged to land frequently on the deſart coaſt, in order to obtain ſome ſubſiſtence, they fell there into a fray with the ſavages, in which Green and ſome others were killed; ſo that very few, and thoſe too in a miſerable condition, returned to England, where Pricket wrote that account of the voyage for his own juſtification, from which we have made theſe extracts.

At firſt there fell great imputations upon this man, becauſe he adminiſtered the oath to the conſpirators; but upon an enquiry it appeared very clearly, that this oath contained nothing in it contrary to the duty of the ſeamen; and that the true reaſon why they preſerved him was, becauſe that being ſervant to Sir Dudley Diggs, who was a man of great power and reputation, they were in hopes he would interpoſe and ſave their lives, which they ought to have forfeited as pirates. Upon this imperfect account of Hudſon's Bay, ſeveral perſons who had been engaged already in expeditions for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, began to hope that now they had a fairer proſpect than ever of bringing this project to bear, in caſe they could find any able mariner who would undertake to proſecute the diſcoveries made by Hudſon.

His Royal Highneſs Henry Prince of Wales was the great patron of learning and virtue at that time; and being applied to by the perſons concerned in this project, he reſolved to ſend one Captain Button, his own ſervant, a man of great abilities, courage, and experience, and having the countenance of ſo great a perſon, was moſt likely to maintain diſcipline amongſt his ſeamen. Accordingly, in the year 1611, he ſailed on

this

this expedition, in which he paſſed Hudſon's Streights, and leaving Hudſon's Bay to the ſouth ſailed above two hundred leagues to the north-weſt, through a ſea above eighty fathoms deep, and diſcovered a great continent called by him New Wales; where, after much miſery and ſickneſs, wintering at Port Nelſon, he carefully ſearched all the bay, from him called Button's Bay, back again, almoſt to Digg's Iſland. He diſcovered the great iſland called Cary's Swans-neſt. He loſt many of his men during his ſtay in the river called Port Nelſon, in fifty-ſeven degrees ten minutes north latitude, though he kept three fires in his ſhip all winter, and had great ſtore of white partridges and other fowl, beſides deer, bears, and foxes. Upon his return from this voyage he received the honour of knighthood, and great expectations were raiſed from his diſcoveries, which had certainly been proſecuted with effect, if Prince Henry had not died ſoon after.

It was a great pity that Sir Thomas Button, who was certainly a very underſtanding man, formed private views of his own from the knowledge he obtained in his voyage; which were of ſuch a nature, that he affirmed he had convinced his maſter, King James, that there was a paſſage this way into the South Seas. The reaſons upon which this opinion was founded, as well as notes of his voyage, he promiſed to give to Mr. Briggs, the famous mathematician, who had turned his thoughts much upon this ſubject, but never did; which was the reaſon that all the expeditions undertaken on that ſide afterwards failed; but, however, we have ſufficient grounds to affirm, from the knowledge derived to us from another quarter, that the diſcoveries of Sir Thomas Button, if proſecuted, might have proved highly advantageous to this nation, notwithſtanding the ſeeming rigour of the climate, and barrenneſs of the country.

The French were in poſſeſſion of Fort Bourbon, which we call New York Fort, upon St. Thereſa, the eaſtern branch of Nelſon River, from the year 1697 to 1714. Monſieur Jeremie, who was lieutenant there from 1697 to 1708, and afterwards governor till he gave it up in 1714 to us, gives a very particular account of that river and the adjoining countries, great part of which he affirms to be of his own knowledge, having travelled a great way ſouth-weſt into the country, among the rivers and lakes. The Daniſh, or Churchill's River, upon which the Hudſon's Bay Company have lately built a ſtrong ſtone fort, he ſays, is ſituated in fifty-nine degrees north latitude, and is about five hundred paces wide at the entrance for about a quarter of a league, and very deep; but within it is much broader, and navigable into the country a hundred and fifty leagues; there is but little wood upon the river near the bay, except in the iſlands. At a hundred and fifty leagues diſtance is a chain of high mountains, with great cataracts and falls of water; but beyond theſe it is again navigable, and has a communication with a river, called the River of Stags. Fifteen leagues northward of this river is the river of Loup Marine, or River of Seals. Betwixt theſe rivers is found a kind of ox, called the muſk ox, which ſmells at ſome time of the year ſo ſtrong of muſk that it cannot be eat: they have very fine wool, which is longer than that of the Barbary ſheep: they are ſmaller than French oxen, with very crooked horns, which turn round like ram's-horns, and are ſo long that they weigh ſometimes ſixty pounds; they have ſhort legs, and their wool trails upon the ground: they are not numerous.

This river comes from a nation he calls Platſcotez de Chiens, who makes war againſt the Savanna Indians, who traded with the French. In that country they have a large copper mine ſo fine, that without ſmelting it they make copper of it, by beating it betwixt two ſtones: he ſaw a great deal of it, which their Indians got when they went to war againſt that nation. This nation has a ſweet humane aſpect, but their country is

not good. They have no beaver, but live by fiſhing, and a kind of deer they call cariboux (rein-deer); the hares grow white in winter, and recover their colour in ſpring; they have very large ears, and are always black; their ſkins in winter are very pretty, of fine long hair, which does not fall, ſo that they make very fine muffs. He ſays he can ſay nothing poſitively in going farther northward, but only that their ſavages reported that in the bottom of the northern bay there is a ſtreight, where they can eaſily diſcover land on the other ſide: they had never gone to the end of that ſtreight; they ſay there is ice there all the year, which is drove by the wind, ſometimes one way, ſometimes another. According to all appearance this arm of the ſea has a communication with the Weſtern Ocean; and what makes it more probable is, that when the winds come from the northern quarter, the ſea is diſcharged by that ſtreight in ſuch abundance, into Hudſon's Bay, as to raiſe the water ten feet above the ordinary tides; inſomuch that when they find the waters riſe, ſhips take ſhelter againſt theſe northerly winds. The ſavages ſay, that after travelling ſome months to weſt-ſouth-weſt, they came to the ſea, upon which they ſaw great veſſels with men, who had beards and caps, who gather gold on the ſhore that is at the mouths of rivers. In paſſing to the ſouthward from the Daniſh River, at ſixty leagues diſtance, is the River Bourbon or Nelſon, in latitude fifty-ſeven degrees.

There is nothing remarkable in the country betwixt thoſe two rivers, but a great number of the deer, called cariboux, which being drove from the woods by a great number of muſchetoes or midges, come to the ſhore to refreſh themſelves; they are in herds of 10,000 together, and ſpread through a country forty or fifty leagues in extent. They might have as many of their ſkins as they pleaſed, and ſome have been dreſſed, which have been very fine. They have there all ſorts of wild-fowl, as ſwans, buſtards, geeſe, cranes, ducks, and thoſe of the ſmaller kind in ſuch great numbers that when they riſe they darken the ſky, and make ſo loud a noiſe that they can ſcarce hear each other ſpeak. He ſays, that this may appear fabulous, but affirms he ſays nothing but what he ſaw himſelf, for he would not truſt to the report of others, but went himſelf to almoſt every place he mentions. The River St. Thereſa, upon which they built Fort Bourbon, is a branch of Nelſon River, by which the natives come down to trade. This river is of ſo great extent that it paſſes through many great lakes; the firſt is 150 leagues from the entrance of the river, and is 100 leagues in circuit; the natives call it the Lake of Forts (or rather Foreſts). On the north ſide a river diſcharges itſelf, called the Rapid River; this takes its riſe from a lake 300 leagues from the firſt, which they call Michinipi, or the Great Waters; becauſe, in effect, it is the greateſt and deepeſt lake, being 600 leagues in circumference, and receives into it many rivers, ſome of which have a communication with the Daniſh River, and others with the Plaſcotez de Chiens; about this lake and along theſe rivers are many Indians, who call themſelves the Nation of the Great Waters, or of Aſſinibowls; it is to be remarked, that theſe are as humane and affable, as the Eſkimaux are fierce and barbarous, as are alſo all other nations along Hudſon's Bay. At the extremity of the Lake of Foreſts the River Bourbon continues its courſe, and comes from another lake, called the Junction of the two Seas, becauſe the land almoſt meets in the middle of the lake; the eaſt ſide of this lake is a country full of thick foreſts, in which are great numbers of beavers and elks. Here begins the country of the Chriſtinaux.

This is in a much more temperate climate. The weſt ſide is full of fine meadows, filled with wild oxen. The Aſſinibowls live here: the lake is 400 leagues in circumference, and 200 from the other lake: 100 leagues farther weſt-ſouth-weſt along this river

river is another lake, which they call Ounipigouchih, or the Little Sea; it is almoſt the ſame country and climate with the other, inhabited by the ſame Indians, the Aſſinibowls, the Chriſtinaux, and Souteurs; it is 300 leagues in circumference; at the further end is a river, which comes from Tacamiouen, which is not ſo great as the other; it is into this lake that the River of Stags is diſcharged, which is of ſuch a length that the natives have not yet diſcovered its ſource; from this river they can go to another, which runs weſtward, but all the reſt run either into the bay or river of Canada. He endeavoured to ſend the natives to diſcover if it went to the weſtward ſea, but their enemies lying in the way prevented them; however, they brought ſome of them priſoners, who ſaid they alſo were at war with another nation farther weſt; theſe ſaid they had neighbours with beards, who lived in ſtone-houſes and forts, that they were not clothed like them; that they had white kettles; and ſhewing them a ſilver cup, they ſaid it was of that metal; they ſaid they tilled their land with tools of that metal. According to their deſcription it was maize they cultivated.

The intendant of Canada was very deſirous to diſcover theſe countries from thence; but it is much eaſier from Fort Bourbon, as it is ſhorter; and though a fine country full of beaſts and wild fowl, beſides fruit, which grow wild, as plums, apples, and grapes, and great variety of ſmaller fruit. On the ſouth-weſt ſide of this lake, Tacamiouen, is a river which comes from another, called the Lake of Dogs, which is not far from the ſuperior lake. The River St. Thereſa is but half a league wide where the fort is built; two leagues higher is Fort Philipeaux, built for a retreat; there the river begins to be interſperſed with iſlands; twenty leagues above the fort the river divides into two branches, one which comes from the north-weſt ſide communicates with Nelſon or Bourbon River, by which the natives come down to trade by the means of a land carriage from the Lake of Foreſts to this river. Twenty leagues above the firſt fork there is another that comes from the ſouth-eaſt, which the natives call Guicomatouang, or the Great Fork. This has a communication with the River St. Huiles; the weſtern branch, though ſtill called St. Thereſa, is but of a ſmall extent, coming from its ſource by ſeveral ſmall brooks, in each of which are great numbers of lynx, beavers, martins, and others of ſmaller furs. Betwixt the two forts is a ſmall river, called Egaree, from whence they get their wood for firing, it being ſcarce at the fort. Near the mouth of the river is another ſmall one they call Gargouſſe; there comes in at high water a great number of porpoiſes. The river being narrow here, there might be a good fiſhing, where they might make above ſix hundred barrels of oil annually.

From this river of St. Huiles, or New Severn, is 100 leagues ſouth-eaſt. It is ſituated in latitude 56 degrees; the entrance is but ſhallow, only capable of veſſels of ſixty tons; here might be made good houſes, for wood is very plenty here; and there are great numbers of beavers higher up the river. As to the climate of Fort Bourbon, it being in latitude 57 degrees, is very cold in winter, which begins about Michaelmas and ends in May. The ſun ſets about three, and riſes about nine in the winter. When the days grow a little longer, and the cold is more temperate, the ſportſmen kill as many partridges and hares as they pleaſe. One year, when they had eighty men in garriſon, they had the curioſity to reckon the number, which amounted to ninety thouſand partridges, and twenty-five thouſand hares. At the end of April, the geeſe, buſtards, and ducks, return in ſuch numbers, that they kill as many as they pleaſe; they alſo take great numbers of cariboux, or rein-deer; in March and April they come from the north to the ſouth, and extend then along the river ſixty leagues: they go again northward in July and Auguſt; the roads they make in the ſnow are as well

padded,

padded, and croſs each other as often as the ſtreets at Paris. The natives make hedges with the branches of trees, and leave openings, in which they fix ſnares, and thus take numbers of them: when they ſwim the rivers, in returning northwards, the natives kill them in canoes with lances, as many as they pleaſe. In ſummer they have the pleaſure of fiſhing, and with nets take pike, trout, and carp, and a white fiſh ſomething like a herring, by much the beſt fiſh in the world: they preſerve thoſe for their winter proviſion, by putting them in ſnow, or freezing them, as alſo the fleſh they would preſerve. They keep thus alſo geeſe, ducks, and buſtards, which they roaſt with the hares and partridges they kill in winter. So that, though it be a cold climate, there is good living there, by getting bread and wine from Europe.

Though the ſummer be ſhort they had a garden, and good coleworts, with ſalads and ſmall herbs, which they put in their ſoups in winter. He had one hundred and twenty thouſand livres profit out of eight thouſand ſent him in goods in one ſeaſon; they have alſo bears, elks, and all ſorts of beaſts, whoſe ſkins and furs are valued in France; and, according to him it is one of the moſt profitable poſts in North America, conſidering the expence. Thus far this French writer, from whom we have borrowed a very clear and copious account of the advantages that might have accrued to us, if our original diſcovery of Hudſon's Bay had been properly conſidered.

But there were, and will be always, a race of people decrying thoſe projects they want courage to attempt; and who, by ridiculing the pains taken to viſit the frozen climates and barren countries, hinder thoſe improvements which might otherwiſe follow from ſuch kind of expeditions. But they ought to conſider before they run down ſuch attempts, that we have numbers of poor people here who want employment, and for whom employments ought to be found; that if this be not done, they will either ſtarve to our ſhame, or ſtrike out ways of living at our expence; whereas, if they were thus employed, they would both maintain themſelves and benefit the public: beſides there is this advantage that attends northern expeditions and diſcoveries, that they breed a race of hardy and uſeful ſeamen, who are nearer at hand, and conſequently more capable of ſerving their country upon any emergency than ſuch as are employed in other branches of navigation. As to the ſuppoſed difficulties that are to be in this way encountered, it is a ſhame to hear them mentioned amongſt people who pretend to maritime power.

If men are afraid of ice, cold, and rocks, they muſt relinquiſh all thoughts of being great at ſea, and leave it to thoſe who can not only endure but even deſpiſe ſuch hardſhips: the Dutch, the Danes, and the Hamburghers, ſail every year on the whale fiſhery, near 20 degrees farther north than the bottom of Hudſon's Bay; and the French from Canada travel through and live in theſe very countries of which we are ſpeaking, with as much eaſe as the ſavages themſelves; and, indeed, why ſhould they not, or why ſhould we imagine that one man, or one race of men, can do more than another? Our anceſtors were of this opinion, or at leaſt they thought that if ſuch a race of men there were, they might be found in this iſland: and here, if properly encouraged and due regard ſhewn to their virtue, they will be always found, for it is not the people but their governors that alter, and therefore we have a right to blame thoſe who took ſo little notice of what Sir Thomas Button performed, and ſo little attended to what might be made of theſe countries, as we certainly ought to commend ſuch as contrived or promoted the law lately paſſed for encouraging private perſons to attempt once more the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, by ſecuring to them a reward from the public, which, without doubt, they will juſtly deſerve.

13. The next thing that occurs in order of time, is the aſſerting our right to that part of the continent of America which lies north from New England, and which is now called Nova Scotia, but was then looked upon as part of North Virginia, and as ſuch within the charter of the Weſtern Company, who gave ſtrict orders to thoſe in their ſervice to prevent foreign nations ſettling in their limits; by which means this country of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which is of ſo great conſequence in itſelf, and for the ſecurity of our other plantations on the main, was preſerved. The bounds of this province are the ocean to the north, Cape Breton Iſland, and the Bay of St. Laurence to the eaſt, Canada to the weſt, and New England to the ſouth; it lies from 43 to 51 degrees north latitude, and from the river St. Croix, the neareſt to New Hampſhire, to the great river of St. Laurence, has almoſt ſix hundred miles of coaſt, but moſt of it uninhabited and deſart, the Indians themſelves making little or no uſe of it.

Sir Samuel Argall, then governor of Virginia, made a ſort of cruizing voyage round the coaſt northwards, as far as Cape Cod in New England, in the year 1618, five or ſix years before the Engliſh, who intended to ſettle, arrived in that country. The Indians informed him that ſome white men, like himſelf, were come to inhabit to the northward of them. Sir Samuel Argall, who took all that country, as far as it had been diſcovered by Cabot, to belong to the Virginia Company his employers, ſailed thither, found a ſettlement and a ſhip riding before it, which belonged to ſome Frenchmen: Argall drew ſo cloſe to it, that, with his ſmall arms, he beat all the men from the deck, ſo that they could not uſe their guns, their ſhip having but one deck; among others there were two Jeſuits aboard, one of which endeavoured to fire off one of their cannon, and was ſhot. Argall having taken the ſhip, landed his men, marched to and ſummoned the fort to ſurrender: the French aſked time to conſider of it, which was denied, upon which they got privately away and fled into the woods. The Engliſh entered it, and lodged there that night, and the next day the French came and yielded to Sir Samuel, cancelling the patents that had been granted them for their ſettlement by the French King. Sir Samuel permitted ſuch of the French as were ſo diſpoſed to take paſſage for Europe in the fiſhing ſhips, and took the reſt with him to Virginia, according to their choice.

The French had another ſettlement at a place they called Port Royal, on a bay on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Acadia, which the two Jeſuits had left out of pique to their governor M. Biencourt; and with theſe Frenchmen ſeparated from the others. Father Biard, the ſurviving Jeſuit, out of malice to Biencourt, informed Sir Samuel of the ſettlement at Port Royal, and the eaſe with which he might reduce it, which he found to be true; and, on the ſurrender of the French, he did no damage to their houſes, their barns, and mills, but obliged them to quit the country they had ſowed and reaped; and thoſe of them that did not care to return home, removed to the river of St. Lawrence, where now is the capital of Canada or New France.

When Sir Ferdinand Gorges was preſident of the New England Company, he propoſed to Sir William Alexander to procure a particular grant for the land to the northward of their patent, which was eaſily obtained of King James I. and a year after, 1622, Sir William, and ſome others whom he had got to be concerned with him, ſent a ſhip with paſſengers to plant and ſettle there. Newfoundland was then very well known on account of the fiſhery, and the ſhip being late in her voyage the maſter put in and wintered there. The next year they ſet ſail, and made the promontory at the north ſhore of Cape Breton Iſland: they coaſted it along till they came to Cape Sable in Acadia, where they found three good harbours, and went aſhore at one of them,

which

which they called Luke's Bay; in which was a large river that had eight fathoms water at ebb. This ſhip ſailed up one of theſe, and according to the accounts that were publiſhed by thoſe that were to be ſharers in the patent, this country is deſcribed as a kind of paradiſe; with a view, no doubt, to have engaged people to go over thither to ſettle, to which end Sir William Alexander, the original proprietor, afterwards created Earl of Sterling, wrote and publiſhed a book, and his ſovereign King James erected a new order, called the Knights of Nova Scotia, to facilitate this plantation.

But, notwithſtanding all the care that was taken of it, this project proved abortive, and, which is very extraordinary, modern authors have taught us to condemn and cenſure ſuch as foreſaw the conſequence and importance of this country to the Britiſh nation, when unſettled and unimproved, and to treat as weak and puſillanimous the conduct of thoſe times, when in full peace the French were, by force of arms, compelled to quit a country, which, though ſettled by them, was diſcovered by us; and from theſe fugitives it was that the more northen ſettlement of the French took birth. The expedition of Sir Samuel Argall was certainly both a vigorous and a right meaſure; and the grant to Sir William Alexander was a very ſenſible thing, though the deſign of it is now not well underſtood, or rather forgot; and therefore, though it may take up ſome room, I ſhall endeavour to revive and explain it. It was ſuggeſted to King James that the tract of country on the continent of North America, belonging to his crown, being very large, and not likely to be planted in any reaſonable ſpace of time by the Engliſh, it would be a very wiſe and prudent meaſure to grant under the great ſeal of Scotland a part of it to his ſubjects of that kingdom, upon a ſuppoſition that it would be more beneficial for them and more for the intereſt of the united kingdoms if they went over and ſettled there, than if, as to that time they had frequently done, they tranſported themſelves to Poland, Sweden, and Ruſſia, in which countries there were at that time many thouſand Scotch families.

Such was the original ſcheme of ſettling and planting Nova Scotia; and if the courtiers of thoſe times made a job of this, and thereby defeated the ſcheme; however this may reflect on their memories, it ought to draw no ſort of odium on the project itſelf, which was very well and wiſely laid, if it had been as honeſtly and wiſely executed. There was afterwards another grant made of the northern part of this country, to Sir David Kirk, from whom the French King bought it, or at leaſt contracted to give him five thouſand pounds for it; a very plain proof that even the French acknowledged the right by which he held it; and a French nobleman likewiſe bought, many years after that, Sir William Alexander's property. It may be enquired why the crown of England did not interpoſe and prevent theſe ſales, as might no doubt have been done; and the plain anſwer to this is, that the French proteſtants being principally concerned in theſe ſettlements, the crown had a tenderneſs for them.

But Oliver Cromwell ſent Major Sedgwick to diſlodge the French from Port Royal, which he did; and though the Protector afterwards conſented that a French proprietor ſhould enjoy the country, yet it was upon condition that he ſhould make out this right by purchaſe from the Earl of Sterling; which he afterwards did, and then ſold it to Sir Thomas Temple, who was both proprietor and governor at the Reſtoration: after which the French ſettled there again, and remained there in quiet poſſeſſion till the year 1690, when they were dipoſſeſſed by Sir William Phips, then governor of New England; but it was afterwards given up again to the French by King William's treaty of Ryſwick. It is not, however, to be underſtood that either King Charles II. or King William III., by their reſpective treaties with France, gave up the claim of this

nation to that country, nor did the French ſo underſtand it, but only permitted that poſſeſſion, becauſe, as the circumſtances of things then ſtood, they were unwilling to conteſt it. In all theſe changes, however, the iſland of Cape Breton followed the fate of Nova Scotia, and both continued in the hands of the French till the year 1710, when Governor Nicholſon made himſelf maſter of Port Royal, which was become a place of very great importance in many reſpects, more eſpecially in this, that it gave the French an opportunity of diſturbing and diſtreſſing our trade to ſuch a degree, that it was very properly ſtyled the Dunkirk of America.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the taking this place was looked upon as a very remarkable ſervice, or that the Queen ſhould beſtow her name upon it to ſhew that ſhe never meant to part with it. Upon the ſame principle, Colonel Nicholſon, upon his return to England, had a commiſſion granted him to be governor of Nova Scotia and of Annapolis Royal, and commander of all Her Majeſty's forces there and in Newfoundland. While things were in this ſituation, a negociation for peace was ſet on foot, which afterwards produced one that has ſince made a great deal of noiſe, more eſpecially with regard to the ſtipulations therein, in reference to this province; and therefore it is requiſite for us to ſee what relates to Nova Scotia in the Utrecht treaty, the words of which, in the twelfth article, are, "All Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with all ancient boundaries, as alſo the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis, and all other things in theſe parts which depend on lands and iſlands, together with the dominion, property, poſſeſſion of the ſaid iſlands, lands, and all rights whatſoever, by treaties or by any other way obtained," &c. To which the French King added the excluſion of the ſubjects of France from fiſhing on the coaſt of Nova Scotia, and within thirty leagues, beginning from Cape Sable and ſtretching along to the ſouth-weſt; there is no doubt but this article, as it is worded, contains the reſtitution of Cape Breton, which ought to have gone along with Nova Scotia, as it had hitherto done; neither is this a bare conjecture, or my particular notion, but the general ſentiment of ſuch as were beſt acquainted with this affair, and with the negociation that concerned it; which induced the Queen, in her inſtructions to the late Duke of Shrewſbury, when he went ambaſſador to France, to declare that ſhe looked upon Cape Breton to belong to her, and reckoned that iſland a part of the ancient territory of Nova Scotia. But notwithſtanding this article in the Queen's inſtructions, the French were ſuffered to keep Cape Breton, but, moſt undoubtedly, this gave them no right to it.

I am very far from thinking that in this caſe, I mean in the caſe of plantations, poſſeſſion is the only or even the beſt right, becauſe ſuch a doctrine might confer right upon pirates. The beſt claim of civilized nations, with reſpect to new countries, was always allowed to be the firſt diſcovery. This right is that on which is founded our title, and very juſtly; for we have certainly diſcovered all the countries that border on Davis's Straits, Hudſon's Bay, and ſo forwards to the limits of Georgia; and this right being in the crown of England, and inherited with the crown of England, could never be granted away, yielded to a foreign power, or otherwiſe transferred, without the conſent of parliament; though the temporary poſſeſſion might. For, in thoſe treaties by which Acadia was left to France, the crown only ſtipulated not to deprive the French of their poſſeſſion, during the continuance of the peace, but the right ſtill remained in us, and muſt always remain in us.

We have before ſhewn that the French acknowledged this, as appears by the King of France's purchaſing under our title; nor was it ever diſputed till the treaty of Utrecht, that the iſland of Cape Breton belonged to Nova Scotia, nor could it be diſ-

puted, becauſe the very charter which eſtabliſhed Nova Scotia as a diſtinct province, included the iſland of Cape Breton in expreſs words. We may add to this, that our title to Labrador or New Britain is unqueſtionable, of which country Nova Scotia was a part, till ſeparated by the charter; and our claim to Newfoundland has been always maintained, as we ſhewed in the former ſection: ſo that on the whole it may be juſtly affirmed, that our right to the iſland of Cape Breton is as clear and as unqueſtionable as that of any European nation to any of its Engliſh ſettlements in America, or elſewhere. But if it ſhould be demanded of what uſe this reaſoning is, I anſwer, that having now recovered the poſſeſſion of that iſland to which we had always a right, and out of which we were cheated at the treaty of Utrecht, the French have no colour to demand the reſtitution of it; nor is the caſe the ſame now that it was when King Charles II. concluded his treaty in 1666, when King William concluded the treaty of Ryſwick, in 1697, or when the treaty of Utrecht was made by Queen Anne, in 1712.

14. We gave a large account, in the former ſection, of the attempt made by that great man and good patriot Sir Walter Raleigh, to eſtabliſh an Engliſh plantation in Guiana; and of his ſending, after his return to England, a ſhip to proſecute that diſcovery; of which ſecond voyage we have likewiſe a long account, publiſhed by Captain Keymiſh: but this deſign met with continual interruptions; or otherwiſe, Sir Walter himſelf tells us in his Apology, there had been, before the death of Queen Elizabeth, a ſufficient number of Engliſh ſettled in that part of the world to have ſecured the poſſeſſion of it for ever to this crown and nation. The very next year after Sir Walter's return, he was employed in the expedition to Cadiz: the two following years, his time was taken up in that which was called the Iſland Voyage. Then the great rebellion broke out in Ireland, which rendered Queen Elizabeth unwilling to encourage any private expeditions that required a conſiderable force; and this rebellion laſted till the Queen's death. Immediately after this, Sir Walter himſelf was impriſoned, and ſo continued for many years. Which very fairly accounts for this noble deſign remaining ſo long unpurſued.

But things delayed are not always loſt: the deſire of ſettling Guiana revived in a few years after peace was reſtored; and, as I do not know it has ever yet been done, I ſhall give a ſuccinct account of the ſeveral attempts made to carry this deſign into execution, to the time they were wholly given over, and the ſmall intereſt we had in that part of the world ſurrendered up to the Dutch. In the year 1604, Captain Charles Leigh undertook a voyage to Guiana, at his own and his brother Sir Olive Leigh's charge: he had a bark of about fifty tons, called the Olive-Plant; and his company, about forty-ſix men and boys. They ſailed from Woolwich the 21ſt of March, with a deſign to make a more complete diſcovery of the country of Guiana than had been yet done, and to fix an Engliſh colony there. On the 22d of May they came into the river of Wyapoco, in the latitude of 8 degrees 30 minutes to the north of the line, and the town of Wyapoco, which lies on the coaſt of Guiana, was the place in which they intended to take up their abode. Here the captain came to an agreement with the inhabitants, who received him very kindly, that they ſhould allow him a good ſpace of ground, and ſome houſes for the preſent; in conſideration of which he was to aſſiſt them againſt their inveterate enemies the Caribbees, who greatly diſtreſſed them.

This agreement was made by means of two of the natives of Guiana who had been in England and could ſpeak ſome Engliſh; and for the better ſecurity of performance on the part of the ſavages, they conſented to give five of their body, among whom were

were two perſons of note, as pledges to be ſent to England. Their firſt ſettlement was on part of the mountain that lies on the weſt ſide of the entrance of the river, to which they gave the name of Mount Howard. The captain might have lived here a very quiet life, and been very uſeful to his country too, had he not had a mutinous and diſcontented company. The next year after, he ſent his ſhip to England, in the month of June, for freſh ſupplies of ſuch things as he wanted, retaining thirty-five of his men and boys with him, to ſettle his ſmall village, and thereby ſet this colony upon a better footing than it had till then been. They had ſome trade with the natives, as well round about their ſettlement, as farther up the river; and the chief merchandizes they obtained were wax, fine white feathers, tobacco, parrots, monkeys, green and black, cotton-yarn, and wool, ſweet gums, red pepper, ſpleen and maſate ſtones; with ſeveral ſorts of wood, roots, and berries, partly for medicine, and partly for dyeing; but the flux, and other diſtempers, carried off a good number of the company; and the captain being ſeized with it himſelf juſt as he was going on board for England, to fetch a complete loading of ſuch things as were needful for his colony, died of it. It was by this unhappy ſtroke the whole undertaking was quaſhed, and every one ſhifted for himſelf; ſome returned to England in their own veſſel, others in a French ſhip, and others in two Dutch ſhips, very much to the regret of the Indians, and to the no ſmall loſs of Sir Olive Leigh, and detriment of the Engliſh nation.

Sir Olive Leigh reſolving to ſupport his brother in the eſtabliſhment of his colony at Guiana, before he had any account of his ſucceſs, fitted out another ſhip called the Olive-Bloſſom, under Captain Catalin and Captain St. John, to carry him a freſh ſupply of men and neceſſaries. The ſhip ſet out from Woolwich for Wyapoco, the 14th of April, 1665; but, between contrary winds and currents, by the unſkilfulneſs of the maſter, Mr. Richard Chambers, they were put ſo far to the leeward, that they deſpaired of ever recovering their intended port in any due time; and therefore they put in firſt at Barbadoes, and afterwards at the iſland of St. Lucia, deſigning from thence to return to England: however, examining their ſtores of proviſions, and finding not near enough to ſerve ſo large a company as they were for ſo long a voyage, Captain St. John himſelf, with ſeveral of the paſſengers, to the number of ſixty-ſeven, reſolved rather to ſtay, and take their lot upon that iſland, than to run the hazard of their being ſtarved at ſea.

They ſoon made an acquaintance with the Indians, who furniſhed them, in exchange for trifles, with roots, fruits, and ſome fowls; and they every night had an opportunity, with very little trouble, of taking delicate tortoiſes upon the ſands; ſo that they were in no want of food. They lived five or ſix weeks in little huts, or houſes which they had built, without making any excurſions into the country; but the captain ſeeing one day certain plates of metal upon the arms of ſome of the Indians, and being informed by one Brown, a refiner in their company, that they were at leaſt three parts gold; and enquiring of the Indians from whence they had it, they pointed to a very high mountain, in the north-weſt part of the iſland. Upon this, the captain himſelf, with ſeveral of the chief of his men, went in queſt of this golden mountain, the reſt being appointed to keep guard at home, and aſſured they would return in a week's time. When this part of the company was gone, the other expected the Indians would have brought them proviſion as they uſed to do; but they heard nothing of them for three days together. They had, it ſeemed, obſerved when the captain went, followed him, and moſt barbarouſly cut him off with his whole company.

They were now intent upon making the ſame diſpatch of their companions, and to this end had got one Augramart, a deſperate ſavage, and captain of the iſland of

St. Vincent, to head them in this enterprize. To cover their deſign, however, they carried it fair to them, and viſited them frequently; till one day Augramart, having dined with them, would have the Engliſh go with him to his quarters; where he promiſed to furniſh them with whatever proviſions they wanted. Mr. St. John, with ſeventeen others, accepted of the invitation; but inſtead of carrying them to their quarters, they led them into an ambuſh of five hundred ſavages; where, being ſurrounded, and attacked on every ſide with vollies of arrows, after doing all that men could do in their own defence, they were overpowered, and all ſlain but one John Nichols, who made his eſcape from this bloody ſlaughter, and was forced to hide himſelf in a wood, then ſwimming a lake, and ſo with great difficulty returned home, juſt time enough to give his companions the alarm; for it was not long before they appeared before their houſes; yet letting fly their ſmall pieces of ordnance they quickly marched off again. In two or three days time they returned, to the number of thirteen or fourteen hundred men; who, after having attacked their little fort and houſes for ſeven days together, with little ſucceſs, thought of throwing in fire with their arrows, which in a ſhort time reduced the habitations of the Engliſh, and all they had, to a heap of aſhes. They continued, however, to defend themſelves in ſo brave a manner, that the Indians, ſeeing they could not accompliſh their deſign againſt this handful of men, reſolved at laſt to abandon the enterprize.

After their departure, ſome of the neighbouring ſavages were prevailed upon, for a reward of hatchets, knives, and beads, to furniſh them with an old pitiful boat; this they fitted up as well as they could, and nineteen of them, the miſerable remains of ſixty-eight, of which twelve were wounded, ventured out to ſea in her, without chart or compaſs, and having only four or five gallons of water, with a few plantains and potatoes, about twenty biſcuits, and a little rice; and what was worſe than all the reſt, not one mariner among them. In this little boat they were ſo overladen that her gunnel lay almoſt even with the water: they lived at ſea ten days, four of them being obliged by turns to keep ſcooping of the water. The tenth day, when all hopes began to fail them, they diſcovered land; but when they came upon it the land proved to be an uninhabited iſland, which afforded no manner of ſuſtenance. In this miſerable ſtate they had no remedy, but to repair their boat again as well as they could, and to ſend five of their men to the continent to ſeek relief. After many difficulties theſe men came to an Indian town on the continent, called Tocoyo; from whence, after fifteen days abſence, they carried ſuccour to their miſerable companions. They were now reduced to thirteen, who got together to a Spaniſh town, called Coro, where they were treated with great humanity; two more of them died; three of them went from thence to Carthagena, and were followed thither by two more; where they procured a paſſage to Spain; but what became of the reſt does not any where appear.

One would have imagined, that ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes as had attended the attempts made for eſtabliſhing this ſettlement, would have worn out all deſire of running further hazards; but ſuch was the credit of Sir Walter Raleigh, ſuch the ſettled opinion of the vaſt riches to be found in this part of America, and ſuch the remains of that ſpirit which prevailed through the whole nation in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that in the year 1609, a new attempt was made, at a much greater expence than the former, with the participation, at leaſt, if not under the influence of Sir Walter Raleigh. This voyage was performed under the direction and command of Robert Harcourt of Stanton-Harcourt, in the county of Oxford, eſquire; and the veſſels employed in it were, the Roſe, a ſhip of eighty tons; the Patience, a ſhip of ſix-and-thirty tons; and the Lilly ſhallop, of nine tons. They ſet ſail from Dartmouth the 29th of March, and arrived

arrived the 17th of May in the Bay of Wyapoco. It was not long before ſeveral canoes of Indians came to ſee what they were; and finding they were Engliſh, came on board them without any fear or ceremony: ſuch an advantageous idea had Sir Walter Raleigh by his courteous behaviour imprinted in them of the Engliſh nation.

Theſe people, who were very forward and ready to traffic with the Engliſh, were of the town called Caripo, on the eaſt ſide of the hill, at the mouth of Wyapoco River. Their king, or chief, who had been many years in England, was then with Mr. Harcourt, and another of his countrymen came paſſenger with him, though he had not diſcovered his quality, till the joy of his ſubjects at the ſight of him made him known. Among the Indians who came firſt on board was one who ſpoke the Engliſh tongue perfectly well, and was known to ſome of the ſhip's companies, having ſerved Sir John Gilbert in England many years; and the Indian who accompanied the king or chief, having been fourteen years in England; theſe two were of ſingular ſervice to the adventurers.

The firſt ceremonies being paſt, Mr. Harcourt acquainted them that the occaſion of his coming among them was to ſettle a colony there, and to take poſſeſſion of the country for the King of England, by virtue of their grant of it to Captain Leigh, and by ſome of their countrymen before to Sir Walter Raleigh; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that His Majeſty intended no unjuſt uſurpation over them, nor to treat them in any way like ſlaves and vaſſals; but only to be their friend and protector, and to deliver them from the inſolencies and oppreſſions of the Caribbees. After ſome debate the Indians gave their conſent that they might live among them, and promiſed to furniſh them with houſes, and all other neceſſaries, as far as they were able; but could not forbear expreſſing ſome diffidence in their performing their promiſes, ſince Sir Walter Raleigh had been ſo dilatory in accompliſhing thoſe he made them.

This being done they all went aſhore, where they met the beſt reception the Indians could give them; and were diſperſed up and down the town, on the ſide of a hill, while their ſhips rode at anchor at the foot of it. The great rains, which confined them near a month, being over, the captain ſet himſelf to diſcover the Golden Mountains, which had been the ſpurs to this undertaking; but their guide, who had promiſed ſuch great things, failed in the performance of them, and either had wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himſelf; for when he came to the ſpot he had built his hopes upon, nothing was to be found: and yet they were convinced the country afforded gold, as well by the aſſurances given them by the natives, who ſhewed them certain images, which upon an eſſay appeared to contain at leaſt one-third gold, as by ocular demonſtration of great quantities of the white ſpar in which the gold is contained, and which they found to hold both gold and ſilver; but they had reaſon to believe theſe mines were too far up in the higher parts of Guiana, and perhaps too ſtrongly guarded for them to hope they ſhould be able to reach them. And, beſides, they had then neither time nor power to ſearch in the manner requiſite for finding theſe mines.

This diſappointment had like to have excited a mutiny among thoſe who came out with no other view than to tumble at once into riches; but the captain, with great prudence and with no leſs conduct, prevented its running ſuch a length; and to keep them employed, not only went himſelf up the river of Wyapoco upon diſcovery, but ſent his brother with ſome others on the ſame errand to the river Arrawary, and the country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the river of Amazons. He went alſo and took poſſeſſion of the mountain Gomoribo, which is the utmoſt point of land to the northward in the Wyapoco. This he did, according to cuſtom, by the ceremony of Twig and

and Turf, in the preſence both of his own people and the Indians. After poſſeſſion taken, the mountain was delivered over to an Indian, to hold and poſſeſs the ſame for himſelf and his heirs, of His Majeſty James King of England, paying the yearly duty of a tenth part of the tobacco, cotton, wood, annotto, and all other commodities growing within the limits of the ſame. The attempt of the captain's brother, and Captain Harvey, in diſcovery of the River Arrawary, was attended with great difficulties and hazards; for the length they run by ſea to this river was near one hundred leagues, through terrible breaks of flats and ſhoals. They went likewiſe fifty leagues up the river, and all this only with flat-bottomed canoes, ſomething longer than the common Thames wherries, but not ſo broad.

The Indians they met with in this river plainly diſcovered they had never ſeen any Europeans before. It was long before they could be brought to any ſort of trade or converſation with them, though they had other Indians in their company: but at laſt the ſight of their toys wrought upon them, and induced them to exchange for proviſions; a want of which however at laſt obliged them to return to Wyapoco. They took poſſeſſion nevertheleſs of the country in form, as Mr. Harcourt had done of Gomoribo. Not long after this, Mr. Harcourt was obliged to return for England, purely for fear of wanting caſks to contain ſufficient beer and water for the voyage, the maſter having neglected to have his caſks iron-bound before their departure, which occaſioned many of them to burſt their hoops in that hot country.

Mr. Harcourt left his brother to command in chief in his abſence, to whom Captain Harvey was joined as aſſiſtant, and Mr. Gifford as his lieutenant, and with them he left fifty or ſixty of his men. He departed the 18th of Auguſt; and Mr. Harcourt, in his way homewards, made ſeveral diſcoveries upon the coaſt, and in ſome of the rivers; returned to Ireland the 29th of November; and came from thence to England. Being come to London, by the favour of Prince Henry, he obtained a large patent for all that coaſt, called Guiana, together with the famous River of Amazons, to him and his heirs: but he was involved in ſo many troubles, that he was not able to ſupply his colony, and only ſent over ſome few people, with eighteen Dutchmen, but to little purpoſe. Captain Harcourt, however, kept poſſeſſion of that part of the country in which he was ſettled for full three years, in all which time he loſt but ſix of his people.

The reader will obſerve, that we have now brought down the hiſtory of our expeditions to Guiana from 1595 to 1612, which is within five years of Sir Walter Raleigh's laſt embarkation. It is however certain, that ſome other voyages had been made to this country; for Sir Walter Raleigh, in his apology, ſays, that the Spaniards at St. Thomas's had, ſome years before his laſt attempt, murdered many Engliſh, under pretence of trading with them, and ſome of thoſe who were thus murdered he mentions by name. He had ſuffered a very long impriſonment in the Tower of London, when, by the help of many friends, and perhaps by the laying out of a great deal of money, he procured his liberty, and therewith a commiſſion to execute his laſt expedition to Guiana. In order to this, he turned into money the beſt part of his own fortune, which he employed in fitting out ſhips for this ſervice. He engaged many of his beſt friends to do the ſame; and embarked ſeveral of them, and his own eldeſt ſon, on board the fleet; and all this from a perſuaſion that the country he was going to was very rich in gold, and if they could gain poſſeſſion of it, would make all their fortunes.

The famous Count Gondomar, who was then the Spaniſh Ambaſſador here, and, as all the world knows, had a great influence over King James, did all that lay in his

power to hinder this expedition; and as he did not ſucceed therein, it very plainly proves that King James did not credit what he ſuggeſted to the prejudice of Sir Walter Raleigh. And indeed, what he gave out upon this ſubject, of Sir Walter's having no intention to make either diſcovery or ſettlement, but merely to engage in a piratical attempt upon the Spaniſh colonies in America, was abſurd and ridiculous, ſince no man had ever a meaner opinion of ſuch exploits, or had ſo fully expoſed the folly of hoping for great riches from the plunder of Spaniſh towns than Sir Walter had done. But in all probability the Spaniſh miniſter had not ſo much in view the making theſe ſuggeſtions of his paſs for truth, as obtaining, by this means, under colour of refuting this charge, a diſtinct account of Sir Walter's true deſign, and of the force with which he was to undertake it; in which he had but too great ſucceſs; for Sir Walter giving the King a ſhort but true ſcheme of what he intended, that very paper was delivered to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and found its way to Guiana long before Sir Walter Raleigh.

The commiſſion granted to this excellent man was very full, and free from limitations, which has been generally underſtood to be deſigned to his prejudice. But I muſt confeſs I ſee no reaſon for that opinion. On the contrary, I am perſuaded that Sir Walter himſelf was well ſatisfied with his commiſſion; and that in reſpect to the law of the land, and the law of nations, it fully juſtified the deſign he went upon, and all that followed in the execution of it. Certain it is that the contents of his commiſſion were no ſecrets, ſince by publiſhing them, he brought numbers at home and abroad to ſubſcribe large ſums towards the ſupport of his undertaking; which he could never have done if the form or words of that commiſſion had been liable to exception. It was ſeven months after his commiſſion was granted before his fleet was in condition to put to ſea.

As to the ſtrength of this fleet, it is clear from a ſurvey taken by the order of the Earl of Nottingham, then lord high-admiral, that it conſiſted of ſeven ſail, of ſeveral ſizes. It appears that the firſt of them, or admiral, a fine ſhip, built by Raleigh himſelf, was named the Deſtiny, of four hundred and forty tons, and thirty-ſix pieces or more of ordnance, Sir Walter Raleigh general, and his ſon Walter captain, beſides two hundred men, whereof fourſcore were gentlemen volunteers and adventurers, moſt of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards encreaſed. Second, the Jaſon of London, two hundred and forty tons, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance, Captain John Pennington vice-admiral, eighty men, one gentleman, and no more. Third, the Encounter, one hundred and ſixty tons, ſeventeen pieces of ordnance, Edward Haſtings captain (no men more except the maſter mentioned); but he dying in the Indies, was ſucceeded in the command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, the Thunder, one hundred and fifty tons, twenty pieces of ordnance, Sir Warham Sentlegor captain, ſix gentlemen, ſixty ſoldiers, ten landmen. Fifth, the Flying-Joan, one hundred and twenty tons, fourteen pieces of ordnance, John Chidley captain, twenty-five men. Sixth, the Southampton, eighty tons, and ſix pieces of ordnance, John Bayley captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of braſs, James Barker captain, and eight ſailors. But before Raleigh left the coaſt of England, he was joined by as many ſhips more; ſo that this whole fleet conſiſted of thirteen ſail, beſides his own ſhip.

But for this remaining part of his fleet he waited long, and it had been better if he had left them behind, for they proved a burthen to him, and ſome of them deſerted the expedition. It was the beginning of July before he left the coaſt of England, and meeting

meeting with a ſtorm, was obliged to put into Cork, from whence he ſailed on the 19th of Auguſt following. He proceeded from thence to the Canaries, where, though inſulted by the Spaniards, he committed no hoſtilities; but, on the contrary, behaved ſo well that he obtained a certificate thereof from the governor. After this his ſhips grew very ſickly; and before he arrived at Trinidada, he had loſt many of his men, and was himſelf dangerouſly ill. In this weak and low condition they arrived at the north cape of Wyapoco on the 11th of November.

The firſt thing he did after his arrival was, to endeavour to find out Leonard the Indian, who had been in England three or four years with him, but was removed ſo far up into the country there was no procuring him; therefore he ſtood away for Caliana, on the coaſt of Guiana, at the firſt diſcovery called Port-Howard, where the cazique was alſo his ſervant, and had lived with him in the Tower of London two years. There he arrived in a day or two, having paſſed the iſland noted for its multitude of birds and ſilk-bearing trees; and from thence ſent for his ſervant, Harry the Indian, who with other caziques came and brought him great ſtore of caſſavi-bread, and roaſted mullets, with plantains, pines, and piſtachios. But Raleigh ventured not to eat of the pines, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a day or two's airing on the ſhore, in a tent which was there pitched for him. Then he alſo eat ſome armadillo and a little pork, and begun to gather ſtrength. Here he alſo landed his ſick men, and recovered many; and here he buried Captain Edward Haſtings, (the Lord Huntingdon's brother) who died ten days, or more, before; and with him his ſerjeant-major Hart, and Captain Henry Snedale, the charge of whoſe ſhip Raleigh gave to his ſervant Captain Robert Smith of Cornwall. Here he alſo ſet up his barges and ſhallops, which they brought from England in quarters, cleanſed his ſhip, trimmed up his caſks and ſupplied them with water, fixed up a forge, and made ſuch iron works as they wanted. Thus on that ſhore and this river they employed and refreſhed themſelves for about three weeks, during which time Raleigh was very much careſſed by the Indians, of his old acquaintance aforeſaid, and other natives of this place, who furniſhed him daily with the beſt proviſions that the country yielded, and offered him all kind of obedience, even to the making him their Sovereign Prince and Ruler, if he would abide and ſettle among them; ſo freſh continued his memory, and ſuch impreſſions of homage and reſpect had his former behaviour ſtill left upon them; which offer, he mentions with the greateſt modeſty and indifference, in the diſpatch he ſent ſoon after this to England.

On the 4th of December they left this river, and on the 5th came to the Triangle Iſlands, where Raleigh's ſhip ran on ſhore, and was with difficulty got off. Here they held a council to conſider what they ſhould do next, and as Sir Walter was extremely ill, and it was found impoſſible to carry the larger ſhips any higher, it was reſolved that the five ſmaller veſſels, with as many companies of foot, of fifty men each, ſhould enter the river. According to this determination the fleet was divided; that is to ſay, Captain Whitney, in the Encounter; Woolaſton, in the Confidence; King, in the Supply; Smith, in a prick; and Hall, in a caravel. The companies had for their leaders Captain Charles Parker and Captain North (brothers to the Lord Mounteagle and the Lord North), young Raleigh, Captain Thornhurſt of Kent, Captain Pennington's Lieutenant, who ſeems to be another Hall, and Captain Chidley's lieutenant, Prideaux. Sir Warham St. Legar, Raleigh's lieutenant, who had the charge of theſe companies, fell ſick at Caliana, ſo it was conferred on George Raleigh, Sir Walter's nephew, who had ſerved with great commendation in the Low Countries; and Captain Keymiſh had the chief charge for their landing within the river: but Keymiſh having

laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaking to diſcover it with ſix or eight perſons in Sir John Ferne's ſhallop; Raleigh, upon conſideration, diſliked that method of procedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his inſtructions to go to the mine, bring him a ſample, and avoid fighting the Spaniards if poſſible.

With theſe inſtructions thoſe five ſhips ſet forward, parting from Raleigh and the reſt of the fleet at the iſlands aforeſaid, with a month's proviſion, on the 10th of December. But when they found a new Spaniſh town, called St. Thomas, conſiſting of about one hundred and forty houſes, though ſlightly built, with a chapel, a convent of Franciſcans, and a garriſon, erected on the main channel of Oronoco, about twenty miles diſtant from the place; where Antonio Berreo, the governor, taken by Raleigh in his firſt diſcovery and conqueſt here, endeavoured to plant; Keymiſh and the reſt, thought themſelves obliged, through fear of leaving the enemy between them and the boats, to deviate from their inſtructions, which enjoined them firſt to take a ſmall party to make trial of the mine, under a ſhelter of their own camp, and then to deal with the town as it ſhould give cauſe; ſo they concluded to land in one body and encamp between the mine and the town, whereby they themſelves were nothing ſtronger, their boats were as much expoſed, and the mine left untried, contrary to Raleigh's order.

For about three weeks after their departure, landing by night nearer the town, it ſeems, than they ſuſpected, and meaning to reſt themſelves by the river-ſide till the morning, they were, in the night time, ſet upon by the Spaniſh troops, apprized of their coming. This charge was ſo unexpected, and ſtruck the common ſoldiers with ſuch amazement, that had not the captains and ſome other valiant gentlemen made a head, and animated the reſt, they had all been cut to pieces: But the reſt, by their example, ſoon rallying, made ſuch a vigorous defence againſt the Spaniards, that they drove them to a retreat; till, in the warmth of their purſuit, the Engliſh found themſelves at the Spaniſh town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed, being aſſaulted by the governor himſelf, Don Diego Palameca, and four or five captains at the head of their companies; againſt whom Captain Walter Raleigh, a brave and ſprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, not waiting for the muſketeers, ruſhed foremoſt at the head of a company of pikes, and, having killed one of the Spaniſh captains, was mortally wounded by another; but preſſing ſtill on with his ſword upon Erinetta, probably the captain who had ſhot him, this Spaniard, with the butt end of his muſket, felled him down to the ground; and after theſe words, "Lord have mercy upon me, and proſper your enterprize," young Raleigh ſpoke no more: Hereupon John Pleſſington, his ſerjeant, thruſt the Spaniſh captain through with his halbert. Two commanders more of the Spaniards were ſlain, one by John of Morocco, another of young Raleigh's company; and laſtly the governor himſelf alſo loſt his life in the engagement, which happened, as Cambden informs us, upon the 2d of January.

The leaders being all thus diſpatched, and many of their ſoldiers, the reſt diſperſed; ſome took ſhelter about the market place, from whence they killed and wounded the Engliſh at pleaſure, ſo as they ſaw no way left to be ſafe but by burning the town down about their ears, and driving them into the woods and mountains, whence they ſtill kept the Engliſh waking in perpetual alarms; others were more careful to defend their paſſages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far diſtant, than they had been to defend the town. Captain Keymiſh found the paſſages, leading to the mine he had in his eye, very difficult, and the rivers ſo low, that he could not approach the banks, in moſt places near the mine, by a mile; and where he found an aſcent, a volley

of muſkets came from the woods, and at one time ſlew two of the rowers, hurt ſix others, and wounded Captain Thornhurſt in the head. Keymiſh ſeeing ſo much hazard in attempting to find the mine, the paſſage to it being full of thick and unpaſſable woods; and thinking the Engliſh, who were left at St. Thomas's, would not be able to defend it, eſpecially if the enemy ſhould be recruited, the country being all in alarm, he gave over the enterprize and returned. Beſides the difficulty of finding the mine, he pretended, that if he had found it, he had not a man to work it; and, being a great way up in the land, men would have been got thither with great danger and difficulty; but this ſhould have been thought of before, and it was ill adviſed to take ſo much pains, and run ſo much hazard, to get and poſſeſs that, which when they had it they could not make uſe of; ſo that which Keymiſh pleaded, when he returned, for an excuſe, reflected upon him as a great miſcarriage.

Sir Walter very much blamed him for it, and, among other things, told him if he had but brought one hundred weight of the ore, though with the loſs of one hundred men, it would have given the king ſatisfaction, and preſerved his reputation; and beſides, would have given the nation encouragement to have returned the next year with a greater force, and have held the country for his majeſty, to whom it belonged. As ſoon as they returned to St. Thomas's, the Engliſh pillaged the town, carried away the beſt and moſt portable things, and the enemy not daring to appear for the redemption of it, they ſet it on fire, leaving behind them an infinite maſs of treaſure, which, either for want of knowledge or power, they could not attain. Sir Walter, upon the news of his ſon's death, and Keymiſh's return, finding himſelf diſappointed thereby of his hopes, was perplexed to the very ſoul, and threatened Keymiſh with the king's indignation, telling him he had undone him, and wounded his credit with his majeſty paſt recovery. This had ſuch an effect upon him, that it threw him into deſpair, and a few days after he made away with himſelf. Some ſay he retired immediately into his cabin and ſhot himſelf, with a piſtol, into the body; but that being too ſlow for his fury, deſperately thruſt a large knife into the ſame wound up to the haft.

Theſe accounts may be ſaid both to be true, for, after Sir Walter's firſt reproof, he went away diſcontented, and continued ſo ſeveral days. He came then a ſecond time with his excuſes, and ſhewed him a letter which he had written to the Earl of Arundel, in his own juſtification, praying Sir Walter to allow of his reaſons, which he refuſing, and telling him he would not favour or colour his folly; upon that he retired into his cabin, and immediately committed the fact. The deſign being thus defeated, the ſhips leaky, victuals failing, and, above all, having miſſed thoſe golden ſhowers they gaped after, ſome of the men began to mutiny againſt their general, while others were for him; ſome would have him go home, others ſtay; the major part forced him not to go home, but with their conſent, and yet his ſhips ſlipped away one after another, till from ten they were reduced to four, and thoſe on board would do juſt what they liſt; ſome would go to Italy, ſome for France, and ſome few for England. When they arrived at Kinſale in Ireland, Sir Walter, it is pretended, would have perſuaded them to go with him to France; but inſtead of liſtening to this propoſal they carried him, againſt his will, to Plymouth, where he was arreſted by Sir Lewis Stukely his kinſman, by the king's order, and conveyed to the tower of London.

All the world knows what followed afterwards, when, under colour of his former judgment, Sir Walter was put to death on the 29th of October 1618; an action ſo black and baſe, ſo mean, ſo unworthy of a government, and ſo utterly inexcuſable, that one really wants words to expreſs the foulneſs of the action; but with regard to the cauſe of his death, or rather with reſpect to the manner of it, I differ ſomewhat in my judgment

judgment from moſt of thoſe who have written about it; and therefore I ſhall take the liberty of explaining myſelf upon it, in as few words as I can. It is very certain that King James was very well ſatisfied that the firſt judgment againſt Sir Walter Raleigh, at Wincheſter, was very ill founded; and of this Raleigh himſelf was ſo ſenſible that he neglected obtaining a pardon before he left England, which he might have obtained for 700 l. When he came back it was reſolved to ſacrifice him to the Spaniſh match, to the fears of King James, and the jealouſies of his miniſters; and in order to this, without doubt, it was intended a new proſecution ſhould commence; and in that caſe there is the greateſt reaſon in the world to believe no jury would have found him guilty; but Sir Walter Raleigh, from an eagerneſs to defend himſelf, wrote an apology, in which he moſt clearly proved that Guiana belonged to the crown of England; that his going thither was no breach of treaty; that the Spaniards in America always behaved towards the Engliſh as enemies, and conſequently ought not to be conſidered as allies; that his whole deſign was betrayed to them from the beginning, which occaſioned their ſending forces into thoſe parts, and all the blood-ſhed that afterwards happened; that even in reſpect to this the Spaniards were aggreſſors; and that, throughout the whole expedition, he had done nothing but what he was warranted to do by his commiſſion. This it was that drove the miniſtry from their firſt purpoſe, and forced them upon that meaſure, which they afterwards took, of calling him down to his former judgment, contrary to law, reaſon, juſtice, and the king's own ſenſe of the thing, as he afterwards teſtified under his hand.

But, however, though by this barbarous meaſure our great diſcoverer loſt his head, yet the title of the crown of England to his diſcovery remained abſolutely unimpeached, as appears clearly by King James's granting a new commiſſion to Captain Roger North, for ſettling in Guiana a year after Raleigh's death; which, however, he afterwards recalled by a proclamation, and ſent the Lord North, who was at the expence of that expedition, to the fleet, for making too much diſpatch in it. Such a fluctuation of councils there muſt always be, where a foreign intereſt is regarded, as the caſe was then, when the politics of Britain were dictated by Spain. Yet even this did not put an end to all thoughts of maintaining the rights of the crown of England to this valuable country, where the people ſtill remembered and enquired after Sir Walter when he had been many years in his grave.

The accounts we have, however, of theſe expeditions, are ſo imperfect, that we can ſay very little with certainty till after the Reſtoration; when the Lord Willoughby, who was governor of Barbadoes, obtained a grant from King Charles II. of this country, and actually made a conſiderable ſettlement on the river of Surinam, where they might have continued much longer than they did if it had not been for their own indiſcretion: for when the firſt Dutch war broke out, in which the French took part with the Republic againſt us, both theſe nations would have conſented to a neutrality in thoſe parts; but our people were bent upon a war which turned to their ruin: for the coaſt of Guiana, from Cape Orange to near the river Oronoco, was, about the year 1666, poſſeſſed by three European nations: the Dutch were about the river Aproague; the French had the iſland of Cayenne, and the rivers of Ovia, Corrou, and Sinamary; this laſt is about twenty-five leagues north-weſt from Cayenne, and fifty-three eaſt from Surinam; and the Engliſh had a ſmall colony and redoubt on the river Maronny; their chief ſettlement being then at Surinam river, which is ſo good and deep that ſhips of three hundred tons run twenty leagues up it. The Zealanders were poſſeſſed of the river Berbiche, and had repulſed the Engliſh, who attacked them there, with conſiderable loſs.

The ſame year, 1666, the States of Zealand being provoked at the Engliſh having invaded and taken from them all the lands they had been poſſeſſed of in America except the river Berbiche, ſent thither Commodore Creiſſen, with four men of war and three hundred men to attack Surinam. He ſailed from Zealand at the latter end of January; arrived at Cayenne in March; went thence for Surinam; ſailed up the river under Engliſh colours, and came to the fort of Paramorbo, three leagues up the river, without being taken for an enemy; but being diſcovered there for want of ſignals, the fort began to fire on his ſhips, which he anſwered with broadſides from all the veſſels, and immediately landed his forces. The Engliſh, who had lived long in profound ſecurity, found themſelves too weak, and the fort in no poſture of defence on the land-ſide, and their habitations being diſperſed along the river for thirty leagues up, the fort could not be ſuccoured but by water, where the Zealanders were maſters: upon which conſideration they ſurrendered it, capitulating for the inhabitants of the river of Surinam and thoſe of Kamomioque; ſtipulating that all thoſe who ſhould take the oath of fidelity to the States of Zealand ſhould enjoy their eſtates peaceably; the habitations of ſuch as abſented themſelves, and thoſe belonging to the Lord Willoughby, ſhould be forfeited to the ſaid States; all foreigners who had no eſtates there ſhould remain priſoners of war; and all the Engliſh to be obliged to deliver up their arms. When the capitulation was executed, Creiſſen put aboard a fly-boat he had taken in the river, the moſt valuable part of the booty he found in the places that were confiſcated, and the priſoners aboard a man of war; and after cauſing the fort to be repaired and put into a poſture of defence, and leaving it in the hands of Sieur de Rome with one hundred and fifty men, he ſailed for the iſlands.

Afterwards, when the peace was made at Breda, it was agreed that the Dutch ſhould keep Surinam, and that in return we ſhould keep New York, which was then called the New Netherlands. Thus we have traced this point fairly, from beginning to ending; from the firſt ſettlement, nay from the very firſt thoughts of a ſettlement, to the giving up of all the ſettlements we then had, and which might be ſtyled the legacy of Raleigh to this nation, into the hands of the Dutch. It may not be amiſs, however, before I quit the ſubject, to obſerve that the Dutch have ſucceeded very happily in a plantation that was not very beneficial to us; and that if ever we ſhould be inclined to try our fortunes again upon this coaſt, for without queſtion our ceſſion of Surinam does not preclude us from viſiting the reſt of Guiana; if this, I ſay, ſhould ever be attempted, it muſt be either by the South Sea Company or under their licence, ſince all this great country, as well as many other valuable places, lie within their charter, which covers them from all the reſt of this nation, and leaves them open only to all the world beſides.

15. We are now to paſs to the mother-colony of that which we mentioned laſt, the famous iſland of Barbadoes, which may be juſtly eſteemed the faireſt, beſt peopled, and beſt cultivated ſpot of ground, not in America only, but in the whole known world: when or by whom it was firſt diſcovered is a point not eaſily ſettled, and, in my judgment cannot be determined at all farther than by conjecture. The Portugueſe were certainly the firſt diſcoverers of Brazil, and it is not very probable that they ſhould make many voyages thither, or at leaſt ſhould eſtabliſh a regular commerce with that country without falling in with this iſland, which lies ſo much in the way. It is the more probable that they were the firſt diſcoverers, from the name by which this country has been always known; Barbadoes having apparently a Portugueſe termination, but what it ſignifies is very doubtful. Some ſay the iſland was ſo called from its barbarous inhabitants; to prove which they ſhould have ſhewn us that it was inhabited at all,

which in thoſe times undoubtedly it was not; but, however, it is not impoſſible that the thing might be ſo, ſince the Caribbees certainly viſited that iſland from St. Vincent, which is within ſight, and the Portugueſe might poſſibly land when they were upon it, and fright them off this iſland, whence they might from theſe people give it the name of Barbadoes, which it has ſtill retained, and is ſo called, without any variation, at leaſt that I know of, in all the languages of Europe.

The firſt Engliſhmen that landed here, it is ſaid, were ſome of Sir William Curteen's ſeamen, that were cruizing in theſe ſeas in the latter end of the reign of King James I. who reporting, at their return to England, that the ſoil was fruitful, ſome adventurers went thither with intent to plant it; but finding the iſland covered with wood, and ſcarce any other animals upon it than hogs, it did not anſwer their expectations a great while. The property of this iſland was afterwards granted by King Charles I. to James Earl of Carliſle, in the firſt year of his reign; of whom ſeveral adventurers purchaſing ſhares, tranſported themſelves thither, and firſt fell to planting tobacco; which not thriving here as they expected, they proceeded to try cotton and indigo, which yielded them a conſiderable profit; but they made little ſugar till 1647, when Colonel Modiford, Colonel Drax, Colonel Walrond, and ſeveral other cavaliers, finding there was no living with any ſatisfaction in England under the Uſurper, converted their eſtates into money, and tranſported themſelves to Barbadoes with ſuch machines and implements as were proper to carry on ſugar-works there. Colonel Drax, it is ſaid, in a few years acquired an eſtate of ſeven or eight thouſand pounds per annum, and married the Earl of Carliſle's daughter, then proprietor of the iſland; and the adventurers fixing their principal ſettlement on the great bay in the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, gave it the name of Carliſle bay, in honour of their proprietor, which it ſtill retains.

The iſland was afterwards divided into four circuits and eleven pariſhes, each pariſh being allowed to ſend two repreſentatives to the General Aſſembly, and every pariſh had its church and an incumbent, with a handſome maintenance aſſigned him. In the year 1650 the white inhabitants of the iſland are ſaid to have increaſed to between thirty and forty thouſand, beſides negroes, who were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the deſtruction of their maſters; but their plots were conſtantly diſcovered, and the moſt terrible puniſhments inflicted on the ring-leaders; which did but increaſe the diſaffection of the reſt, and laid the foundation of freſh conſpiracies. But notwithſtanding the repeated plots of their ſlaves, never any plantation of ſo ſmall an extent, arrived to that riches and grandeur as Barbadoes did, in the ſpace of twenty or thirty years. The Rump apprehended this iſland of ſuch conſequence during their uſurpation that they ſent a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war thither, anno 1651, under the command of Sir George Aſcue, who compelled the Lord Willoughby, (appointed governor by King Charles II.) to ſurrender the iſland upon condition the royaliſts ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and liberties, and Mr. Searl was appointed governor by them.

The Dutch war ſucceeding ſoon after, the colony was prohibited trading with the Hollanders, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the Dutch it ſeems conſtantly furniſhed the iſland with negroes till this time, and taught the Barbadians to plant, and manage their ſugars to the beſt advantage, taking moſt of it off of their hands, with which they ſupplied themſelves and the reſt of Europe; but after the Uſurpers's quarrel with the Dutch, the Barbadians were compelled, by an ordinance of parliament, to bring all their ſugars directly to England, which was imitated by the Miniſtry after the reſtoration of King Charles II. and was the foundation of the act of navigation, which requires all the Britiſh colonies to bring their ſugars and tobacco directly

directly to England, and forbids their trading with foreigners in theſe, and ſome other, ſtiled *enumerated* articles.

16. In the year 1661 King Charles II. purchaſed the property of this iſland of the Lord Kinowl, heir to the Earl of Carliſle, and appointed the Lord Willoughby of Parham governor; ever ſince which, Barbadoes has been a regular government; and the colony granted a duty of four and a half per cent. for the ſupport of the civil government of that iſland, and maintaining the forces and fortifications thereof; which duty (according to my information) amounts to ten thouſand pounds a year; but inſtead of being applied to the purpoſes for which it was given, it is diſpoſed of in penſions to courtiers, to the irreparable damage of that colony; no other iſland having laid ſo high a duty on their ſugars. In the year 1664 De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, with a great fleet of men of war, treacherouſly attempted to ſurpriſe the iſland of Barbadoes, though England was then in full peace with Holland; but he was bravely beat off by the Barbadians, and obliged to abandon that enterprize.

In the year 1674 Sir Jonathan Atkins, being made governor, had orders to ſeize all the ſhips trading in Africa for negroes, that trade being granted to the Royal African Company about that time, excluſive of all others. And ſeveral ſhips belonging to the merchants of Barbadoes, bringing over negroes afterward, were condemned and forfeited, being denominated interlopers; which that colony complained of as a great grievance, the African Company ſetting what price they pleaſed upon their negroes; but this was not redreſſed till after the revolution, when that trade was laid open to all the ſubjects of England, paying ten per cent. towards the charge of their forts. The Barbadians alſo ſuffered great loſſes by a terrible hurricane which happened there on the 10th of Auguſt 1674, when three hundred houſes were blown down, two hundred perſons killed, moſt of their ſugar-works and plantations ſpoiled; and all their windmills for grinding of canes were blown down, except thoſe that were built of ſtone; eight ſhips alſo ſuffered ſhipwreck in the harbour; inſomuch that the Barbadians were diſabled from making much ſugar the two ſucceeding years. Another calamity, with which the Barbadians were afflicted, was an epidemical diſtemper that ſeveral years raged in the iſland, differing very little from the plague. This began about the year 1691, and occaſioned a great decreaſe amongſt the white inhabitants, which they have not recovered from that day to this. It ſeems the Miniſtry of England, ſending a ſquadron of men of war to Barbadoes, with a body of land forces on board, to protect the trade of the Caribbee iſlands, which had ſuffered very much by the depredations of the French privateers; the Barbadians, on their arrival, concerted an enterprize with the commanders againſt the French iſlands of Guadaloupe, Martinico, St. Chriſtopher's, &c. and joining the king's forces with ſome of their own, formed a body of four or five thouſand men, with which they made a deſcent on Guadaloupe and St. Chriſtopher's, and ruined many French ſettlements, but did not make a conqueſt of them, as was expected; and what was ſtill more unfortunate, the diſtemper above-mentioned broke out in the army, which the ſoldiers brought back to Barbadoes, and almoſt depopulated that iſland of white men. The king's ſhips alſo loſt ſo many of their men that there were not hands enough to carry them home.

If we ſhould purſue this hiſtory lower, it would not contribute very much to the information, entertainment, or ſatisfaction of the reader, becauſe it would involve us in long and perplexed relations of the diſputes between the inhabitants of this colony and their governors, appeals from both parties to the government at home, and other ſuch-like tedious and diſagreeable ſubjects. We will therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that till ſome very different method is taken from that which has been hitherto

in uſe for appointing governors in this and other colonies, ſo that men are now ſent over with a view to repair their own fortunes, inſtead of enquiring into, and redreſſing, thoſe grievances that affect the properties of the perſons they are ſent to govern, we can never hope to ſee the plantations flouriſh, or this country reap thoſe advantages from them which otherwiſe ſhe might. What is the nature of thoſe advantages, and what their degree in reſpect to this noble iſland, juſtly eſteemed the moſt valuable plantation for its ſize, that ever this nation poſſeſſed, ſhall be our next buſineſs to explain, by entering into a particular deſcription of this iſland and its product.

17. The Iſland of Barbadoes is ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean, in 13 degrees north latitude, and 59 degrees of weſtern longitude, being of a triangular form; about twenty-five miles in length from ſouth to north, and fifteen in breadth from eaſt to weſt, where broadeſt; it is a plain level country for the moſt part, with ſome ſmall hills of an eaſy aſcent, and ſcarce any wood upon it at preſent; it was covered with woods, indeed, when the Engliſh firſt ſent colonies there, but they are all cut down to make room for plantations of ſugar canes which take up almoſt the whole iſland at preſent, nothing elſe being cultivated in any great quantities. Their very corn, fleſh, and fiſh, being imported for the moſt part from the northern colonies: there is ſcarce an harbour in the iſland, the beſt is that of Bridge Town in Carliſle-bay, on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, and this lies open to the weſtward; however it is ſecure from the north-eaſt, which is the conſtant trade wind here, and blows from morning to evening, except their tornades and hurricanes, which happen uſually about Midſummer, and in July and Auguſt, and blow from every quarter. The ſhips in the bay, at ſuch times, are in the utmoſt danger of being wrecked on ſhore, if they cannot get out to ſea, and therefore ſeldom attempt to ride out thoſe ſtorms.

The coaſt is defended on the eaſt by rocks and ſhoals, from the invaſion of an enemy; and on the weſt, where it is moſt expoſed to a deſcent, breaſt-works and redoubts are erected for its ſecurity, but the repair of them is too much neglected. There is ſcarce a ſtream in the iſland that deſerves the name of a river; however, we find two on the eaſt-ſide, to which they have given the names of Scotland river, and Joſeph's river; they have good water in their wells almoſt all over the iſland, and do not dig very deep for it; they have alſo large ponds and reſervoirs, where they preſerve rainwater. They have generally fine ſerene weather; their rains fall as in other parts of the torrid zone, chiefly when the ſun is vertical; and after the rains are the proper ſeaſons for planting; their heats are not ſo exceſſive as in the ſame latitude on the continent, being conſtantly refreſhed by the ſea breezes in the day-time, which increaſes as the ſun advances, and abates as the ſun declines. And they have this further ſatisfaction, that their days ſeldom exceed twelve hours; but there being no mountains on the iſland, there are no land-winds in the night as in Jamaica.

The only town of any conſequence in the iſland, is that of Bridge Town or St. Michael's, ſituate in Carliſle-bay: it was formerly encompaſſed with a moraſs which rendered it unhealthy, but this has been drained in a great meaſure; however, the low ſituation makes the town ſtill ſubject to inundations: it is ſaid to contain a thouſand or twelve hundred houſes tolerably well built of brick or ſtone. They have commodious wharfs and keys for loading and unloading of goods, and three forts or caſtles of defence, which, if kept in repair, would render them no eaſy conqueſt. The chief produce and manufacture of the iſland, as has been intimated already, is ſugar; of the molaſſes or droſs whereof they make great quantities of rum. They have alſo ſome cotton, indigo, ginger, and pimento, and formerly tobacco was planted here in good quantities, but very little at preſent; foreſt trees they have ſcarce any left: their fruits

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are oranges, limes, citrons, pomegranates, pine-apples, guavas, plaintains, cocoa-nuts, indian-figs, prickle-pears, melons, and almoſt all manner of roots and garden ſtuff, but very few flowers.

Their horſes they import from New England, &c. and have a ſlight breed of their own: they have alſo ſome aſſes, cows, and ſheep, but the laſt do not thrive here. They have a good number of hogs, the fleſh whereof is the beſt meat that is eaten in thoſe hot climates. Here are alſo good ſea fiſh and poultry, but no freſh-water fiſh; and, in general, all manner of proviſion is very dear. There is no dining at an ordinary under a crown a-head; freſh meat is a rarity, and chiefly the food of people of condition; the reſt are glad of ſalt-beef, pork, and fiſh, imported from the northern colonies; from whence alſo comes their wheat, flower, indian-corn, peaſe, beans, &c. They make bread alſo of the caſſavi root, and the negroes feed on yams, potatoes, and other roots and fruits. The liquor drank by the gentry here, is chiefly Madeira wine, or wine and water, and great quantities of punch are drank by the vulgar. They have alſo ſtrong beer imported from Old and New England, and liquors made of their maize and fruits as in Jamaica. The government here alſo reſembles that of Jamaica, and the reſt of our American iſlands, having the governor and council appointed by the crown, which, with the houſe of repreſentatives, are veſted with a legiſlative power, and make laws for the government of the iſland.

The number of white people are ſaid to have been once forty thouſand and upwards, and are computed to be near thirty thouſand at preſent. The negroes, mulattoes, and meſtive ſlaves, about an hundred thouſand. Their militia conſiſts of fifteen hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot, or thereabouts.

After this general repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of the iſland, it is requiſite that we ſhould proceed to a more cloſe enquiry into the ſtaple commodity of this iſland. We are to obſerve, that before the year 1626, the Portugueze ſupplied all Europe with ſugar from their colonies in Brazil, to their immenſe profit; but the firſt ſettlers finding the ſoil to be fertile, and the producing of ſugar advantageous, they encouraged more people to come over and plant the ſame commodity. This inducing the merchants at home to ſend over ſhips with proviſions and other neceſſaries for thoſe new planters, which their agents and factors exchanged with them for the produce of the country, and from thence a reciprocal trade and correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and this iſland.

The growing ſucceſs of this new ſugar colony promoted the ſettlement of the others; and as the ſugar plantations encreaſed, more hands were required to carry on the works, than could, at that time, be ſpared from home. This gave birth to the Guinea trade, for ſupplying thoſe colonies with negro ſlaves; and as the planters flouriſhed and encreaſed, ſo did their demands for all ſorts of Britiſh manufactures, and ſuch neceſſaries of life as they could not produce in thoſe climates, which opened another ſcene of trade to the Britiſh merchants, to furniſh theſe new colonies with wine from Madeira. Theſe branches of trade were of the utmoſt advantage to Great Britain, foraſmuch as they took no money out of the kingdom, but yearly brought in large ſums for Britiſh manufactures carried out. The trade to this iſland was commonly open and free; for we find, that before the civil war in England, the Dutch ſhips came hither to purchaſe ſugars, as well as the Engliſh. This freedom in trade made the country flouriſh, and made money plenty among the inhabitants. But ſince the reſtoration, ſeveral acts of parliament have been made to confine the trade of the ſugar colonies to Great Britain, and Britiſh ſhips only; which reſtraints ſoon made London the chiefeſt mart in Europe for ſugar; and as there was yearly more imported than was neceſſary for

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home conſumption, the merchants exported the ſurplus to foreign markets, and by underſelling the Portugueze, they in time beat them almoſt out of all their ſugar trade to the northward of Cape Finiſterre.

This trade of re-exporting ſugars was carried on for many years with great ſucceſs. Mr. Joſhua Gee ſays that by this trade only ſuch an increaſe of treaſure and wealth was brought into this kingdom, as yearly added three or four hundred thouſand pounds to the ſtock of the nation, which in thirty years time amounted to upwards of ten millions ſterling. And a late author computes the clear profits, accruing to Great Britain from the ſugar trade, and thoſe other branches which chiefly depend upon thoſe iſlands, to amount to more than one million a year. He tells us farther, that it appears by the cuſtom-houſe in London, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the ſugar colonies were a few years ago upwards of five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling every year; and their importations from thoſe iſlands more than twelve hundred thouſand pounds per annum. In theſe computations the author has taken no notice of the vaſt quantities of Britiſh manufactures yearly exported to Guinea and Madeira; but if they were to be added to the exportations of the ſugar colonies, where the greateſt part of their produce is taken off with an advantage to the Britiſh merchant, it would greatly augment the ſum, and conſequently enlarge the profits which our mother country receives from the ſugar colonies, and the ſeveral branches of trade depending on them. I ſhall not take upon me to determine whether this gentleman's calculations are exact or not; but it is evident beyond diſpute, that while the ſugar trade flouriſhed, both planters and merchants grew immenſely rich, and the trade and navigation of Great Britain was carried on to a much greater height than it ever was before. And this great ſource of wealth and treaſure to their mother country, aroſe from ſo ſmall a beginning as a few families ſeeking ſhelter in a deſolate iſland.

This ſhews what may be done by induſtry and trade rightly applied. Now if the trade and navigation of Great Britain have received ſuch an addition from the ſugar colonies, as added greatly to the riches and ſtrength of the kingdom; and if Barbadoes has the honour to ſtand foremoſt in the ſugar trade (as the firſt founder of it) how well has ſhe deſerved of her mother country. When the ſugar trade was at the height which we deſcribed above, the flouriſhing ſtate of Great Britain alarmed her neighbours, and put them upon ways to circumvent her in trade, as the only means to put a ſtop to the growing ſtrength of the kingdom, which they feared might become too formidable, from the great increaſe of ſeamen and ſhipping employed in the Weſt India and Guinea trades, both flouriſhing at the ſame time. Upon a parliamentary enquiry into the ſtate of trade to Africa, in the year 1728, it appeared to the Houſe, that in three years time only, the number of negroes imported at Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Antigua, amounted to forty-two thouſand, beſides what were carried to St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat.

But we are now to enquire into the cauſes of the general declenſion of this trade. And here I beg leave further to obſerve, that the French ſpared no coſt or labour to rival Great Britain, they well knowing, if that ſunk, her Guinea and Madeira trade muſt fall with it; for which purpoſe they embraced every opportunity to enlarge and improve their ſugar plantations; and, if I am not miſinformed, where the planter was not able to complete his works himſelf, proper utenſils were ſent over from France at the public charge, and the crown truſted them for ſeveral years without intereſt; what ſuch an aſſiſtance will enable men to do, we may gather from the flouriſhing ſtate of the linen manufacture in Ireland, ſince the public allowed them a fund to ſupport it. Having by theſe means eſtabliſhed their ſugar colonies, the next thing they had in view

was to beat the Britiſh merchants out of the foreign markets for ſugar; and therefore deſtroy their trade for exportation; and this they have effected, by giving liberty for their ſhips to carry their ſugars directly to the foreign markets, while ours were obliged to import all into Great Britain, which enables them to ſell ſo much cheaper than our merchants can carry it from London, as has almoſt put an entire ſtop to that valuable branch of trade to their mother country; and the utter ruin of the Britiſh ſugar colonies muſt neceſſarily follow, unleſs they are relieved ſome way or other.

The very firſt declenſion of their exportation trade was attended with ill conſequences to the ſugar colonies. It lowered the price of ſugar ſo much at home, as diſcouraged the merchants from ſending to purchaſe ſugars here. This obliged the ſugar planters to turn merchant adventurers in a declining trade, and to ſhip their ſugars upon their own account and riſque; this put a ſtop to the currency of caſh, which was before brought over yearly to purchaſe ſugars, and laid the whole burden of freight, duty, and commiſſion, upon the plantation, that were formerly paid by the Britiſh merchants. And ſuppoſe but fifteen thouſand hogſheads of ſugar to be ſhipped in a year from this iſland, on gentlemens own accounts, theſe three articles will amount to upwards of ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. Another great evil that has likewiſe followed from the ſame cauſe is, combinations among the buyers, by which the price of ſugars is ſunk ſo low as greatly to prejudice the planters, and yet turning to the benefit only of a few private perſons, who are the firſt buyers, and not at all to that of the conſumers in general, by which that iſland is hurt, and this receives no benefit, or very little.

Theſe are the particulars which we have collected from books; but we will now add ſome few remarks, from the informations we have received, which will ſerve to give light to the preſent ſtate and importance of this iſland; and theſe will come chiefly under the three following heads. In the firſt place, we ſhall ſhew that this colony throve the faſteſt, became the beſt peopled, and by far the moſt wealthy in America. We ſhall next ſhew the advantages formerly derived from thence to the Britiſh nation, clearly, and in a very few words. And laſtly, we ſhall take notice of the preſent condition of this iſland, and of the infinite conſequence thereof to this government of Great Britain. In the firſt place then, it is to be conſidered that the iſland of Barbadoes is generally eſteemed to be a very little bigger than the Iſle of Wight, and to contain, according to a round computation, one hundred thouſand acres. It has been ſhewn, that about the year 1626 this country was not only unſettled, but actually uninhabitable, as affording nothing for the ſupport of life, and over-run with a bruſhy kind of ſhrub wood, which gave a great deal of trouble to the firſt planters; yet in the ſpace of fifty years, this plantation came to its greateſt height, and by a calculation that was made with much exactneſs, there were in it fifty thouſand white people of all ſorts, of whom twenty thouſand were able to bear arms, and eighty thouſand negroes: nay, we are told that in twenty years after the colony was ſettled they muſtered eleven thouſand horſe and foot; which would be altogether incredible if we had not ſuch proofs of theſe facts as put them beyond all doubt or queſtion.

This ſufficiently proves, that never any colony of ours, or any other nation, was ſo populous as this iſland. But to make this ſtill clearer to an Engliſh reader, we ſhall obſerve that Barbadoes is rather leſs than the county of Rutland, the ſmalleſt county in England; and that, according to the higheſt computation, the number of people in that county in 1676, did not exceed twenty thouſand: but this may be made ſtill clearer, by comparing that whole iſland with this, in point of extent; for if England and Wales, taken together, conſiſt of near forty millions of acres, then if they were as

populous as Barbadoes they ought to contain fifty millions of people; whereas Sir William Petty, who was a very able man in computations, and is thought not to have undervalued this country, but rather the contrary, never reckoned the people higher than eight millions; which ſhews what a vaſt diſproportion there is between the peopling of the two countries.

But to proceed farther ſtill; the ſame great man aſſerts, that in Holland and Zealand, which are looked upon to be the beſt peopled countries in Europe, there are a million of ſouls inhabiting about as many acres; and conſequently it appears from hence, that even this country was not ſo well peopled as Barbadoes. In point of wealth, the compariſon holds full as ſtrong; for in the year 1661 king Charles II. created on the ſame day thirteen baronets in Barbadoes, none of them having leſs than one thouſand, and ſome of them ten thouſand pounds a year. At this time their trade actually maintained four hundred ſail of ſhips; and it was computed, that the running caſh of the iſland might be about two hundred thouſand pounds; and their annual exportation to Great Britain, in ſugar, indigo, ginger, and other commodities, at leaſt three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Theſe are facts that may be depended upon, that deſerve in every reſpect the greateſt conſideration, and that plainly demonſtrate at once the great value of this iſland, and the prodigious conſequence of our plantations in general.

By the gradual increaſe of the colony upon this iſland, it has, ſince we firſt poſſeſſed it, contributed beyond conception and belief to the riches of its mother country; and, as I know not any ſubject that either can or ought to give an Engliſh reader more pleaſure than the conſideration of what has been obtained by the bleſſing of God, upon the virtue and induſtry of his countrymen; ſo, I think, an endeavour to ſhew what has accrued in the whole to Britain, by eſtabliſhing a colony here, will be allowed to be equally inſtructive and pleaſant, uſeful and entertaining.

What has been ſaid before, gives us a ſufficient general notion of the importance and value of the iſland; what we now aim at is, to come at a more particular account of what it has yielded in the whole. When this colony was in its moſt flouriſhing condition, which we fix to the year 1676, there were four hundred ſhips of one hundred and fifty tons, one with another, employed annually in this trade; and I believe it will be thought a very moderate computation, if we reckon that the ſeamen, ſhip-builders, and other trades that live by theſe veſſels, amounted in the whole to ten thouſand ſouls. The ſugars that came from Barbadoes, were either ſpent at home or ſent abroad; and I reckon, that in the manufacturing the ſugars, and vending them at home and abroad, there might be twenty thouſand people more employed. To theſe we muſt add, ſuch as got their bread by the goods and manufactures yearly exported from hence to Barbadoes; for almoſt all that the people eat, drink, and wear there, are the product of England; ſo that the computation cannot be thought to riſe too high, if we allow, that in this way twenty thouſand more got their bread; which will make about fifty thouſand in the whole: all ſupported here by the labour and induſtry of the whites and negroes in that country. We are next to compute the money brought into this nation by the export of the commodities imported from thence, which was that year allowed to be above two hundred thouſand pounds, and it was alſo agreed, that as much or more had been gained every year, between that time and the reſtoration.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the money ariſing to the exchequer from the duties, though this might be computed at thirty-five thouſand pounds per annum; but upon theſe principles ſhall proceed in my computation thus: I will ſuppoſe, that from the year

1636 to 1656, which is twenty years, this colony produced but half ſo much, and though it may be true, that before the year 1640 it did not produce a quarter ſo much, yet, in the remaining part of that period, it certainly brought in a great deal more; and therefore we cannot be far from the truth, in computing that this nation acquired two millions in money, by Barbadoes, in that twenty years. In the next twenty, that is, from 1656 to 1676, when it is allowed this iſland was in its moſt flouriſhing condition, there muſt have been gained four millions of money; and allowing for the gradual falling off of this trade, by a multitude of unlucky accidents, but more particularly by the ſettling the French ſugar iſlands, we ſhall compute the laſt ſeventy years, from 1676 to 1736, at the ſame rate we did the firſt twenty years, and the gain will then amount to ſix millions; ſo that in the ſpace of one hundred years, the inhabitants of Great Britain have received twelve millions in ſilver, by the means of this plantation; and had fifty thouſand of her inhabitants maintained by the people in that colony all the time. It is highly poſſible, that in ſome of theſe articles we may be wrong one way, and it is more than probable, that in other articles we may err the other way; which is ſo far from making againſt the credit of our computation in general, that it really makes for it, ſince we may very well ſuppoſe theſe errors balance each other, and that the ſum total is very near right.

We are now come to the laſt head, which is, aſſigning the comparative excellence of this colony with regard to our own and other plantations in America; and this, at firſt ſight, may appear a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible to be done; however we may come ſufficiently near it for our purpoſe. It is thought that Barbadoes contains one hundred and forty ſquare miles, and if ſo it is in proportion, as 1 to 34,771 in reſpect to the Spaniſh plantations; as 1 to 12,000 in regard to our own; as 1 to 11,000 in reference to the French; as 1 to 7,000 as to the Portugueze; and as 1 to 4 as to the Dutch. This I ſay, as to the extent of territory, is as juſt a compariſon as can be made; but with regard to the value of theſe colonies, it is very eaſy to perceive that there is hardly any computation to be made at all, for we may truly affirm that the produce of Barbadoes is very near equal to a twentieth part of what Spain receives from her Indies annually, in time of peace, and from thence we may eaſily judge of the reſt.

I have inſiſted the longer upon this topic, becauſe it may enable us to form ſome notion of what might be made of our plantations, if we attended to them as much as they deſerve; for though it may be, and perhaps is, impoſſible to improve any of them in proportion to what has been done in Barbadoes, yet we may well enough diſcern, from hence, that they might be made inconteſtably more profitable to us than they now are, or indeed, than the whole trade that we now poſſeſs; and if, at the ſame time we reflect on this, we likewiſe conſider that there is nothing ſo abſolutely in our power, as the improvement of our colonies; it will moſt certainly appear to be the point, which, of all others imports us moſt; and if I have done any thing towards proving this, I ſhall account all my labour well beſtowed.

18. We are next to ſpeak of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, which was called Liamuega by the ſavages, and was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, in the firſt voyage he made to America. He gave it the name of St. Chriſtopher from the figure of its mountains, there being in the upper part of the iſland a very high mountain, which bears on its ſummit another leſs mountain, as St. Chriſtopher is painted like a giant, with our Saviour on his back. It is ſituated in the latitude of 17 degrees 25 minutes on this ſide the line, and is about 75 miles in circuit; the Caribbeans inhabited it when Sir Thomas Warner, an Engliſh adventurer, went thither. Monſieur Deſnambue, a French gentleman of the ancient houſe of Vauderop, who commanded

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for the French in America, arrived at St. Chriſtopher's the ſame day with Sir Thomas Warner, and both took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the names of their reſpective maſters, that they might have a place of ſafe retreat, and a good haven for the receipt of ſuch ſhips of both nations, as ſhould be bound for America, it being well provided with harbours. The Spaniards uſed to put in there in their Weſt India voyage, to take in freſh water; and they were on ſo good terms with the Caribbeans, that ſometimes they left their ſick there, of whom the ſavages took a great deal of care.

The two gentlemen before mentioned, left ſome of their men upon the place, and returned, Sir Thomas Warner to England, and Monſieur Deſnambue to France, for recruits. Their maſters approved of their conduct, and ſent them back with ſupplies of men and proviſions, and commiſſions to be governors of the new ſettlements. This company continued in France till the year 1661, when they ſold St. Chriſtopher's, and the other iſlands, to the knights of Malta; but in the year 1664, the Weſt India company, by the king's orders, bought out the laſt proprietors. Sir Thomas Warner, and Monſieur Deſnambue, ſailed in the year 1626, and the latter arrived there about January 1627, having had a long ſickly voyage. The French were about three hundred in number, the Engliſh colony as many; Sir Thomas had proceeded a good way in his ſettlement before Monſieur Deſnambue arrived; and the two governors, to prevent differences among the people about the limits of their teritories, ſigned articles of diviſion on the 13th of May 1627; they then ſet boundaries to their ſeveral diviſions, with this particular proviſo, that fiſhing and hunting ſhould be equally free to the inhabitants of both nations; that the ſalt-ponds, and moſt valuable timber, ſhould be in common, together with the mines and havens; alſo a league offenſive and defenſive was concluded between them, againſt all their enemies; after which they ſet to work, each in his ſtation to advance his ſettlement, and went on very harmoniouſly.

The Engliſh received ſupplies of men and proviſions from London, by which means they throve better than the French, and not only became ſtrong enough to keep what they had, but to be able to ſpare men for new plantations at Nevis; of which Sir Thomas Warner took poſſeſſion, and left people upon it for a ſettlement in the year 1628. And in that which followed, Don Frederick de Toledo was ſent with a fleet of twenty-four ſhips and fifteen frigates, to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh and French of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's. The Spaniards were alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh in the Caribbee iſlands, and thought it concerned the ſafety of their own plantations, to prevent thoſe nations from ſettling in the neighbourhood. Don Frederick meeting ſome Engliſh ſhips lying near the iſle of Nevis, ſeized them, and then came and anchored in the road of Marigot, under the cannon of the Baſſe Terre, where Monſieur Roſſey commanded. Neither the French nor the Engliſh forts were in a condition to oppoſe ſuch an enemy; their ſtores of ammunition fell ſhort, and their numbers were not a match for the Spaniſh army, had they been ever ſo well provided with powder and ſhot. Roſſey, after a ſmall oppoſition, abandoned the Baſſe Terre, and retreated to Cabes Terre, another fort, where Monſieur Deſnambue was in perſon, who could not prevail with his men, either to defend themſelves there, or to retire to the foreſts and mountains, where a few men might have reſiſted a thouſand. He remonſtrated to them that Don Frederick could not afford much time, being bound to the Havannah to bring home the flota. Yet this was to no purpoſe, nothing would content them but embarking and leaving the place, which he was forced to comply with, and ſo all the French deſerted their ſettlement, as did their allies the Engliſh; who were in a great conſternation, and the diſorder encreaſed, upon the news of of Deſnambue's being gone with his colony; ſome endeavoured to eſcape by ſea, others

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fled to the mountains, and all who were left ſent deputies to treat with the Spaniards. The Don knowing he had them in his power, commanded them to leave the iſland immediately, or he would put them to the ſword; he ſent them their own ſhips, which he had taken at Nevis, to embark in, and was perſuaded to give leave to thoſe to ſtay that had not room in the ſhips for themſelves and their families, till they could be tranſported; upon which Don Frederick weighed anchor, carried with him ſix hundred Engliſh who were fitteſt for his ſervice, and he was no ſooner gone but the Engliſh rallied, and reſolved to go on with their ſettlement. The French, who were got no farther than Antigua and Montſerrat, ſent a ſhip for intelligence to St. Chriſtopher's, and underſtanding the Spaniards were gone, and the Engliſh buſy in rebuilding and planting, rejoiced at this happy and unexpected turn of fortune, ſailed back to St. Chriſtopher's, and retook poſſeſſion of their former habitations.

The Engliſh continued carrying on their colony till they were in a condition to ſpare more men for ſettlements, at Barbuda, Montſerrat, and Antigua, which Sir Thomas Warner peopled and planted. And the ſame year the Dutch made themſelves maſters of St. Euſtace, and the French took poſſeſſion of ſome other iſlands. The Engliſh built themſelves good houſes at St. Chriſtopher's, and had wives and families; whereas the French contented themſelves with huts, after the Caribbean manner; few of them were married, and conſequently took little pains to furniſh themſelves with all things neceſſary and convenient for life. Monſieur Deſnambue died about the year 1637, and Sir Thomas Warner did not long ſurvive him. Before the Engliſh governor's death the colony was ſo increaſed, that there were between twelve and thirteen thouſand ſouls of his own nation in the iſland. He was ſucceeded in his government by Colonel Rich, who, by following his predeceſſor's ſteps in governing the colony, invited more people to come and ſettle there. The chief employment of the firſt planters was cultivating tobacco, by which they got a competent livelihood; but afterwards, the quantity that was made bringing down the price, they ſet themſelves in ſeveral places to plant ſugar, ginger, indigo, and cotton, and in a little time became a rich and flouriſhing people, both French and Engliſh living cordially together till the laſt war broke out, when the Engliſh drove the French entirely from their ſettlements; and the country being yielded to the Crown of Great Britain by the peace of Utrecht, all the French territory was ſold for the benefit of the public, which muſt have produced a very large ſum, ſince out of it there were eighty thouſand pounds paid, for the marriage portion of her royal highneſs the Princeſs of Orange.

There were indeed ſome who pretended, that notwithſtanding the French part of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's was by far the richeſt, we were no gainers by obtaining it; but that on the contrary, the French received benefit thereby, becauſe it enabled them to people the reſt of their iſlands more effectually; but whoever conſiders that the ſugars of this iſland are the very beſt in all America; that the plantations were in perfect order; and that the French ventured a war, to prevent our ſettling St. Lucia and St. Vincent, will ſcarce be brought to believe, that they parted with a country ready ſettled, and more valuable than both thoſe iſlands, with their good will. The treaty of Utrecht was ſo indifferent a treaty that, I think, there is no ſort of neceſſity for making it appear worſe than it really was. The ſame perſons who firſt ſettled St. Chriſtopher's, likewiſe ſettled Nevis or Mevis, about the year 1628; and notwithſtanding the misfortune of being diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards in the manner before-mentioned, in twenty years time there were at leaſt four thouſand people upon the iſland, and they continued increaſing in the ſame manner, by a ſucceſſion of prudent governors, for a conſiderable ſpace. After the reſtoration, when trade and peace flouriſhed,

flouriſhed, this iſle enjoyed its ſhare of the benefit, and increaſed in inhabitants and riches; the only enemy they had to ſtruggle with was the hurricane, which generally viſited them once a year.

On the 19th of Auguſt 1667 there was a terrible one in this iſland; at which time Sir John Berry, captain of the Centurion man of war, was in the harbour with that and ſeveral other ſhips, of which one was commanded by Captain Langford, who having learned ſome of the prognoſtics of a tornado from a Caribbean, perceiving them, he told Sir John and the reſt of the commanders of it, who depending on his intelligence, made their ſhips ready, and in the morning, about four o'clock, the wind coming very hard northerly, they put to ſea, and came all back within four or five days time ſafe to the road again; Captain Langford was aſhore, and being confident of the hurricane, took ſuch care in ſecuring his ſugars and goods in the ſtore-houſe, that when the hurricane had carried away the roof of the houſe, all except one hogſhead of ſugar remained ſafe.

When Sir William Stapleton was governor of theſe iſlands he uſually made this the place of his reſidence. Here courts were kept, and the governor living upon it, moſt of the affairs of this government were tranſacted here; for every one of theſe iſlands hath a particular lieutenant-governor, council, and aſſembly; and the general government centers only in the authority of captain-general, Sir William Stapleton, who was governor in King James's time, made Sir James Ruſſel lieutenant-governor of this iſland, and he enjoyed the place till his commiſſion was ſuperſeded by that of captain-general, granted to Sir Nathaniel Johnſon, who alſo reſided at Nevis; and at this time none of the Leeward Iſlands flouriſhed ſo much as this; it ſupplied the others with almoſt all their wines and negroes, and was computed to have contained at that time near two thouſand fighting men, which will make the number of ſouls, by common computation, to be above ten thouſand, beſides negroes, of which number there were not leſs than twenty thouſand. A prodigious improvement of an iſland ſcarce ſix miles long, to maintain between thirty and forty thouſand men, women, and children!

We are to proceed next to the iſland of Montſerrat, which name the Spaniards gave to this iſland, from the reſemblance it has to a mountain in Catalonia, not far from Barcelona, famous for a chapel dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, in the greateſt reputation with the Roman Catholics of any, except that of Loretto. The Engliſh have not thought fit to give it another name ſince they were maſters of it. It lies in 17 degrees north latitude, is about three leagues in length, and almoſt as much in breadth; ſo that it ſeems to be of a round figure. It was diſcovered by the Europeans at the ſame time with St. Chriſtopher's; but no ſettlement was made upon it till the year 1632, at which time Sir Thomas Warner, firſt governor of St. Chriſtopher's, procured a ſmall colony to ſettle there, of the ſubjects of England, for we cannot aſſure ourſelves they were Engliſhmen, this iſland being generally looked upon as an Iriſh colony. This iſland flouriſhed at firſt more than Antigua; but ſince the Lord Willoughby's time the latter has got and kept the ſtart of it. There were ſeven hundred men in Montſerrat, ſixteen years after it was firſt inhabited; the rolls of the militia at this time amount to three hundred and ſixty. We find but one battery for the defence of the coaſt, and other old diſmounted cannon at ſeveral landing places. As to the climate, ſoil, animals, trade, and productions of this iſle, they are much the ſame with thoſe of the other Caribbee Iſlands, only this is fuller of mountains, which are covered with cedars and other trees, that make it a lovely proſpect from the ſea; the vallies are fruitful, and better ſtored with freſh water than thoſe of Antigua. According to the beſt accounts that have been received from this iſland of late years, it is rather increaſing, both in the number of people

people and in the value of their ſettlements, than not; as to the former, it is computed there may be about four thouſand five hundred white perſons, and about twelve thouſand negroes in this country; and as for the latter, I mean the value of its produce, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it hereafter.

The iſland of Barbuda lies in the latitude of 17 degrees 30 minutes north, is about fifteen miles long, and lies north-eaſt from the iſland of which we were laſt ſpeaking. The land is low and fruitful, and the Engliſh began to plant it as early as Nevis, Montſerrat, or any other of the Leeward iſlands, St. Chriſtopher's excepted; for Sir Thomas Warner, who firſt ſettled there, placed a ſmall colony in this iſland, but the Caribbeans diſturbed them ſo much, that they were often forced to deſert it and their plantations. There hardly paſſed a year but they made one or two incurſions, and that generally in the night, for they durſt not attack them by day; the damage the Engliſh ſuſtained by them made them weary of dwelling in a place where they were ſo much expoſed to the fury of thoſe barbarians, who diminiſhing daily in number, and the Europeans increaſing, the Engliſh again poſſeſſed themſelves of Barbuda, and in a few years there were five hundred inhabitants. There are now a thouſand or twelve hundred ſouls upon it, and their number is daily increaſing. The proprietor is the Honourable Chriſtopher Codrington, Eſq.; and he puts in a governor here, having the ſame prerogative as the other lords proprietors in their ſeveral juriſdictions in America. This iſland has bred great ſtore of cattle, and the inhabitants employ themſelves moſtly in that ſort of huſbandry; corn and proviſions coming almoſt always to a good market in the ſugar iſlands. There is plenty of all ſorts of tame cattle, as in Europe; and the Engliſh live here much after the ſame manner as they do in the countries in England; only their labour in the field is not ſo hard as here, the country being ſo much hotter.

The next plantation to this, if it may be properly ſo called, is Anguilla, or Snake Iſland, ſo called from its figure, being a long tract of earth, but narrow, winding almoſt about; near St. Martin's, from whence it may eaſily be ſeen; it lies in 18 degrees 12 minutes. The country is level and woody, the ſoil fruitful, and the tobacco that grew there formerly was reckoned very good in its kind. There is not a mountain in it; where it is broadeſt there is a pond, about which the Engliſh ſettled in the year 1650. Their buſineſs, like the inhabitants of Barbuda, was to plant corn and breed tame cattle, for which purpoſe they brought ſtock with them. They were poor, and continue ſo to this day, being, perhaps, the lazieſt creatures in the world. Some people have gone from Barbadoes, and other Engliſh Caribbee iſlands, thither, and there they live like the firſt race of men, without government or religion, having no miniſter or magiſtrate. They are ſaid to make up, altogether, about one hundred and fifty families, or nine hundred ſouls; and their condition in that place is ſingular enough to deſerve particular notice, if we had any room to ſpare; but as we have not, it ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that they have no great quantities of ſugar upon the iſland, but addict themſelves rather to farming, in which they have had very good ſucceſs; and this it is that enables them to live in the old patriarchal way, every man being a kind of ſovereign in his own family, and no other government there is in Anguilla.

We have now gone through all the Leeward Iſlands, Antigua, or Antego, only excepted, of which we are to ſpeak in the next ſection, as not having been ſettled within the period to which we have confined this. As to the general produce or value of theſe iſlands, which may ſerve to ſhew of how great conſequence they are to Great Britain, the beſt account I have been able to obtain is to the following effect: St. Chriſtopher's is the largeſt of all the iſlands, but the middle part of it being extremely mountainous, it is thought that there are not above twenty-four thouſand acres of land fit for ſugar in the

the whole iſland, which produces about ten thouſand hogſheads of that valuable commodity. Antego contains about ſeventy thouſand acres, and produces ſixteen thouſand hogſheads of ſugar yearly. Nevis is ſaid to be about twenty miles in circumference, and produces ſix thouſand hogſheads. Montſerrat, which is leſs than any of them, produces two thouſand five hundred, and ſometimes three thouſand hogſheads of ſugar. In Barbuda they breed cattle, and in Anguilla they raiſe corn.

19. We are now, according to the method that we have hitherto purſued of ſpeaking of our plantations, in the order of time in which they were ſettled, obliged to return to the continent of North America, in order to give an account of the noble colony of Maryland, which remained a part of Virginia till the year 1632, which was the eighth of King Charles I. when that monarch was pleaſed to grant all the country to the north of Potowmack river, not then planted, unto Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, of the kingdom of Ireland, and his heirs; and this part of the country was afterwards called Maryland, in honour of the then queen conſort, Henrietta Maria, youngeſt daughter of the French king, Henry the IVth. The Lord Baltimore having obtained his grant, ſent over his brother, the Honourable Leonard Calvert, with ſome Roman Catholic gentlemen and other adventurers, to the number of two hundred, to take poſſeſſion of the country; who, ſetting ſail from England on the 22d of November 1633, arrived at Point Comfort in the bay of Cheſepeak, on the 24th of February following, where being kindly received and ſupplied with proviſions by the Engliſh of Virginia, they continued their voyage northward, to the river Potowmack, appointed to be the boundary between Virginia and Maryland, on the eaſt ſide of the bay.

The adventurers ſailed up this river, and landing on ſeveral places of the northern ſhore, acquainted the natives they were come to ſettle amongſt them and trade with them; but the natives ſeemed rather to deſire their abſence than their company; however, there were no acts of hoſtility committed on either ſide, and the Engliſh returning down the river Potowmack again, made choice of a place near the mouth of a river (which falls into it, and by them called St. George's river) to ſettle their firſt colony. They advanced afterwards to an Indian town called Yoamaco, then the capital of the country, and at a conference with the weorance or ſovereign of the place, to whom they made conſiderable preſents, the weorance conſented that the Engliſh ſhould dwell in one part of the town, reſerving the other for his own people till the harveſt was over, and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the Engliſh, and retire farther into the country, which they did accordingly. And the March following Mr. Calvert and the planters were left in the quiet poſſeſſion of the whole town, to which they gave the name of St. Mary's; and it was agreed on both ſides, that if any wrong was done by either party, the nation offending ſhould make full ſatisfaction for the injury. The reaſons the Yoamaco Indians were ſo ready to enter into a treaty with the Engliſh, and yield them part of their country, was in hopes of obtaining their protection and aſſiſtance againſt the Saſquahanah Indians, their northern neighbours, with whom they were then at war; and, indeed, the Yoamaco Indians were upon the point of abandoning their country, to avoid the fury of the Saſquahanah nation, before the Engliſh arrived. From whence it appears that the adventurers ſent over by the Lord Baltimore cannot be charged with any injuſtice in ſettling themſelves in this part of America, being invited to it by the original inhabitants.

The inhabitants who were thus ſettled at St. Mary's applied themſelves with great diligence to cultivating the ground, and raiſed large quantities of Indian corn, while the natives went every day into the woods to hunt for game, bringing home veniſon and turkies to the Engliſh colony in abundance, for which they received knives, tools, and

toys in return. And thus both nations lived in the greateſt friendſhip, doing good offices to each other; till ſome of the Engliſh in Virginia, envious of the happineſs of this thriving colony, ſuggeſted to the Indians that theſe ſtrangers were not really Engliſh as they pretended, but Spaniards, and would enſlave them as they had done many of their countrymen; and the Indians were ſo credulous as to believe it, and appeared jealous of Mr. Calvert, making preparations as if they intended to fall upon the ſtrangers, which the Engliſh perceiving, ſtood upon their guard, and erected a fort for their ſecurity, on which they planted ſeveral pieces of ordnance; at the firing whereof the Yoamacos were ſo terrified, that they abandoned their country without any other compulſion, and left the Engliſh in full poſſeſſion of it; who receiving ſupplies and reinforcements continually from England, and having no other enemy to contend with than agues and fevers (which ſwept off ſome of them before they found out a proper regimen for the climate) they ſoon became a flouriſhing people, many Roman Catholic families of quality and fortune tranſporting themſelves thither to avoid the penal laws made againſt them in England; and Maryland has been a place of refuge for thoſe of that perſuaſion from that day to this.

While the civil war laſted in England the Lord Baltimore's family were deprived of the government of this province, but were reſtored to their right by King Charles II. ſoon after his own reſtoration. Whereupon the Lord Baltimore ſent over his ſon, Charles Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, to be governor of Maryland, who continued in that poſt upwards of twenty years, and long after his father's death. By whoſe prudence the colony became almoſt as conſiderable as Virginia, for its tobacco and other products of the ſoil; and all the Indian nations on that ſide put themſelves under their protection. The Indian chiefs were appointed, or at leaſt approved and confirmed in their commands, by the Lord Baltimore the proprietor, whoſe ſucceſs is to be aſcribed, in a great meaſure, to the endeavours he uſed to cultivate a good correſpondence with the Indian nations, and to give them as little offence as poſſible.

In the reign of King James II. we are told that Father Peters, a Jeſuit, whom that prince admitted into his councils, which contributed not a little to his loſing firſt the hearts of his ſubjects, and after that his dominions, took ſuch a prejudice to the then Lord Baltimore, though of his own religion, but a nobleman of great wiſdom, juſtice, and moderation, that he reſolved to deprive him of the power of nominating a governor, by extending the royal prerogative at the expence of the grant made by the crown to the anceſtors of his lordſhip. But before this could be effected, the revolution intervened, but the change of government did not prove ſerviceable to his lordſhip; for the Crown proſecuting the former project, deprived him of his power of nomination, which was ſo much the harder, becauſe it is univerſally allowed that no people were ever better governed than the inhabitants of this colony, while they depended ſolely upon this noble family.

The preſent Lord Baltimore is a Proteſtant, and inherits the virtues as well as the title of his anceſtors, being in all reſpects a bleſſing to that country as he is the proprietor of it. His lordſhip once took the pains to viſit his colony, was received with all due marks of reſpect on account of his quality and intereſt in that country; but when he left it the people gave him much ſtronger teſtimonies of their affection, and their regret at parting with him, on account of his mildneſs, public ſpirit, and ſincere good will towards them, of which he gave them ſo many inſtances, and teſtified, upon all occaſions, ſuch a readineſs not only to comply with but to go beyond their requeſts, that there was not a planter in Maryland who did not conſider him rather as a father and a friend than as their lord proprietor; and to ſay the truth, they had ſo much experience of him in the former

former characters, and felt ſo little of him in the latter, that it was extremely natural for them to behave as they did.

Whatever the great deſign might be when this ſettlement was firſt made, moſt certain it is that no country in America can boaſt of having had fewer diſturbances on the ſcore of religion. There are, indeed, of all perſuaſions in the colony; but notwithſtanding this, they live together in the greateſt tranquillity, as if they made it their buſineſs to forget the points about which they differ, and to remember that they agree in thoſe of being Engliſhmen and Chriſtians, as ſufficiently appears by their kind behaviour towards the Indians, who have ſcarce ever had any difference with them, and of whom the colony have no ſort of apprehenſions, though they are much more numerous in that country than in Virginia. But after ſhewing how this country was firſt planted, what remarkable accidents have ſince happened therein, and in what ſtate the colony now is with reſpect to the government; the next thing is to give a ſuccinct view of the place itſelf, in order to bring it the better to the acquaintance of every Engliſh reader who is curious on this ſubject.

This province is ſituated between 38 and 40 degrees of northern latitude, and between 44 and 48 degrees of weſtern longitude, as is generally computed; but it muſt be confeſſed the weſtern boundaries are very uncertain, ſome extending them beyond the Apalachean mountains. The north end of the bay of Cheſepeak divides Maryland into two parts, called the eaſtern and weſtern ſhores. It is bounded, at preſent, by part of Penſylvania and the Atlantic Ocean on the eaſt, by Virginia Proper on the ſouth, and by the Apalachean mountains on the weſt. It is ſeparated from Virginia on the ſouth by the river Potowmack on the weſtern ſhore, and the river Pocomoac on the eaſtern ſhore, the length from north to ſouth being about an hundred and forty miles, and the breadth from eaſt to weſt, if we extend it no farther than the country already planted, will not be ſo much, though its future limits poſſibly may extend much farther. As to the face of the country, this, as well as Virginia, may be divided into, 1ſt, the Lowlands next the ſea; 2dly, the hilly country towards the heads of the rivers; and 3dly, the Apalachean mountains, which are exceeding high, and run parallel to the Atlantic Ocean, viz. from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt. The Lowlands heretofore conſiſted of ſwamps or woods, being one continued foreſt almoſt, till the Engliſh cleared part of it, either to make room for their plantations, or for building of ſhips and houſes, and the making tobacco caſks and pipe-ſtaves for exportation, which has made ſuch havock among their woods, that ſome of them begin to apprehend the want of timber, eſpecially near their forts and rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the water it is of little uſe to them, the price of the carriage exceeding the value of the wood. Towards the heads of the rivers there is a mixture of hills and valleys, as in Virginia, well planted with variety of timber and fruit trees; and where theſe are wanting there are large meadows or ſavanahs, where the graſs grows to a moſt ſurprizing height.

This country, like Virginia, is watered by innumerable ſprings and a great many fine rivers, of which the chief are, 1ſt, Potowmack, which, riſing in the mountains north-weſt, runs to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſeparates Maryland from Virginia on the ſouth-weſt, falling into the middle of the bay of Cheſepeak. 2dly, The river Pocomoac, which riſing near the ocean, runs alſo directly ſouth, and then turning to the weſt, falls alſo into the bay of Cheſepeak, near Watkins's Point. A line drawn from the mouth of the river directly eaſt, to the Atlantic Ocean, is the true boundary between Maryland and Virginia on the eaſtern ſhore. 3dly, The river Patuxent, which riſing in Anne Arundel county, runs to the ſouth-eaſt, and falls into the bay of Cheſepeak, about twenty miles to the northward of the mouth of Potowmack river. 4thly, Severn

river, which riſes on the north-weſt part of Maryland, running ſouth-eaſt, falls into the upper part of the ſaid bay. 5thly, Cheptonk, which riſes on the eaſtern ſhore, runs to the ſouth-weſt, and falls into the ſame bay. 6thly, Saſſafras river, which riſes in the north-eaſt of Maryland, and running almoſt due weſt, falls into the north end of the ſaid bay. 7thly, Wicomo river, which riſes on the eaſtern ſhore, runs to the ſouth-weſt, and falls into the bay almoſt againſt the mouth of Potowmack river. The 8th and laſt river I ſhall mention is St. George, on the weſt ſide of the bay, which, running from north to ſouth, falls into the mouth of the river Potowmack. Here the Engliſh firſt ſettled, and built the town of St. Mary's. There are a great many more rivers capable of receiving large ſhips, which, with the numerous bays and creeks that indent the land on every ſide, give the ſeamen an opportunity of bringing their veſſels up to the very planters' doors, to receive their freight, as in Virginia.

The air of this country is exceſſive hot ſome part of the ſummer, and very cold in winter when the north-weſt wind blows; but the natives tell us that they are happily ſituated; that their heats are very ſeldom troubleſome, and then only by accident, in a perfect calm; but that this does not happen above two or three days in a year, and then laſts but a few hours at a time; and even this inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool ſhades, their open and airy rooms, arbours, and grottos; and in Spring and Fall the weather is as pleaſant as can be wiſhed; that their winters are not of more than three or four months duration, and in theſe they ſeldom have one month's bad weather, all the reſt they are happy in a clear air and a bright ſun, and are ſcarce ever troubled with fogs; it is acknowledged they have hard froſts ſometimes, but they laſt no longer than while the wind blows from the north and north-weſt points, which is ſeldom more than three or four days.

At other times they have no froſt at all; and their froſts are attended with bright and ſerene weather; and in the Spring, Summer, and Winter, their winds are only cool pleaſant breezes. Their rains, except in the depth of winter, are very pleaſant and refreſhing; in Summer they laſt but a few hours, and then bright weather ſucceeds: however, it is acknowledged that the ſhowers which fall in Summer are very heavy for the time they laſt; and the part of the country which lies on the bays of the ſea and the mouths of the rivers, which is much the beſt peopled, is certainly hot and moiſt; indeed, higher up the country, whither the plantations are now extended, the air is much more healthful, eſpecially ſince their lands are cleared of wood. They have here, however, dreadful thunder in the heat of Summer; but as it cools and refreſhes the air they rather wiſh for it than fear it, though it ſometimes does much miſchief, but leſs than formerly.

Since the Indians transferred, or yielded, this province to the Engliſh, it has been divided into ten counties, ſix on the weſt ſide of the bay, and four on the eaſt ſide of it; thoſe on the weſt ſide, taking them from ſouth to north, are, 1. St. Mary's county; 2. Charles county; 3. Prince George county; 4. Calvert county; 5. Anne Arundel county; and 6. Baltimore county. The counties on the eaſt ſide of this bay, lying alſo from the ſouth, are, 1. Somerſet county; 2. Dorcheſter county; 3. Talbot county; 4. Cecil county. As for the county of Kent, that or the greateſt part of it is now ſaid to be in Penſylvania. St. Mary, the capital of the county of the ſame name, and, for ſome time, of the whole province, is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river St. George, in 38 degrees and ſome minutes north latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the firſt town in Maryland built by the Engliſh, who raiſed a fort for its defence; but in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate never had more than thirty or forty houſes in it, and ſince the ſeat of the government has been removed to Annapolis, ſeems to be upon

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East View of Baltimore, Maryland.

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upon the decline; for the ſame humour prevails here as in Virginia, of gentlemens' living on their reſpective plantations, and not in towns.

In this county alſo are the pariſhes of Hervington, St. Clement's, and St. John's; and here is a noble ſeat of the Lord Baltimore the proprietor, called Mettapany, ſituate on the mouth of the river Patuxent. In Prince Charles county, which lies north of St. Mary's, are the pariſhes of Briſtol and Piſcataway; and in that of Prince George, the pariſh of Maſterkout. In Calvert county, which is divided from Charles county by the river Patuxent, are the pariſhes of Abington, Warrington, and Calverton. In the county of Anne Arundel, which lies north of Charles county, the chief town is Annapolis, now the capital of the province, and formerly called Severn, being ſituate on the river of that name, in 39 degrees and ſome minutes north latitude. Here the courts of juſtice and the general aſſemblies were ordered to be held in the year 1699; and this has ever ſince been the reſidence of the governor; notwithſtanding which, there are not yet an hundred houſes built in the town.

In Baltimore county, which lies between Anne Arundel county and the province of Penſylvania, is the pariſh of Baltimore, ſituate on the north-weſt part of the bay of Cheſepeak. In Somerſet county, which is the moſt ſoutherly county on the eaſt ſide of the bay, are the town and pariſh of Somerſet. In Dorcheſter county, which lies north of Somerſet, are the town and pariſh of Dorcheſter, beſides a great many Indian towns. In Talbot county, which lies north of Dorcheſter, are the pariſhes of Oxford, St. Michael's, Bolingbrooke, and Cecil, the moſt northerly county on the eaſt ſide of the bay, is bounded both on the north and eaſt by the province of Penſylvania.

Throughout the whole colony of Maryland, as in that of Virginia, the Engliſh live at large at their ſeveral plantations, which hinders the increaſe of towns; indeed every plantation is a little town itſelf and can very well ſubſiſt with proviſions and neceſſaries; every conſiderable planter's warehouſe being like a ſhop, where he ſupplies not only himſelf with what he wants, but the inferior planters, ſervants, and labourers; and has commodities to barter for tobacco and other goods, there being little money in this province, and little occaſion for any, as long as tobacco anſwers all the uſes of ſilver and gold in trade. There are few merchants or ſhopkeepers, who may be properly ſo called, and live wholly by their trade; the tobacco of this province, called Oronoko, is ſtronger than that of Virginia; and no Engliſhman, who has not a very coarſe reliſh, will bear it; yet it is as profitable to the planter, and to the trade of the nation in general, being in demand in the eaſtern and northern parts of Europe, where it is preferred before the ſweet-ſcented tobacco of James and York rivers, in Virginia. The planters in Maryland finding ſo good vent for their commodity in foreign markets, have cultivated it ſo much that the province is thought to produce as much tobacco as Virginia. The ſoil is here as fruitful as in any country, being a large plain; and the hills in it ſo eaſy of aſcent, and of ſuch a moderate height, that they ſeem rather an artificial ornament to it than one of the accidents of nature.

The abundance of rivers and brooks is no little help to the fertility of the ſoil, and there is no grain, plant, or tree, which grows in Virginia, but thrives as well here; the product, the animals, and every thing, are the ſame here as there, only the black and yellow bird, called the Baltimore bird, goes by another name in Virginia; it had that name given it becauſe the colours of the field of the Lord Baltimore's coat of arms are or and ſable. It is thought that the number of ſouls in Maryland may be about thirty thouſand, or rather more. There are ſeveral hundred ſail of ſhips employed yearly in the commerce between Great Britain and this country, and the benefit which reſults to this nation from thence is very large, as may be eaſily computed from the principles laid

laid down in the foregoing account of the colony of Virginia; which may likewiſe ſerve with reſpect to all the other colonies that do not interfere with their mother-country in their manufactures.

20. When Oliver Cromwell, after ſubverting entirely the conſtitution of his country, took upon him the title of Protector, he reſolved to obliterate the memory of what was paſt, by undertaking ſomewhat that might be of great and laſting advantage to his country. It was with this view, and to rid himſelf of many officers whom he ſuſpected, that he framed a project of attacking the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, and of taking from them the noble iſland of Hiſpaniola or St. Domingo; in the adjuſting of which deſign he depended chiefly on the information he received from one Father Gage a prieſt, who had been many years in the Spaniſh America, and who died in this voyage; for which though great preparations were made yet they went on very ſlowly, and it was certainly thought the beſt conceived, yet the worſt executed of all his enterprizes.

The ſquadron commanded by General Penn being ordered to rendezvous at Portſmouth, where the land forces were to embark, complaints were made to Venables of diſorders and diſcontents among the people, and more particularly about the badneſs of the proviſions; which, by his means, being made known to General Deſborrow, he, by very harſh expreſſions, ſignified his diſcontent thereat; and particularly charged Venables with a deſign of fruſtrating the intended expedition, by being the author of reports which were falſe; while he, on the other hand, endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, and to ſhew that he intended no otherwiſe than for the public good; and there was a ſhrewd ſuſpicion that Deſborrow's diſſatisfaction herein aroſe from his being concerned with thoſe who had the management of victualling the navy. After Venables had attended near four months without any poſitive aſſurance whether the Government was determined to go on with the deſign or not, although it was publicly diſcourſed of, and the Spaniards had thereby not only the knowledge thereof, but opportunities of providing for their defence; he was ſome time after ſent to, and directed to hold himſelf in a readineſs to proceed; and though he then requeſted that the draughts which were to be made out of the regiments might be men in all reſpects fitting for the intended ſervice, yet the colonels were permitted to pick and cull them as they pleaſed, inſomuch that moſt of them were raw and altogether undiſciplined; and amongſt them many Iriſh Papiſts; nor had not half of them arms in any degree ſerviceable; and ſo far were the Council from permitting him to ſtay till better could be furniſhed in their room, that they ſent him poſitive orders to leave the town next day, upon pain of impriſonment.

Before he came to Portſmouth many of the troops were embarked, and the reſt ſhipping off with the utmoſt haſte, ſo that he had no opportunity of viewing, much leſs of exerciſing, them on ſhore; and thereby informing himſelf of their condition, with reſpect to their abilities or otherwiſe; and although he was promiſed that the ſtore-ſhip, with arms and other neceſſaries, ſhould join him at Spithead, he was at laſt told that no delay muſt be made in ſtaying for her, but that he might expect her coming to him at Barbadoes. He was likewiſe aſſured that he ſhould carry out with him, at leaſt, ten months proviſion for ten thouſand men, but the moſt part thereof was ſent back to London, to be ſhipped off there, under pretence that there was not ſufficient room for the ſame in the ſhips at Portſmouth, although the officers in the fleet found paſſage in them for no inconſiderable quantities of goods, with which they deſigned to traffic when they arrived at the aforeſaid iſland.

The forces being embarked, and the wind preſenting fair, the ſquadron ſailed, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 29th day of January 1654; ſoon after which General Venables

Venables wrote to the Protector, the Lord President of the Council Laurence, the Lord Lambeth, and several others, letting them know in what a miserable condition the army was, and how destitute they were, not only of provisions but arms and other necessaries proper for carrying on the intended design; insomuch that they were constrained to make the hardest shifts to supply them with the small quantities either of one or the other that could be had in these parts. The first thing that was done after the fleet's arrival at Barbadoes was the seizing such Dutch ships and vessels as were found there, and General Penn appointed a nephew of his to take an account of their cargoes and all things belonging to them, without admitting any check on him as General Venables desired and insisted on, that so no embezzlements might be made.

The 18th of March Venables thought it necessary to hold a council of war of the land officers, to consider of the state of the army; and it was resolved to make these propositions to Penn, among several others, viz. 1st. That as the officers of the army had resolved not to desert the fleet, he with his officers would reciprocally resolve not to leave the army, at least not till such time as their expected supplies arrived from England. 2dly, That it should be proposed to the commissioners, that a fit quantity of shipping might be taken up for transporting the forces. 3dly, That they might not proceed on service with less than twenty tons of ball, and that they might likewise be furnished from the fleet with two hundred fire-arms, six hundred pikes, besides pistols, carbines, and two hundred half-pikes. To this Venables received no satisfactory answer from Penn, and the stores not arriving from England, he again desired to know from him what arms, shot, match, and other necessaries he could furnish from the fleet; General Desborrow having assured him, when in England, that the commissioners had power to dispose of what might be on board the ships to the necessary use of the army; but to this Penn returned him an answer, that fifteen shot a man, and a few tons of match, was all he could spare; besides which, he at length prevailed with him to add thereunto a few half and quarter pikes, which gave occasion to one of the commissioners to let fall some words, as if he doubted they were betrayed.

Besides all these disappointments, and the badness of the provisions sent from England, yet even of them the soldiers were put to short allowance, while the seamen were at whole, which occasioned no little discontent, and rendered them very sickly and weak; and as the commissioners were empowered and required to dispose of all prizes and booty taken towards defraying the charge of the expedition, and only a fortnight's pay was offered to the officers and soldiers in lieu of whatever booty should be taken at St. Domingo (whither they were first designed from Barbadoes) it very much increased the dissatisfaction of the army; for most of the officers, when they set forwards on the expedition, were in hopes of bettering themselves very considerably. At length General Venables prevailed with the officers and men to accept of six weeks pay instead of their plunder; and thereupon himself and Penn issued out orders, restraining all persons from pillaging without orders, or from concealing the same on pain of death and forfeiture of their pay. But although the officers were willing to submit to this, yet the commissioners refused to sign it, insomuch that the soldiers publicly declared they would return to England, and never more strike a stroke where there were commissioners who should have power to controul the army.

The fleet being now in a readiness to sail, General Venables, with some of the commissioners and the officers of the army, proposed that they might proceed to the harbour of St. Domingo (but for what reason it doth not appear, unless it was for want of experienced pilots). That was refused, and a resolution taken to land the troops at the river Hind; that so they might endeavour to force the fort and trench. It was also resolved

among the land officers, 1ſt, That the regiments ſhould caſt lots which of them ſhould go on ſhore firſt. 2dly, That two or three regiments ſhould be landed at once. 3dly, That the ſeconds to each regiment ſhould be appointed. 4thly, That the ſhips wherein the regiments were, ſhould keep near each other, for their more regular landing. And it was further determined, that if the ſurges of the ſea ran high, and that the enemy were prepared to defend the fort and trench, the army ſhould be landed behind the ſecond point to leeward, and that when on ſhore, one regiment ſhould be ordered to march eaſtward of the city, provided General Penn would engage to furniſh the army with all neceſſaries.

Lots having been caſt as aforeſaid, it fell to Colonel Buller's regiment to land firſt, and there was one Cox who had lived in thoſe parts many years, who was to have been their guide, but he had been ſent of ſome errand by Penn, ſo that he was at this time abſent; and Vice Admiral Goodſon declaring that he neither had orders to go into Hind River, nor pilots to conduct the ſhip there-into; the army were conſtrained to land at the weſt point (which Venables proteſted againſt) and by that means were expoſed to a tedious march of forty miles, through a thick woody country, without any guide, inſomuch that both horſe and men, by the fatigue and extremity of heat fell down with thirſt, and were miſerably afflicted with the flux, by their eating oranges and other green fruit, having no water to moiſten their mouths with. After four days march the army came to the place where they might firſt have been put on ſhore; but by that time the enemy had ſummoned in the whole country to their aſſiſtance; and even now many of the ſoldiers had no more than one day's proviſions of the three that had been promiſed them from the ſhips.

Colonel Buller being ſent with his regiment to a particular ſtation near Hind River, and ordered not to ſtir from thence until the reſt of the army joined him, he was ſo far from complying with thoſe commands from the general, that he marched away under the guidance of Cox, who was now arrived from the fleet; inſomuch that for want of the ſaid guide, the general, miſtaking the way, marched ten or twelve miles about; and Buller having ſuffered his men to ſtraggle, they fell into, and ſuffered much by, the ambuſcades laid by the enemy. The hardſhips the forces had undergone for want of proviſions, and their being denied what plunder they might happen to take at St. Domingo, ſo exaſperated them, that the ſeamen who had been firſt ſent aſhore, and ſoon after thoſe on the land, were in a general mutiny: however, in this condition they forded the river Hind, with a reſolution to march to the harbour, that ſo they might be furniſhed with proviſions and ammunition from the ſhips, but they were ſtrangers to the way, neither had they any water to drink. At length Colonel Buller, and Cox the guide, joined them, promiſed to conduct them to a place where they might be ſupplied with water. But ſome of the ſaid colonel's men having rambled about for pillage, encouraged the enemy to lay ambuſcades for them in their march, who, falling upon the forlorn, routed them, and killed ſeveral officers; but they were ſoon after beaten back with loſs, and purſued within cannon-ſhot of the town; yet when the action was over, many men, as well as horſes, periſhed with thirſt.

A council of war being called to conſider of the condition of the army, it was found that many of the men had eat nothing for four days together, unleſs it were ſome fruits they gathered in the woods; and that they were without water, the Spaniards having ſtopped up all their wells within ſeveral miles of the town. Neither knew they the country, or how to get to their ſhips, for Cox the guide was ſlain in the laſt ſkirmiſh; however, after mature conſideration, it was reſolved to march to the harbour in the beſt manner they could, and at length arriving there, they ſtaid three or four days to

furniſh themſelves with proviſions and other neceſſaries, and then advanced with a mortar piece, in order to reduce the fort; but the enemy having laid an ambuſcade, they charged the van, which was to have been led by Adjutant General Jackſon, very vigorouſly, and were anſwered in like manner; whereas Jackſon's party running away, and the paſſage through the woods being very narrow, they fell upon the general's own regiment, who, to no purpoſe, endeavoured to ſtop them with their pikes; for they firſt diſordered that regiment, and ſoon after Major General Haynes's: mean while the enemy followed very eagerly, and giving no quarter, the ſaid major general, and the beſt of his officers, who preferred death before flight, fell in the action.

At length the general's own regiment making head againſt them, as alſo that of the ſeamen, commanded by Vice Admiral Goodſon, they, with their ſwords, forced the runaways into the woods, rather chuſing to kill them than they ſhould diſorder the reſt; which the enemy perceiving, they retreated, and our men kept their ground, though the ſhot from the fort killed many of them. The troops, nevertheleſs, were ſo very weak and diſheartened, that not many of them could be brought to play the mortar againſt the fort; and though the general was reduced to a very low condition by the flux, he cauſed himſelf to be led from place to place to encourage them; but fainting at laſt, was forced to leave the care to Major General Forteſcue, who ſoon found that he could prevail no more than the general himſelf. It was reſolved ſoon after, at a council of war, that ſince the enemy had guarded every paſs, and that the army were under very great neceſſities for water, they ſhould march to a place where they had been informed a ſupply thereof, and of other neceſſaries, had been put on ſhore for them from the ſhips. But in that march the ſoldiers accompanied their officers no farther than till they found them in danger, and then left them, inſomuch that the commiſſioners owned, in a letter they wrote to the governor at Barbadoes, that had not the enemy been as fearful as our own men, they might, in a few days, have deſtroyed the whole army; and withal they let him know, that thoſe who had occaſioned the greateſt diſorder, were thoſe of Barbadoes and St. Chriſtophers, inſomuch that they, the ſaid commiſſioners, who were Penn, Winſlow, and Buller, had reſolved to leave the place, and try what could be done againſt the iſland of Jamaica.

21. The army was accordingly in little time embarked, but the ſick and wounded were kept on the bare decks for forty-eight hours, without meat, drink, or dreſſing, inſomuch that worms bred in their ſores; and even while they were on ſhore the proviſions ſent to them were not watered, but candied with ſalt, notwithſtanding they had not water ſufficient to quench their thirſt. Nay, after this misfortune on ſhore, Venables averred that Penn gave Rear Admiral Blagge orders not to furniſh them with any more proviſions of what kind ſoever, ſo that they eat up all the horſes, dogs, and aſſes, in the camp, and ſome of them ſuch things as were in themſelves poiſonous, of which about forty died; and before the forces were embarked, Adjutant General Jackſon was tried by a court martial, and not only ſentenced to be caſhiered, and his ſword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a ſwabber, in keeping clean the hoſpital ſhips; a puniſhment ſuitable to his notorious cowardice. The fleet and troops arriving at Jamaica, orders were iſſued by General Venables, that where it ſhould be found any man attempted to run away, the next man to him ſhould put him to death, or that if he failed ſo to do, he ſhould be liable to be tried for his life; and now all the troops being ready for ſervice they advanced towards the fort, which they made themſelves maſters of with little loſs; and next morning when the ſun roſe, they began to march towards the Savannah, which was near the town, when ſome Spaniards came towards them, and deſired to treat; but the general refuſed ſo to do, unleſs they would ſend them

a conſtant ſupply of proviſions, then much wanted; which they punctually did, according to the promiſe they had made. The articles agreed on at laſt were theſe, viz. 1ſt. That all forts, arms, ammunitions, and neceſſaries for war, and all kinds of ſhipping in any harbour in the iſland, with their furniture, &c. as alſo all goods, wares, merchandize, &c. ſhould be delivered up to general Venables, or whom he ſhould appoint for the uſe of the protector, and the commonwealth of England. 2dly. That all and every of the inhabitants of the iſland (except ſome that were particularly named) ſhould have their lives granted, and as thoſe who inclined to ſtay had leave ſo to do, ſo was it agreed to tranſport the others to New Spain, or ſome other of the dominions belonging to the king of Spain in America, together with their apparel, books, and papers, they providing themſelves with victuals and neceſſaries. 3dly. That all commiſſion officers, and none others, ſhould be permitted to wear their rapiers and poniards. 4thly. All artificers, and meaner ſort of people, ſhould be permitted to remain on the iſland, and to enjoy their goods, provided they conformed themſelves to the laws which ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

By theſe means the noble iſland of Jamaica was ſubdued, and though the Spaniards continued to lurk in ſome parts of the iſland for ſeveral years afterwards, and once made a bold attempt to recover the place; yet Colonel Doyly forced them to withdraw, and reduced the whole iſland ſo effectually, that at the Reſtoration the Spaniards yielded it to the crown of Great Britain, to which it has belonged ever ſince; and is, beyond queſtion, the nobleſt poſſeſſion we have in theſe parts. The hiſtory of this country, ſince it came into our poſſeſſion, is ſo well known, and would alſo take up ſo much room, that we cannot enter into it here, nor indeed is it neceſſary, becauſe our chief buſineſs is to ſhew the value and importance of our colonies, with reſpect to their mother country, which is always beſt done by deſcribing the plantation, explaining the nature of its product, and giving as good an account as may be of the nature of its trade and the number of its inhabitants; and as this appears to be the moſt material part, to an Engliſh reader, where we cannot inſert all that relates to a colony, we prefer this part to any other.

22. We have a very large and accurate account of this noble country, written by a learned, candid, and indefatigable perſon, who reſided long there, I mean Sir Hans Sloane, from whom others have taken their materials, and ſo muſt I; as not knowing where to find any ſo good, or that may be ſo well depended upon; which acknowledgment, as it is due to his merit, I think it but juſtice to make, as I hope it will add ſome degree of credit both to his work and mine.

It is from him, therefore, that we learn moſt of the particulars, which follow, and are every way ſufficient for our purpoſe. Jamaica is ſituated on the Atlantic Ocean, between 17 and 18 degrees north latitude, and between 76 and 79 degrees weſtern longitude, about twenty leagues eaſt of Hiſpaniola and as many ſouth of Cuba, and upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues to the northward of Porto Bello and Carthagena, on the coaſt of Terra Firma. This iſland ſtretches from eaſt to weſt one hundred and forty miles in length and about ſixty in breadth in the middle; growing leſs towards each end; the form is pretty near oval.

The whole iſland has one continued ridge of hills running from eaſt to weſt through the middle of it, which are generally called the Blue Mountains; the tops of ſome are higher than others; one of the higheſt is called Mont Diabolo: other hills there are on each ſide of this ridge of mountains, which, however, are much lower. The outward face of the earth ſeems to be different here from what it is in Europe, the valleys being very level, with little or no riſing ground or ſmall hills, without rocks or

 ſtones;

ſtones; the mountainous part is very ſteep, and furrowed by very deep channels on the north and ſouth ſide of the higheſt hills; theſe channels are made here by frequent and very violent rains, which every day almoſt fall on the mountains, and firſt wearing a ſmall trough or courſe for their paſſage, waſh away afterwards whatever comes in the way, and make their channels extraordinary ſteep. The greateſt part of the high land of this iſland is either ſtone or clay, which reſiſts the rains, and ſo is not carried down violently with them into the plains, as the mould proper for tillage and friable earths are: hence it is, that in theſe mountainous places one ſhall have very little or none of ſuch earths, but either a very ſtrong tough clay or a honey-comb, or other rock, upon which no earth appears. All the high land is covered with woods, ſome of the trees very good timber, tall and ſtraight; and one would wonder how ſuch trees ſhould grow in ſuch a barren ſoil, ſo thick together among the rocks; but the trees ſend down their fibrous roots into the crannies of the rocks, where here and there they meet with little receptacles of rain water, which nouriſh their roots.

It is a very ſtrange thing to ſee in how ſhort a time a plantation formerly cleared of trees and ſhrubs will commonly grow foul, which ariſes from two cauſes; one, the not ſtubbing the roots, whence ariſes young ſprouts, and the other the fertility of the ſoil. The ſettlements and plantations not only of the Indians but the Spaniards being quite overgrown with tall trees, ſo that there would be no footſteps left were it not for old palliſadoes, building, orange walks, &c. which evidently ſhew plantations have been there. There are the ſame layers of earth, one over another, in the fruitful part of the iſland, as are to be met with in Europe; and the ſame difference of ſoil appears as in England, in digging of wells, and other occaſions of opening the ground. Moſt of the ſavanahs, or plains fit for paſture and cleared of wood, are like our meadow land, lie near the ſouth ſide of the iſland, where one may ride a great many miles without meeting the leaſt aſcent; ſome of theſe plains are within land, incircled with hills. Theſe ſavanahs after rain are very green and pleaſant, but after long droughts are very much withered, and look yellow and parched.

The chief ports in the iſland are, 1. Port Royal, a fine capacious harbour. 2. Old Harbour, which lies ſeven or eight miles ſouth-weſt of St. Jago. 3. Port Morant, at the eaſt end of the iſland; and, 4. Point Negril at the weſt end of this iſland; beſides which, are ſeveral more on the ſouth and north ſides of the iſland; but it is dangerous approaching the coaſt without a pilot, on account of the coral rocks, which almoſt ſurround it. There are near an hundred rivers in Jamaica, but none of them navigable; for riſing in the mountains in the middle of the iſland, they precipitate themſelves down the rocks to the north or ſouth, falling into the ſea before they have run many miles, and carrying down with them frequently great pieces of rock and timber. Yet freſh water is very ſcarce in dry years in the ſavanahs diſtant from rivers, ſo that many of their cattle die with driving to water. Near the ſea the well-water, as at Port Royal is brackiſh; this brackiſh water, which is very common in wells on ſea ſhores, is not wholeſome, but the cauſe of fluxes and other diſeaſes in ſailors by their drinking it.

Their river water carries with it much clay or earth, and has an odd taſte, which in St. Jago gives occaſion to the Spaniards to call it Rio Cobre, and the Engliſh to ſay it is not wholeſome, and taſtes of copper; whereas, on the trial of the ſand, there is no metal found therein; this river-water, however, if ſuffered to ſettle ſome days in earthen jars is good; ſpring-water, at a diſtance from the ſea, is preferred to river or pond-water. There are ſome ſprings as well as rivers, which putrify their channels, and ſtop their courſe by a cement, uniting the gravel and ſand in their bottoms. There is a hot-bath or ſpring near Port Morant, in the eaſt part of the iſland, ſituate in a wood, which

hath been bathed in, and drunk of late years for the belly-ach, the common diſeaſe of the country, with great ſucceſs. A great many ſalt ſprings ariſe in a level ground under the ſoils in Cabbage-tree Bottom, about a mile or two diſtant from the ſea, which united, make what is called the Salt River. Salt is made here in ponds, into which the ſea or ſalt water comes, and by the heat of the ſun the moiſture being exhaled, leaves the ſalt which is in great plenty; at the ſalt ponds about Old Harbour the ſalt is not perfectly white, or in ſmall grains, but in large lumps, and has an eye of red in it, as ſome Sal Gemmæ from Spain, or what comes from the iſland of Salt Tortuga near the main of America, which is here reckoned the ſtronger and better. Salt Lagunas, or great ponds, there are many here, one whereof, Riottoa Pond, receives a great deal of water by a river, which yet has no viſible rivulet or diſcharge runs from it; ſome rivers in the mountains riſe above and go under ground again in a great many places. Rio d'Oro particularly falls and riſes two or three times, and ſo it is in many others. At Abraham's plantation on the north ſide is a river, which has ſtopt its own courſe by letting a ſettlement fall, and putrifying its own bottom. It is very common to have cataracts or caſcades in rivers among the mountains fifty or ſixty feet high.

This iſland being ſeven degrees within the tropic, has the trade wind continually there, which is on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, called the ſea breeze. It comes about eight o'clock in the morning, and increaſes till twelve in the day; and then, as the ſun grows lower, it decreaſes till there is none at four in the evening. About eight in the evening begins the land breeze, blowing four leagues into the ſea, and continues increaſing till twelve at night, and decreaſes again till four. The ſea breeze is now and then more violent than at other times, as at new or full moon, and encroaches very much on the land winds; and the Norths when they reign, viz. in the months of December, January and February, blow over the ridge of mountains with violence, and hinder the ſea breeze, which blows ſtronger and longer near the ſea, as at Port Royal, or Paſſage Fort, than within land as at St. Jago de la Vega, or Spaniſh Town; as on the contrary the land wind blows harder at the town than at Paſſage Fort, or Port Royal. The land wind blowing at night, and the ſea breeze in the day-time, no ſhipping can come into the port except in the day, nor go out, but at break of day, or very ſoon after.

The Norths, as they call them, come in when the ſun is near the tropic of Capricorn, and ſo fartheſt off ſoutherly, and are very cold and unhealthy winds, more violent in the night becauſe it is then they have the additional force of the land wind. They check the growth of canes, and all vegetables on the north-ſide, but are hindered by the ridge of mountains from ſhewing much of their fury on the ſouth, where it ſeldom rains with this wind. The ſouth winds bring the moſt laſting rains. The rains from the ſouth are laſting on the ſouth ſide of this iſland. As at ſea with the trade winds one meets with tornadoes, ſo at land here ſometimes will be a violent weſt, directly contrary to the trade wind; but this happens ſeldom, and is ſoon over. The ſea-breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the rain from coming to the plains, it for the moſt part then raining on the hills. On this account it is that there are in the mountains many ſprings and rivers, and few or none in the plains. And this is likewiſe the cauſe why there is never any want of water in the rivers coming from them through the plains, and likewiſe that, ſometimes rivers ſuffer very great increaſe and inundations in the plains when no rains have fallen in the places where ſuch inundations appear.

Earthquakes,

Earthquakes, as they are very frequent in Hiſpaniola, where they have formerly thrown down the town of St. Domingo; ſo they are too common alſo here; the inhabitants expect one every year, and ſome of them think they follow their great rains: one happened on Sunday the 19th of February 1688; as if people had raiſed the foundation of the houſes, it was felt all over the iſland about the ſame time, ſome houſes being wrecked, and very near ruined, and very few eſcaped ſome injury; the people were in a very great conſternation, and the ſhips in Port Royal harbour felt it: it was obſerved, that the ground roſe like the ſea, in waves, as the earthquake paſſed along. But this was nothing to the earthquake which happened at Port Royal in the year 1692, by which that town was almoſt ſwallowed up. Thunder is heard almoſt every day in the mountains, with the rains there, ſo that any perſon in the plains may hear it, as well as ſee the rain; it does not ſo ordinarily accompany thoſe rains that come from the ſea, although when it does it is very violent. Lightning for the moſt part precedes thunder in this iſland, as elſewhere; and, if it be fair weather, eſpecially in the hotteſt ſeaſons, it lightens almoſt all the night, firſt in one part of the ſky or horizon, out of ſome clouds, and then out of others oppoſite to them, as it were anſwering one another. Froſt or ſnow are never ſeen in this hot climate; but ſometimes hail, and that very large; it comes with very great norths, which reach with great violence to the ſouth ſide, and throw down every thing before them.

The dews here are ſo great within land, that the water drops from the leaves of the trees in a morning, as if it had rained; a man riding in the night, will find his cloaths, hair, &c. very wet in a ſmall time; but there are ſeldom any fogs in the plains or ſandy places near the ſea. The rains there are violent, and the drops very large; according to the different poſitions of places, ſo the rains are more or leſs violent, and come at different times, but generally ſpeaking the great rainy ſeaſons are in May and October; in which months, at new or full moon they begin, and continue day and night for a whole fortnight, ſo that the earth in all level places is laid under water for ſome inches, and it becomes looſe for ſome inches deep, and conſequently the roads are almoſt impaſſable. "In the town of St. Jago de la Vega, in thoſe rainy ſeaſons, I "was forced to ride on horſeback (ſays Dr. Sloane) although but from door to door, "to viſit the ſick." And theſe ſeaſons, as they are called, from being fit to plant in, are generally ſo over the whole iſland, though they are much altered in their time and violence of late years, which ariſes from the clearing much of the country of wood. In the month of January is likewiſe expected a ſeaſon, or rain; but this is not ſo conſtant and violent as the other two, and probably may come from the violent norths, at that time paſſing over the mountains, with part of their rains with them.

As to the produce of the iſland of Jamaica, it is not eaſy to give a very clear account thereof in a narrow compaſs; however, I ſhall do the beſt I can. In the firſt place I ſhall mention cocoa, of which there ſtill comes more from this than from any of our plantations; and as it is known to be a very rich and valuable commodity, the reader will probably be pleaſed with a particular account of it. Cocoa grows on a tree in cods, green, red, and yellow, every cod having in it three, four, or five kernels, about the bigneſs and ſhape of ſmall cheſs-nuts, which are ſeparate from each other by a ſubſtance like the pulp of a roaſted apple, moderately ſharp and ſweet, from which its nuts are taken when ripe, and by drying cured. The body of a cocoa tree is commonly about four inches diameter, five feet in height, and about twelve to the top of the tree. Theſe trees are very different, for ſome ſhoot up in two or three bodies; others in one; their leaves are, many of them, dead and moſt diſcoloured, unleſs on very young trees; a bearing tree generally yields from two to eight pounds of nuts a

year, and each cod contains from twenty to thirty nuts. The manner of curing them is, to cut them down when ripe, and to lay them to ſweat three or four days in the cods, which is done by laying them in heaps; after this the cods are cut, the nuts taken out and put into a trough covered with plantain leaves where they ſweat again about ſixteen or twenty days; the nuts that are on each cod are knit together by certain fibres, and have a white kind of pulp about them, very agreeable to the palate, as has been hinted before; by their turning and ſweating, their little ſtrings are broken, and their pulp is imbibed and mingled with the ſubſtance of the nut; after which they are put to dry three or four weeks in the ſun, and then they become of a reddiſh-dark colour. The cods grow out of the body, or great limbs and boughs; at the ſame place there are bloſſoms, and young and ripe fruit. It is planted firſt in the night, and always under ſhade; ſome ſet them under caſſave, others under plantain trees, and ſome in the woods. The Spaniards uſed a certain large ſhady plant, called by them Madre di Cocoa, the mother of cocoa; the Engliſh uſe the others only.

It muſt always be ſheltered from the north-eaſt winds. The people at Jamaica ſeldom tranſplant it, only when it falls, as it does often, in open, poor and dry lands; for this tree requires to have a flat, moiſt, low ſoil, which makes them be planted commonly by rivers, and between mountains. It is an obſervation, that it is ill living where there are good cocoa walks. In a year's time the plant becomes four feet high, and has a leaf ſix times as big as an old tree, which, as the plant grows bigger, falls off, and a leſſer comes in its place. The trees are almoſt always planted at two feet diſtant; and ſometimes at three years old, where the ground is good, and the plant proſperous, it begins to bear a little, and then they cut down all or ſome of the ſhade. The fruit increaſes till the tenth or twelfth year, when the tree is ſuppoſed to be in its prime. The root generally ſhoots out ſuckers, they ſupply the place of the old ſtock when dead, or cut down; unleſs any ill quality of the ground, or air, kill both.

The manner of planting them is, in order, like our cherry-gardens; they place a plantain by every tree, and when it is grown up it reſembles a cherry-tree; it delights in ſhade, and for that reaſon has the plantain ſet by it. The cocoa-walks are kept clear from graſs by hoeing and weeding. The trees begin to bear at three, four, or five years, and, did they not almoſt always die before, would come to perfection at fifteen years growth, and laſt till thirty; which renders them the moſt profitable tree in the world, one acre of them having cleared above two hundred pounds in a year; but the old trees planted by the Spaniards being gone by age, and few now thriving, as the Spaniſh negroes foretold, little or none now is produced worthy the care and pains in planting and expecting it. Thoſe ſlaves aſcribe its not coming to perfection to a ſuperſtitious cauſe, many religious rites being performed at its planting by the Spaniards, which their ſlaves were not permitted to ſee. But it is probable that wary nation, as they removed the art of making cochineal, and curing venelloes, into their inland provinces, which were the commodities of the iſlands in the Indians time, and forbade the opening any mines in them, for fear ſome maritime nation might be tempted to conquer them; ſo in tranſplanting the cocoa from the Caraccas and Guatamala on the continent, they might conceal, wilfully, ſome ſecret in its planting from their ſlaves.

There is alſo more indigo produced in Jamaica, than in any other colony, by reaſon of the great quantity of ſavanah land, for it thrives beſt in ſandy ground. The ſeed from whence it is raiſed is yellow and round, ſomething leſs than a tare. The ground is made light by hoeing; then trenches are dug like thoſe our gardeners prepare for peaſe,

peaſe, in which the ſeed is put about March; it grows ripe in eight weeks time, and in freſh broken ground will ſpring up about three feet high, but in others to no more than eighteen inches. The ſtalk is full of leaves of a deep green colour, and will, from its firſt ſowing, yield many crops in one year. When it is ripe it is cut and ſteeped in fats twenty-four hours, then it muſt be cleared from the firſt water and put into proper ciſterns, where, when it has been carefully beaten, it ſettles about eighteen hours. In theſe ciſterns are ſeveral taps, which let the clear water run out, and the thick is put into bags of about three feet long, made commonly of ozenbrigs, which being hung up, all the liquid part drops away; when it will drop no longer, it is put into wooden boxes, three feet long, fourten inches wide, and one and a half deep; theſe boxes muſt be placed in the ſun till it is very hot, and then taken in till the extreme heat is over; this muſt be done continually till it is ſufficiently dried. In land that proves proper for indigo, the labour of one hand, in a year's time, will produce between eighty and one hundred weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen pounds to the planter, if no accident happen; for indigo, as well as other commodities in thoſe parts, is ſubject to many; the moſt common are blaſting and worms, by which it is frequently deſtroyed.

Pimento is another natural production of Jamaica, from whence it is called Jamaica pepper, alluding to its figure and the chief place of its growth; the trees that bear it are generally very tall and ſpreading, having a trunk as thick as one's thigh. It riſes ſtrait, about thirty feet high, is covered with an extraordinary ſmooth ſkin of a grey colour; it is branched out on every hand, having the end of its twigs ſet with leaves of ſeveral ſizes, the largeſt being four or five inches long, and two or three broad, in the middle, where it is broadeſt, and whence it decreaſes to both extremes, ending in a point ſmooth, thin, ſhining, without any inciſures of a deep green colour, and ſtanding on foot-ſtalks an inch long; when bruiſed very odoriferous, and in all things like the leaves of a bay tree. The ends of the twigs are branched into bunches of flowers, and each ſtalk ſuſtaining a flower bending back, within which bend are many ſtamina of a pale green colour; to theſe follows a bunch of crowned berries, the crown being made up of four ſmall leaves, which are bigger, when ripe, than juniper berries; at firſt, when ſmall, greeniſh, but when they are ripe, black, ſmooth and ſhining; containing in them a moiſt, green, aromatic pulp, two large ſeeds ſeparated by a membrane, each of which is a hemiſphere, and both joined make a ſpherical ſeed.

It grows on all the hilly part of the iſland of Jamaica, but chiefly on the north ſide; and wherever theſe trees grow, they are generally left ſtanding when other trees are felled; and they are ſometimes planted where they never grew, becauſe of the great profit from the cured fruit exported yearly in great quantities into Europe. The Jamaica pepper tree flowers in June, July, and Auguſt, but ſooner or later, according to their ſituation and different ſeaſon for rains; and after it flowers the fruit ſoon ripens: but it is to be obſerved, that in clear open grounds it is ſooner ripe than in thick woods. There is no great difficulty in curing or preſerving this fruit for uſe; it is for the moſt part done by the negroes. They climb the trees and pull off the twigs with the unripe green fruit, and afterwards carefully ſeparate the fruit from the twigs and leaves, which done, they expoſe them to the ſun, from the riſing to the ſetting for many days; ſpreading them thin on cloths, turning them now and then, and carefully avoiding the dews which are there very great. By this means they become a little wrinkled, and from a green change to a brown colour, when they are fit for the market; being of different ſizes, but commonly of the bigneſs of black pepper; ſomething like in ſmell and taſte to cloves, juniper berries, cinnamon and

pepper,

pepper, or rather having a peculiar mixt ſmell, ſomewhat a-kin to all of them, from whence it is called all-ſpice. The more fragrant and ſmaller they are, they are accounted the better.

It is deſervedly reckoned the beſt and moſt temperate, mild and innocent, of all ſpices, and fit to come into greater uſe, and to gain more ground than it has of the Eaſt India commodities of this kind, almoſt all of which it far ſurpaſſes, by promoting the digeſtion of meat, attenuating tough humours, moderately heating and ſtrengthening the ſtomach, expelling wind, and doing thoſe friendly offices to the bowels, which we expect from ſpices.

The wild cinnamon tree, commonly called, though falſly, cortex winteranus, grows in this iſland; its trunk is about the bigneſs of the piemento tree, and riſes twenty or thirty feet high, having many branches and twigs hanging downwards, making a very lovely top; the bark conſiſts of two parts, one outward and another inward; the outward bark is as thin as a milled ſhilling, of whitiſh aſh or grey colour with ſome white ſpots here and there upon it, and ſeveral ſhallow furrows of a darker colour running variouſly through it, of an aromatic taſte; the inward bark is much thicker than cinnamon, being as thick as a milled crown piece, ſmooth, and of a whiter colour than the outward, of a much more biting and aromatic taſte, ſomething like that of cloves, and not glutinous like cinnamon, but dry and crumbling between the teeth; the leaves come out near the ends of the twigs, without any order, ſtanding on foot-ſtalks, each of them two inches in length, and one in breadth; near the end where broadeſt and rougheſt, being narrow at the beginning, from whence it augments in breadth to near its end, of a yellowiſh green colour, ſhining and ſmooth, without any inciſures about its edges, and ſomewhat reſembling the leaves of bay.

The ends of the twigs are branched into bunches of flowers, ſtanding ſomewhat like umbels, each of which has a foot-ſtalk, on the top of which is a calix made up of ſome little leaves, in which ſtand five ſcarlet or purple patala, within which is a large ſtylix; to theſe follow ſo many calyculated berries of the bigneſs of a large pea, roughiſh, green, and containing, within a mucilaginous pale green thin pulp, four black ſhining ſeeds of an irregular figure; all the parts of this tree, when freſh, are very hot, aromatic, and biting to the taſte, ſomething like cloves, which is ſo troubleſome, as ſometimes to need the remedy of fair water. It grows in the ſavanah woods, very frequently on each ſide the road, between Paſſage Fort and the town of St. Jago de la Vega. The bark of the tree is what is chiefly in uſe, both in the Engliſh plantations, between the tropics in the Weſt Indies, and in Europe, and is without any difficulty cured, by only cutting off the bark, and letting it dry in the ſhade. The ordinary ſort of people in the Weſt Indies uſe it inſtead of all other ſpices, being thought very good to conſume the immoderate humidity of the ſtomach, to help digeſtion, and expel wind, &c. Rum looſes its diſagreeable ſmell if mixed with this bark.

The true cortex winteranus, for which the druggiſts ſell this wild cinnamon, was brought by Captain Winter, who accompanied Sir Francis Drake in his voyage round the world from the Streights of Magellan.

There is plenty of cotton in Jamaica, and it is finer than that in the Carribbee iſlands. The tobacco that was planted there was better than at Barbadoes; but there is ſo little, it deſerves not the name of a commodity. Very good tanned leather is made there; the tanners have three barks to tan with, mangrove, olive barks, and another. They tann better than in England; and in ſix weeks the leather is ready to work into ſhoes. There is abundance of dyers woods, as fuſtick, red-wood, logwood, and others; with ſeveral ſorts of ſweetwoods. The iſland abounds in drugs and medicinal herbs, as guaiacum,

guaiacum, china, ſarſaparilla, caſſia, tamarinds, venilloes, many ſorts of miſſelto; as alſo in ſalutary gums and roots; the plant of which cochineal is made, grows in Jamaica; and yet the inhabitants, for want of knowledge how to cure it, make no advantage of it; beſides the eaſt wind blaſts it ſo, that it ſeldom or never comes to maturity.

It is not doubted but that there are copper mines in the iſland; and the Spaniards ſay the bells of the great church at St. Jago were made of Jamaica metal; it is ſuppoſed there are ſilver mines in it, as well as at Cuba, and on the continent; and there is a place in the mountains of Port Royal, or Caguag, where it is reported the Spaniards dug ſilver, but the Engliſh have not been ſo happy as to find it. The Spaniards alſo found ambergreaſe on the coaſt, but the Engliſh have not often had that good fortune; yet ſome years ago an ignorant fellow found 180 pound weight of ambergreaſe caſt upon the ſhore, at a place called Ambergreaſe Point, where the Spaniards came uſually once a year to look for it. This vaſt quantity was divided into two parts, ſuppoſed by rolling and tumbling in the ſea; ſome ſay it is produced from a creature, as honey and ſilk; and Mr. Tredway, who viewed this piece, writes, he ſaw, in ſundry places in this body, the beak, wings, and part of the body of the creature, which he preſerved for ſome time; he was alſo told by a man, that he had ſeen the creature alive, and believed they ſwarmed as bees on the ſea ſhore, or in the ſea; others ſay it is the excrement of the whale, and others, that it iſſues out of the root of a tree.

But, after all, it is the ſugar cane that is the glory of Jamaica, by which the inhabitants have acquired ſuch immenſe riches. It is generally ſaid, that the ſugar from St. Chriſtopher's is the beſt in the Leeward Iſlands; but, I think, it is agreed on all hands, that the ſugar made in Jamaica exceeds that of all our plantations, though it is made there with much greater eaſe, ſince it cures faſter in ten days at Jamaica than in ſix months at Barbadoes. There were in the year 1670 upwards of threeſcore mills in Jamaica, which were computed to make about two millions of pounds weight of ſugar; but ſome writers tell us, they make ten times as much at preſent; whether that computation be right or not, is impoſſible for me to decide; but this is certain, that there is ground enough unoccupied in that country to make much more, ſince it is an hundred and forty miles long and ſixty broad; and it contains, according to a moderate computation four millions of acres, of which, though there may be about one-fourth in which Engliſh ſubjects have property; yet, it is certain, that not above a fourth of that fourth is actually planted, and a great deal of this is employed to other purpoſes, than that of raiſing ſugar. It is impoſſible to ſay preciſely what quantity may be made here, becauſe ſeaſons differ, and other accidents intervene; ſome have thought they did not riſe beyond the truth, in affirming, that it produces one hundred thouſand hogſheads, which, though it appears a moſt prodigious quantity, yet there are many circumſtances that concur to render it credible. As for the number of people in this iſland various computations have been made; but according to the beſt accounts I have been able to gain, there may be at this time, ſeventy thouſand white people therein, and one hundred and twenty thouſand negroes.

We may from hence judge of the almoſt inexpreſſible advantages which this iſland affords to Great Britain; for, as all our hiſtories of Jamaica, and almoſt every voyage thither, that has been printed, ſpeak largely of the luxury and expence of all degrees of people there, which is a plain proof of their wealth and vaſt acquiſitions; ſo we may reſt ſatisfied, that whatever ſhew they may make, whatever appearance there may be of magnificence there; yet the real produce of all their labour, and of all their commerce, comes over here to Britain, and maintains and enriches the induſtrious part of our people; ſo that there can be nothing more abſurd or unreaſonable, than to grudge or

envy the people ſettled there, the great fortunes they acquire and poſſeſs, or to repine at the pomp and ſplendor in which they live; becauſe, whatever it may be in appearance, it is perhaps an indifferent reward for their dwelling at ſuch a diſtance from home, and for the hazards and labours they run through to acquire ſuch fortunes, but this will appear much more clearly if we advert a little to the ſituation of Jamaica, and conſider the vaſt benefits that accrue from thence, in all times, and under all circumſtances, of war as well as peace.

As we are at preſent in the former ſituation, we will treat firſt of that. There is conſtantly in time of war a conſiderable naval force kept here, and though this be attended with a great expence to the Britiſh nation, yet it certainly is, or at leaſt ought to be, a great comfort to us, that our money is ſpent with our countrymen, that it increaſes the value of their plantations, and which is ſtill more to our purpoſe, that, ſooner or later, all that is ſpent and circulated there, by ſome channel or other returns hither, ſo that at the long run the nation loſes nothing by the vaſt charge ſhe is at in maintaining fleets upon this coaſt. We ought likewiſe to reflect, that in a time of war there are many prizes taken and carried into Jamaica, which makes an unuſual and almoſt incredible plenty of ſilver, and is the true cauſe of the dearneſs and high price of neceſſaries in that country, all which alſo in time comes over hither; ſo that when we hear of vaſt eſtates raiſed there in a ſhort ſpace of time, it ought to afford us the higheſt ſatisfaction; becauſe, thoſe who make thoſe large fortunes, or their immediate deſcendants, come over hither, and either veſt their money in our funds or purchaſe lands here. Thus, a ſtate of war, which implies a ſuſpenſion of trade, produces few of the inconveniences that uſually attend ſuch a ſuſpenſion; becauſe in Jamaica, the very conſequences of war become a kind of trade, and the wealth ariſing from them takes the ſame courſe, and runs in the very individual channels that any other trade would do, that is, they finally enrich and tend to the benefit of the mother country.

But, in time of peace, beſides what we draw from Jamaica, conſidered barely in the light of a ſugar plantation, we are to conſider likewiſe whatever accrues to the inhabitants from their intercourſe and dealings with other people, ſince whatever they gain is for us; and therefore, it may not in this place, be improper to ſay ſomething of the trade carried on by the Engliſh at Jamaica with the Spaniards on the continent, which is thus managed: the merchant or maſter of the Engliſh ſhip bound for this voyage being furniſhed with a proper cargo of dry goods and negroes, commonly makes firſt for the coaſt near the harbour of Porto Bello; and in war, at the Grout, within Monkey Key, a very good harbour, within four miles of the town; from thence it is uſual for the merchant or maſter of the ſhip to ſend one who can ſpeak Spaniſh, as many of theſe traders do to the town, to give notice of her arrival to the dealers, who appoint the time and place for the Spaniards canoe to attend them; they come accordingly, and having purchaſed as many negroes and as much dry goods as they think fit, they return to the town, fetch the money, bring it aboard, and take the goods. Here ſuch a ſhip lies ſometimes five or ſix weeks trading with the Spaniards; for after the firſt market is pretty well over, the dealers, who have ſoon information of her being on the coaſt, come from Panama over the iſthmus to trade, travelling like peaſants, with mules bearing their ſilver in jars; and if any of the king's officers meet them nothing appears but meal, which they pretend to be carrying to Porto Bello; but for the moſt part they travel through woods and bye-ways for fear of being diſcovered by thoſe officers. When they have bought what negroes and goods their money will purchaſe, which they ſell again up in the country, and get very well by it; the goods are made up in little packs fit for one man to carry, and the Engliſh ſupply them with as much

proviſions as will ſerve them home, croſs the iſthmus to the South Sea, for they come very far off.

A ſingle familiar inſtance will make all this very plain. An Engliſh ſhip lying between Chagre and Porto Novo, a ſignal was given from the caſtle of Chagre, and ſhe anchored two miles from it. The Spaniards came to her, and one merchant bought ſeventy negroes and a good quantity of dry goods, amounting to three or four thouſand pounds, which was brought on mules to the water ſide, part gold and part ſilver. From the Grout the Engliſh ſhip ſailed to the Brew near Carthagena, where ſhe lay to trade with the merchants of that city, from which it is about eight miles diſtant. The people of the iſland Brew gave their merchants notice of her arrival, and they came and traded as the others did at the Grout; this trading ſhip in about two months diſpoſed of one hundred and fifty negroes, and a good cargo of dry goods, by which, probably, the proprietors cleared two thouſand pounds more than would have been got in any other market; a plain proof of the very great advantage of this trade between Jamaica and New Spain, of which we ſee the Spaniards are ſo fond, that they run as great hazards in buying the merchandizes as the Engliſh do in ſelling it to them.

There is likewiſe in time of peace a great deal of money brought into Jamaica by the Aſſiento trade, or ſale of negroes, granted to us by the Spaniards in the treaty of Utrecht, which, whatever it may be in other reſpects, has certainly proved a very beneficial trade to that iſland. I have indeed heard ſome very able and intelligent perſons intimate, that if inſtead of erecting a new company for the management of this trade, it had been put into the hands of one already erected, I mean the Royal African Company, it had preſerved that once famous corporation from falling into its preſent melancholy condition, as well as ſecured much larger profits to the nation, which are things that deſerve to be conſidered before we ſet in earneſt about any negotiation with Spain, that we may indemnify ourſelves from the heavy loſſes and vaſt expences of this war by the fruits of a ſolid and well regulated peace; which, without doubt, may be as eaſily obtained as one of a looſer and more precarious nature; it being the intereſt of the Spaniards as well as of ourſelves, to have all matters ſo adjuſted, as to prevent not only wars, but diſputes for the future.

Before I quit this ſubject I find it abſolutely neceſſary to take notice of another branch of trade carried on from Jamaica, which has been made the ſubject of much debate; I mean the cutting of logwood in the bay of Campeachy. This matter came to be conſidered with the utmoſt care and circumſpection by the Board of Trade and plantations in the year 1717, who ſolemnly reported that we had an undoubted right to that trade, in which the ſubjects of the crown of England had been maintained and ſupported by former kings, his majeſty's royal predeceſſors. They obſerve, that logwood is the product of Jucatan, a peninſula that extends itſelf an hundred leagues into the North Sea, on each ſide whereof are the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, where the wood is chiefly cut by the Engliſh.

The Spaniards are poſſeſſed only of the town of Campeachy, and two more ſmall places in this part of America, and that the reſt of Jucatan was an uninhabited deſart until our logwood cutters ſettled at Cape Catoch, the north-eaſt promontory of Jucatan, or at Triſt, or the Laguna de Terminos in the bay of Campeachy, before, or in the year 1667, when a treaty of peace was concluded between Great Britain and Spain; and thereupon the privateers of Jamaica, who uſed to diſturb the Spaniſh trade, being obliged to quit that way of life, became logwood cutters, and ſettled with others of their countrymen at Triſt, and the Lake de Terminos aforeſaid, and great

quantities of logwood were afterwards imported from thence to Old and New England.

They obſerved that Sir Thomas Lynch, governor of Jamaica, under whoſe direction that trade was carried on, in the year 1671, gave his majeſty king Charles II. the following reaſons for his encouraging this trade. 1ſt, That the Engliſh had then uſed it for divers years. 2dly, That the logwood was cut in deſolate and uninhabited places. 3dly, That it was a right confirmed by treaty with the Spaniards. 4thly, That thereby we excluded the French and Dutch from that trade. 5thly, That the Spaniards had not then made any complaint of it. 6thly, That this employment made the reducing our privateers, who uſed to commit hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, more eaſy. Laſtly, that this trade employed an hundred ſail of ſhips annually, and encreaſed his majeſty's cuſtoms, and the trade of the nation, more than any of his American colonies.

Sir Thomas Modyford, the ſucceeding governor of Jamaica, informed the lords of the privy council in the year 1672, that the Engliſh logwood cutters had uſed that trade for three years, and that they had planted corn, and built houſes for their conveniency; and though they frequently hunted deer in the country, they had never ſeen a ſingle Spaniard, or any other man in that part of the country, in all the time they had been there; and concludes, that their felling of wood, building of houſes, and clearing and planting the ground, was ſuch a poſſeſſion, as in the Weſt Indies gave them an undoubted right to the countries they thus occupied. And Sir Thomas, to juſtify his conduct in encouraging this trade, in the year 1672 (when the Spaniards firſt complained of it) ſent home the copies of ſeveral depoſitions he had taken from the maſters of ſhips, and others concerned in the logwood trade, with a proclamation he had iſſued for the regulation and ſecurity thereof, as a confirmation of what he had aſſerted; and the lords of the council thereupon let the governor know that they approved what he had done.

The lords commiſſioners of trade further obſerved, that there is a clauſe in the aboveſaid American treaty, which provides that the king of Great Britain ſhall keep and poſſeſs, in full right of ſovereignty and propriety, all places ſituate in the Weſt Indies, or any part of America, which he and his ſubjects were then in poſſeſſion of; and that they actually were then, and had been for ſeveral years in poſſeſſion of Triſt and the Lake de Terminos, and ſeveral other places in the province of Jucatan, which the Spaniards began to ſet up a title to about this time, notwithſtanding they enjoyed the full benefit of what Great Britain ſtipulated on her part, viz. 1ſt, The ſecuring the trade of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies to them; a point which had never before been yielded. 2dly, The obliging the privateers to ceaſe their depredations, whereby the Spaniſh trade had been miſerably haraſſed; and this had been effected chiefly by the care of his majeſty's governors, and the employing thoſe people in the logwood trade.

That in 1680 the Spaniards proceeded in a hoſtile manner to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh logwood cutters of their ſettlements of Triſt, &c. and even of the Iſland of Providence, a Britiſh plantation to which they had no pretence; but theſe were ſoon repoſſeſſed by his majeſty's ſubjects, and the logwood trade, in 1682, was greater than ever, and was maintained and carried on by the Engliſh, till the treaty of Utrecht 1713; when the adjuſtment and ſettlement thereof came again under conſideration; and it was ſtipulated that only ſuch places ſhould be reſtored to the Spaniards, as had been taken during the preceding war, (in the reign of queen Anne), among which Triſt could not be reckoned one, becauſe the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of it many years

before that war commenced, and, indeed, had been in the actual poſſeſſion of it from 1699 to 1713, except for two or three months in the year 1689, when the Spaniards ſurprized and expelled them by force, as related above.

They farther repreſented it by a clauſe in the treaty of commerce concluded in November 1713; the American treaty of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared that this ſhould be underſtood to be without prejudice to any liberty or power which the ſubjects of Great Britain enjoyed before, either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence; and the Engliſh having long enjoyed the liberty of cutting logwood, whether through right, ſufferance, or indulgence, they are by this treaty entitled to the ſame in as plain and expreſs words as can be imagined. Then the Lords Commiſſioners proceeded to ſhew the importance of the logwood trade to Great Britain, by the following account of what logwood had been imported ſince the late war:

| | Tons. | Cwt. | Qrs. | lb. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In 1713 | 2189 | 15 | 3 | 22 |
| In 1714 | 4848 | 14 | 3 | 24 |
| In 1715 | 5863 | 12 | 1 | 14 |
| In 1716 | 2032 | 17 | 2 | 0 |
| | 14935 | 0 | 3 | 4 |

This is, *communibus annis*, 3,741 tons, which cannot be computed at leſs than 60,000 l. per annum, though the price is already reduced from 40 l. to 16 l. per ton; and before your majeſty's ſubjects were ſettled there it was worth 100 l. a ton. Nor is this trade leſs neceſſary than beneficial to your majeſty's dominions, by reaſon of the great encouragement it gives to our ſeamen and ſhipping, which at all times require a particular attention; but now eſpecially, when it is daily obſerved that very many Britiſh mariners, either through defect of the laws, or for want of employment at home, or in hopes of greater advantage abroad, enter themſelves into foreign ſervice.

Upon the whole, they gave it as their opinion, that ſome time before and long after the year 1670, the ſubjects of England were poſſeſſed of and quietly enjoyed part of the country of Jucatan, uninhabited by the Spaniards, and conſequently the right of Britiſh ſubjects to cut logwood, and even to ſettle in that country, was not only certain and apparent, but was alſo ſettled and confirmed by treaty.

This repreſentation is certainly more than ſufficient to convince us here at home of our being well entitled to this trade; and therefore it is a point that deſerves to be maturely reflected upon, before any new negotiation for peace with the Crown of Spain is commenced; for, without doubt, care ought to be taken that our right in this reſpect be acknowledged and admitted, in ſuch expreſs terms, that hereafter no diſputes may ariſe about it, or afford pretences for fitting out guarda coſtas to impede and diſturb our navigation. We know and have heard, what high and loud complaints were made againſt the Miniſtry, in the reign of Queen Anne, for not obliging the French to reſtore Cape Breton, and for not compelling the Spaniards to make ſuch conceſſions in favour of our trade as were neceſſary for the carrying it on with ſafety and advantage. But at preſent Cape Breton is ours, and the ſuperiority of our naval force in the Weſt Indies is ſo great, that it would be certainly an unpardonable omiſſion ſhould there be any thing left to object on any of theſe heads for the future. The capital trade of this nation at preſent, that which employs moſt ſhips, moſt ſeamen, and moſt manufactures, is our commerce to our plantations; and therefore the ſecuring, encouraging, and improving this commerce ought to be the principal object of our ſtateſmen; who, as they often

often lay heavy burdens upon the ſubjects to carry their projects into execution, ſo they are in intereſt and in conſcience bound to pay the utmoſt attention to thoſe points which regard the filling again the purſes of thoſe to whom they have conſtant recourſe for the public ſervice.

23. We have now gone through this ſection, and have ſhewn when, how, and with what views our ſettlements within this period of time were made. It is eaſy to perceive from thence what prodigious advantages have been derived from them to the people of this kingdom. If we conſider that at the death of Queen Elizabeth we had not a ſingle cottage erected in America, and that at the time of the reſtoration of King Charles II. we had ſettled from Nova Scotia to the utmoſt bounds of Virginia, beſides peopling many of the iſlands, it muſt appear an amazing thing. The vaſt change in our circumſtances in the ſpace of ſixty years, the mighty augmentation of our ſhipping, the vaſt increaſe of our coin, and all the other certain and indubitable ſigns of an extended and profitable commerce, ſufficiently prove the value and importance of our plantations; for I make no ſcruple of affirming that we owed them all to theſe. To ſay the truth, the civil war which was ſo ruinous and fatal to theſe kingdoms was, by the kind diſpoſition of Providence, highly ſerviceable to the plantations. In the firſt ferment of the nation, we have ſeen that New England was planted and peopled as it were at once; and in ſucceeding times, when the conſtitution was overturned, and the loyal nobility and gentry, who were deprived of their eſtates by thoſe the fortune of war had made their maſters, and had not even the liberty of ſtarving here in peace, Virginia and Barbadoes were their refuge; there the wicked ceaſed from troubling, and there the weary were at reſt. The ſpirit and vigour with which they ſet about improving the places of their exile ſoon changed them into habitations of delight, and where they looked only for a quiet and a bare ſubſiſtence, the bleſſing of God upon their induſtry produced them vaſt eſtates.

We may ſafely venture to affirm, that a little after the Reſtoration the ſugar colonies roſe to their greateſt height, Jamaica only excepted. Since then the tobacco colonies have increaſed greatly, and ſo have the bread colonies likewiſe; for the reader is to obſerve, that Jamaica, Barbadoes, and moſt of the Leeward Iſlands, are furniſhed with proviſions from the northern colonies, and with garden ſtuff from the iſlands of Bermudas. But it has ſo fallen out, that though theſe colonies have ſuch a natural dependence upon each other, yet complaints have ariſen, and we have ſeen both ſides appealing to the Britiſh parliament, the one for relief, and the other for protection. The occaſion of theſe diſputes was this:

A bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons on the petition of the merchants and planters concerned in the ſugar colonies in the year 1731, for ſecuring and encouraging the trade of the ſaid colonies. The intent whereof was to enable them to ſupply foreign markets with ſugar as cheap as the French, which they ſuggeſted might be done by prohibiting the exportation of horſes, proviſions, and lumber, from our northern colonies on the continent of America to the French and Dutch plantations, and by prohibiting the importation of all foreign ſugar, rum, and moloſſes, to our northern colonies; for the permitting of this, they ſuggeſted, was giving the French and Dutch at leaſt twenty-five per cent. upon the whole produce of their ſugar colonies, and thereby enabled them to afford their ſugar at foreign markets cheaper than our ſugar colonies can. It was finding them plantation neceſſaries as well as money to pay for them; that is, the foreign colonies paid our northern colonies for their horſes, proviſions, and lumber, with moloſſes and rum, which otherwiſe the French muſt throw away as they did formerly. To induce the parliament to paſs this bill, the ſugar colonies endeavoured

to ſhew the vaſt importance thoſe colonies are of to Great Britain, obſerving that they produced, at an average, eighty-five thouſand hogſheads of ſugar annually at leaſt, which, at ten pounds a hogſhead, amounted to eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. This ſum, or much the greateſt part of it, as they affirm, is ſpent here by the ſeveral proprietors of eſtates in the Weſt Indies, who live in England, or is ſent out annually in the manufactures of Great Britain, either directly to the ſugar colonies or to the Coaſt of Guinea, to purchaſe negroes for the uſe of thoſe colonies.

Beſides this neat produce of ſugar, another vaſt advantage ariſing from the ſugar colony trade is the large number of ſhips and ſeamen employed and maintained in the courſe of our commerce with them; and they calculate that there are three hundred ſail of ſhips ſent from Great Britain (not to mention thoſe from other places) every year, to our ſugar colonies, which are navigated by about five thouſand five hundred ſeamen; and that the freight from the ſugars brought hither amounts to an hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds a year; and the duties, commiſſions, &c. to little leſs than two hundred thouſand pounds more, which upon the whole is a good one million two hundred thouſand pounds a year profit and advantage to Great Britain. But beſides this conſiderable article of ſugar, they obſerve that theſe iſlands produce great quantities of cotton, ginger, indico, aloes, &c. which are all brought to Great Britain, where the whole profit of all our plantation product does and muſt centre. They have been equal, they inſiſt, to the mines of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and have contributed, in a particular manner, to the trade, navigation, and wealth of this kingdom.

But at preſent they were in a very bad and languiſhing condition; their duties high, their planters poor, their ſoil worn out, and their fortifications deſtroyed. They obſerve farther, that the French ſugar iſlands are much larger, more beautiful, better inhabited, pay leſs duties, and have greater encouragement from France than ours have from Great Britain. And that if our ſugar iſlands, for want of being put in a poſture of defence, ſhould either be taken, as ſome have been, or moulder and come to ruin, it would be one of the greateſt blows this kingdom ever received. It would then loſe the benefit of all their product imported hither; it would loſe the exports of our woollen and other manufactures thither, to the amount of ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds a year; it would loſe, in a great meaſure, the trade to Guinea; it would loſe the employing and maintaining of many hundred Britiſh ſhips, and many thouſand Britiſh ſeamen every year; and laſtly, it would loſe one of the moſt conſiderable and main branches of our funds, the deficiency of which muſt be made good, and the weight and burthen fall on our lands here at home.

To this bill, however, many objections were made by ſuch as were employed here in behalf of the northern colonies, and amongſt them the moſt material were theſe; 1ſt, That ſuch a prohibition as was deſired by the bill would put the French upon ſupplying themſelves with lumber from their own ſettlements, and the Britiſh colonies on the continent would thereby loſe the trade in which many ſhips and ſeamen were employed. 2dly, That the Britiſh colonies could not take off their lumber, or ſupply them with rum for their fiſheries, their trade with the Indians, and what they wanted in the harveſt-time. 3dly, That the reſtraining the northern colonies from diſpoſing of their horſes, proviſions, and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might draw them into employments prejudicial to Great Britain. 4thly, The French would diſtil their moloſſes themſelves, and ſupply the fiſheries with rum, if the northern colonies did not. 5thly, If the northern colonies did not take off the French ſugars, they would carry them to market themſelves. 6thly, If the importation of French and Dutch rum and moloſſes into New England was prohibited, and they could go to no other market

for

for rum, or ſell their lumber and proviſions any where elſe, the Engliſh ſugar colonies, like other monopolies, would exact an unreaſonable price for their rum, and beat down the price of lumber and other goods as low as they ſaw fit. 7thly, That the French and Dutch colonies furniſh the northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great Britain and lay out in our manufactures. 8thly, That the luxury and extravagance of the ſugar colonies was the occaſion of this decline. And 9thly, That the trade of the ſugar colonies was ſtill vaſtly increaſing; inſtancing in Barbadoes, which, in the year 1730, imported twenty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine hogſheads of ſugar into England, valued at £340,396.; and that this was the neat profit they inſiſted, becauſe it was admitted that the rum and moloſſes of ſugar plantations bear the charges of them; the ſugar planters therefore have no reaſon to complain, when ſo ſmall an iſland as Barbadoes produced ſo vaſt a neat profit.

As there is nothing can contribute more to make this ſubject thoroughly underſtood, and to point out effectually what the inhabitants of the colonies take to be their reſpective intereſts, I think it will be neceſſary to add the replies or ſolutions given by the friends of the ſugar colonies to theſe objections. As to the firſt, That the French, if not ſupplied from the northern colonies, would furniſh their own ſettlements with lumber, they ſaid, That the French could not be ſupplied with lumber from their own ſettlements; or, if they could, it muſt be at great charge and expence, ſince the only places they can pretend to be ſupplied from are Cape Breton and Quebec. Some indeed have gone ſo far, and been ſo extravagant, as to imagine that the French iſlands may be ſupplied with lumber from the bay of Apalachi, or the ſettlement of Miſſiſippi; but we muſt conſider that great ſnows are neceſſary for drawing down trees to the ſides of rivers; and likewiſe (upon the ſnow's melting) for floating them down to the mills; and, if they had ſnows, theſe countries do not produce any quantity of ſuch kind of wood as is proper to work into lumber; nor have they any ſuch mills, which are expenſive to build, and the labour and time required to manufacture ſuch trees into lumber, would make it extremely dear to the French; beſides, the navigation to and from ſuch places to Martinico, and the French iſlands ſo much to windward, would be ſo difficult and long for ſuch veſſels as are proper to carry lumber, by reaſon of the calms, contrary winds, and ſtrong currents againſt them, that ſuch a project would probably end in the ruin of the people concerned in it; which would put an end to ſuch endeavours of the French.

As to Cape Breton, though it has the advantage of ſnows, yet it has no other conveniency; it produces little wood; they have few rivers, and thoſe longer frozen and ſooner dried than in New England; it is thinly inhabited, and is a ſmall, and in that light but an inconſiderable iſland, commodious only for fiſhing. And as for Quebec, allowing all the advantages the other places want, and all that our northern colonies have, with reſpect to wood and mills; yet the navigation of the river St. Laurence (which is practicable only a few months in the year) is ſo very long and dangerous, that all the lumber from thence muſt be exceeding dear; and though ſome may think that theſe difficulties in time may be removed, and the navigation of the river become both ſafe and eaſy, it may be wiſhed the French had no ſupply of lumber till theſe difficulties were removed; for thoſe difficulties muſt always continue from the nature of the coaſt, the rocks, ſhoals, and ſands in that river, and from the inclemency of the air and other natural cauſes; which will make that navigation for ever unſafe. If then the French cannot be ſupplied with lumber, or at leaſt not upon any reaſonable terms, how much will this give our ſugar colonies an advantage over the French? But let us ſuppoſe the utmoſt and worſt that can be; that they can be ſupplied with lumber from their

their own ſettlements; yet, What muſt the lumber be bought with? Not with rum and moloſſes, but with money. So that if this prohibition of foreign rum and moloſſes takes place, ſo much will be loſt to the French plantations, becauſe they can have no vent for their rum, as interfering with brandy, the product of France.

But what ſtronger argument can we have, that the trade carried on by ſome of the northern colonies is a prejudicial trade, than the permiſſion of it by the French themſelves? They underſtand the whole compaſs of trade perfectly well, and ſteadily purſue their intereſts; they know that their colonies either cannot be ſupplied at all with horſes, lumber, and other neceſſaries, or elſe they muſt purchaſe them at a great expence; they find they have them for rum and moloſſes, which is all clear gain to them; that they ſave at leaſt twenty-five per cent. in having lumber and horſes ſo conveniently from the northern colonies; and get twenty-five per cent. by their rum and moloſſes, which elſe would be all loſs to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this trade muſt ſhortly and effectually ruin and deſtroy our ſugar plantations, by inhancing the price of our plantation neceſſaries, and ſtopping the product of our manufacture; however ſpecious therefore the argument may be in favour of this trade, nothing leſs than a prohibition of horſes and lumber, as well as of foreign ſugar, rum, and moloſſes, will be of any real ſervice or benefit to the ſugar colonies.

For if you allow them to carry lumber, what muſt they have in exchange for it but ſugar? And how will it be poſſible, on ſo long a coaſt as ſeven or eight hundred miles, as that of thoſe northern colonies, where there are ſo many bays, creeks, and rivers, and ſo few officers to prevent the running of theſe goods, let your penalties be never ſo ſtrict. But it may be ſaid, perhaps, that France will allow them to carry their rum to their own ſettlements on the Continent; but that is altogether as improbable and as unlikely as that we ſhould ſuffer Ireland to ſupply our plantations with woollen manufactures. Thoſe colonies there are abundantly ſupplied with brandy from France, very cheap, and which is a ſpirit much better liked, and what they have been uſed to.

As to the ſecond objection, that the Engliſh ſugar colonies cannot take off the lumber they have, or ſupply them with the rum they want, they anſwered, if the trade and navigation from the Britiſh colonies on the Continent, to the foreign colonies, be prejudicial to the ſugar colonies and to Great Britain, and if the reſtraining it will effectually diſtreſs the French in the ſugar trade, it ought to be prohibited, though ſome few traders ſhall ſuffer hardſhips and inconveniency by it. As to diſpoſing of their lumber, the ſugar colonies have more reaſon to apprehend that they ſhall find a want of it, than that the New England people will have much upon their hands; at leaſt, if what they ſay be true and founded in fact. For we have for many years been alarmed with ſcarcity of lumber in New England, and we have felt the effects of it in the advanced price we have paid for it for ſome time, upon this pretence. Thoſe who were principally concerned there, in the lumber trade, complained laſt year, 1730, of the great want of oak and fir near the rivers on which their ſaw-mills ſtand; and as they are reſtrained by ſeveral acts of parliament from cutting the king's trees, they will hardly be able to ſupply us long with lumber, of private property, at any reaſonable rate, which deſerves conſideration. The other part of this objection, That our ſugar colonies are not able to ſupply them with a ſufficient quantity of rum, is as groundleſs as the former. A gentleman of diſtinction, of St. Chriſtopher's, informed the committee, that himſelf made two thouſand gallons of rum a year, but that if he had encouragement he could make twenty thouſand gallons; and the other gentlemen of St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat, who made little or no rum now, could make a very great quantity, if there

was a demand for it. Therefore the queſtion that was aſked by a New England gentleman, whether we have any rum left on our hands at the end of the year, is not at all to the purpoſe, though at firſt ſight it ſeems ſo.

The diſtillers in New England find this trade in ſpirits, made of foreign moloſſes, very profitable, and for that reaſon raiſe objections which have nothing in them, in order to make Boſton the great ſtaple of rum. For ſhould the prohibition take place on foreign rum and moloſſes, then our ſugar colonies might ſend again their rum to Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Newfoundland, as they did before, and ſave the lives of many hundred of poor wretches, who, if this trade be not ſtopped, will probably be deſtroyed by this pernicious ſpirit, made of foreign moloſſes, which is very unwholeſome. If we ſhould admit, for argument ſake, that the French ſugar colonies, and Surinam (belonging to the Dutch) do take off one half of the New England lumber (which by the way is more than can be proved), the deficiency then of the demand of lumber will be one moiety. Now if it can be proved that the Britiſh ſugar colonies, upon a proper encouragement, might be improved ſufficiently to make as much more rum and ſugar as they now do, it will follow that the Britiſh ſugar colonies may take off all the New England lumber.

Barbadoes is allowed to be at its perfection, and perhaps incapable of being farther improved, ſo as to increaſe its annual product of ſugar and rum. Antigua is capable of farther improvements, and may enlarge its product of ſugar, according to the beſt computations, at leaſt, one fifth part per annum; as to the product of rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper encouragement, for the rum it now makes is not quite one half of its product of ſugar; that is to ſay, if Antigua makes twenty thouſand hogſheads of ſugar per annum, its product of rum is not quite ten thouſand. But it is evident from the experience of Barbadoes, that out of twenty thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, there ought to be made near fourteen thouſand hogſheads of rum. And this increaſe, both of ſugar and rum, would certainly be made if there was proper encouragement. Montſerrat, Nevis, and St. Chriſtopher's, for want of encouragement, do not make one hogſhead of rum for three hogſheads of ſugar. Whereas, it is evident, by the experience of Barbadoes, that three hogſheads of ſugar ought to produce two hogſheads of rum; conſequently the product of rum in theſe three iſlands might be, upon proper encouragement, encreaſed to as much more as it now is. Add to this, the improvement to be made in thoſe iſlands, by which the quantity of ſugar would be encreaſed. It will follow ſtill farther, that the quantity of rum which thoſe iſlands are capable of making, would be as much more as they now make, and conſequently the demand for lumber would be proportionable. Jamaica, the largeſt of all the Britiſh ſugar colonies, is yet but in its infancy; having now as much land uncultivated as would produce above three times its preſent product if cultivated, as it certainly would be upon proper encouragement.

But farther it appeared by the cuſtom-houſe books, that all the Britiſh ſugar colonies do produce about one hundred thouſand hogſheads of ſugar per annum; and they ought, in proportion, to make about ſeventy thouſand hogſheads of rum; a quantity more than ſufficient to ſupply the New England fiſhery and Indian trade, even according to their own computation. But the preſent product of the ſugar colonies, under all the incumbent diſadvantages, is more than they of New England can prove to be neceſſary to both thoſe trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a proof ſooner than deſired, that their fiſhery and Indian trade do not take off one half of the rum now actually made in the ſugar colonies. South Carolina trades with eight thouſand Indians, and yet nine hundred hogſheads is the moſt they ever imported in one year, both to

ſupply

ſupply their home conſumption, all their trade with theſe eight thouſand Indians, and to trade to other ports with; and yet this is a colony that is the hotteſt, has the largeſt harveſt of rice, &c. and is not ſo well ſupplied with beer, &c. as the other northern colonies; ſo let us allow this colony of South Carolina theſe nine hundred hogſheads; North Carolina one thouſand hogſheads; Virginia and Maryland three thouſand hogſheads; New York and Philadelphia four thouſand hogſheads; Rhode Iſland and New England ten thouſand; which calculations both by their reſpective cuſtom-houſe accounts, and by the greateſt eſtimates that ever have been made, are too large, and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thouſand and nine hundred hogſheads; whereas the ſugar colonies produce forty thouſand, and might fifty-five thouſand hogſheads. It was obſerved alſo, that the New England people thus taking from the French their molaſſes, rum, and ſugar, and ſupplying all the other northern colonies, as well as Newfoundland, Great Britain, Ireland, and Africa, with large quantities thereof, was a very great hurt to the revenue; for if theſe places were not thus ſupplied, they muſt be ſupplied by our own ſugar colonies, and then every thouſand pounds value of rum or molaſſes of our own growth muſt pay his majeſty a duty of forty-five pounds, and every thouſand pounds value of ſugar a duty of one hundred and twenty pounds. It might have been added, that it was likewiſe a great hurt to the trade and navigation of this kingdom, as well as to the ſugar colonies, that we cannot ſupply thoſe places with rum, ſugar, and molaſſes of our own growth, and in ſhips and veſſels of this kingdom, without the diſadvantage of paying for our rum and molaſſes a duty of four and a half per cent. when New England can ſupply all the markets with rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, of foreign growth, without paying any of theſe duties. Was it not for this advantage they have over us, a great many of our veſſels that miſs a freight of ſugar in the Weſt Indies for London, would take ſome rum, molaſſes, and ſugar, and go to Newfoundland and barter it for fiſh or oil, and then proceed to ſome other market with it, and might probably employ themſelves to advantage, or might, with a little rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, go to North Carolina, &c. and barter them for a cargo of pitch, tar, and ſkins, and bring them to Great Britain.

As to what is alledged, that the reſtraining the northern colonies from the diſpoſing of their horſes, proviſions, and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might put them upon ſome employment prejudicial to Great Britain, it is anſwered, That it hath been ſhewn already, that there is more reaſon to fear the iſlands will not be ſupplied with lumber as they ought to be, than that the northern colonies will want a vent for their lumber; but if the Britiſh colonies could not take off their lumber, they might ſend it to Spain or Portugal, or to Great Britain, where it might be imported duty-free. They might employ themſelves in raiſing naval ſtores; the Government hath given them a large bounty upon that trade, which would be of vaſt advantage to our navigation, and ſave the nation three or four hundred thouſand pounds a year, which is ſent out annually to purchaſe naval ſtores with from the north. But this favourite trade with the foreign ſugar colonies hath diverted them from that excellent deſign, to the enriching of the French, and to the great prejudice and almoſt ruin of our own. As to the fourth objection, That the French would diſtil their molaſſes themſelves, and ſupply the fiſheries with rum, if the northern colonies did not; it was anſwered, That the French diſtil but very little rum at preſent, and know little of the matter; worms, ſtills, and other diſtilling utenſils coſt a great deal of money; and this muſt be a work of time and very great expence; however, a poſſibility of an inconvenience that might happen, ought not to have that regard paid to it as to prevent our colonies from being

relieved in a point ſo very prejudicial to them, as well as to the malt ſpirits of Great Britain, with which their fiſheries were formerly ſupplied.

To the 5th, That if the northern colonies did not take off the French ſugars, they would carry them to other markets themſelves; it was anſwered, the French do already carry many ſugars to foreign markets; if ſo, they may ſell to advantage, and the ſurplus which foreign markets will not take off, goes to our northern colonies to purchaſe what is abſolutely neceſſary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other place; but even here the profit of the freight is gained not by Great Britain, but by the northern colonies only; which is a very ſmall advantage in compariſon of the damage done by this means to our ſugar colonies, eſpecially as the French can afford their ſugars cheaper than ours, and as the high duties paid for ſugars in our plantations, make it impoſſible for us to vend any to the northern colonies.

To the next objection, That if the importation of French and Dutch rum and molaſſes was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the Engliſh ſugar iſlands, or ſell their lumber and proviſions any where elſe, then the Engliſh iſlands would ſet what price they pleaſed upon their rum, and beat down the price of their lumber and other goods as they thought fit; it was anſwered, if the caſe was as the objection ſtates it, the Britiſh ſugar colonies would be only upon a level with New England; for, as that place is the only market from whence lumber is imported to the ſugar colonies, New England, by a parity of reaſon, is a monopoly of the lumber trade, and therefore does exact in the price of its lumber. But this is not, nor ever can be the truth of the caſe, either with regard to New England or the ſugar colonies; for as in a place of ſuch extent as New England, where the lumber trade is carried on by a multitude of people, with a view to each trader's ſeparate intereſt, a monopoly of lumber cannot properly be made; ſo in the ſugar colonies that lie at a vaſt diſtance from, and are rivals to each other, by the production of the ſame commodities, a monopoly is impracticable. The New England traders have no leſs than ſix Britiſh iſlands to go to for rum and molaſſes; each of theſe iſlands is as independent on the other in its polity as diſtant in ſituation. There is little or no intercourſe, and leſs commerce, between thoſe of them which are ſituated the neareſt, and no intercourſe at all between the remoteſt of theſe iſlands; becauſe the produce of them all being the ſame, there can be no exchange of commodities, and conſequently no commerce or intercourſe. It follows, therefore, where there is no intercourſe there can be no combination, no monopoly. On the contrary, each iſland is a rival to its neighbour, producing the ſame commodities, and will in common prudence uſe all proper means to have its full ſhare of trade; to which end nothing can be more conducive than to ſell its produce at the cheapeſt rate poſſible.

As to the ſeventh objection, that the French and Dutch colonies furniſh our northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great Britain, and lay out in our manufactures, they anſwered, That there is no money among the French and Dutch ſugar colonies. How therefore they can bring money from places where there is not enough for the common uſes of life among the inhabitants, is a paradox which they muſt explain before the world will take it upon their word. If then that aſſertion be not founded on truth, it follows that they do not lay out money brought from theſe places in the manufactures of Great Britain; their traffic for fiſh in the Streights (a trade in which they have ſupplanted Great Britain) may furniſh them with money, but we deny that ſuch money is laid out by them in the manufactures of Great Britain. On the contrary, it is to be preſumed, that their money is laid out with the French and Dutch

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in Europe for Eaſt India goods, French ſilks, and other foreign commodities; for, as it appears by their own evidence, at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, they import ſuch wares into New England; and we muſt ſuppoſe they pay for them in money or fiſh, till they can prove that lumber is a valuable commodity in France and Holland. But ſuppoſing the New England people do lay out their product of fiſh in Britiſh manufactures, is that a ſufficient compenſation to Great Britain, for robbing her of the fiſh trade to the Streights? Do not the New England people, by their confeſſion, acknowledge by implication, that they reap the profit of it both in navigation and trade up the Streights, which uſed to be enjoyed by Great Britain itſelf? What advantage is it to Britain to have this money laid out in her manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the carrier of theſe manufactures to the Streights, and to bring home this money in her own ſhips, navigated by her own ſailors?

The inhabitants of the ſugar colonies, it is ſaid, are very rich and very luxurious. That the product of theſe colonies are of the richeſt ſort, and a mine to Great Britain, is allowed, and has been fully proved; but that the proprietors of the ſoil and manufactures are far from being rich, is evident from the proofs already made to the parliament, that they do not clear five ſhillings for every hundred pounds weight of ſugar they make. This the New England traders would think but a moderate profit upon one of their ſhort voyages; but it is too much for an inhabitant of the ſugar colonies, who runs infinitely more riſk in the heat of the torrid zone, does the duty, and is liable to run the hazard of a camp in the time of war, and in time of peace live the hardeſt life of all the inhabitants under the ſun. That this is truly the caſe of the planters in the ſugar colonies, all mankind that are acquainted with them will atteſt; but it may be evinced from the nature of the Weſt Indian eſtate itſelf, which is ſubject to ruin by the French, to fire from the combuſtible nature of the ſugar-canes, which are its product; from the vaſt expence of materials and edifices for making ſugar and rum, and from the like expence in negroes, cattle and mules; from the riſk of mortality in this part of their property, which is always half the value of a well ſettled plantation: and laſtly, the expence of feeding, the care, anxiety, and prudent conduct of governing two or three hundred negroes, with ſtrict juſtice and humanity, and with advantage to himſelf, is the ſtation of a planter; and is not this a ſtation that requires as much fortitude, induſtry, and economy, as catching fiſh, or buying ſkins from the Indians of New England? In ſhort, without a good ſhare of all the qualifications neceſſary to conduct an affair, the moſt complicated in its nature, ſurrounded with difficulties and hazards, and in which the niceſt economy and order muſt be obſerved, it is impoſſible a planter ſhould reap any profit from his eſtate; therefore, if planters are rich, they muſt be the beſt economiſts, and the moſt induſtrious men in the world, and therefore deſerve what they acquire.

To the ninth objection, that the trade of the Engliſh ſugar colonies is at preſent vaſtly profitable; for the little iſland of Barbadoes in the year 1730 imported twenty thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty nine hogſheads of ſugar, of which they made £340,396. clear profit. It is admitted to be true, when rum and molaſſes bear a reaſonable price; then a plantation may, with the niceſt economy, pay its own charges out of thoſe articles. But if the New England traders take rum from foreigners, and molaſſes to be diſtilled into rum by themſelves, then the rum and molaſſes will be ſo far from bearing ſuch a charge, that on the contrary, they will bear no price at all; but the molaſſes muſt be given to the hogs, as the French uſed to do, until New England taught them how to make a better profit of it. Have not then the Barbadians reaſon to complain? By the aſſiſtance of the New England traders the French now have that great advantage, and the French plantations are now increaſed above one third of the annual

value, purely by that pernicious trade. This increaſe to foreigners is a proportionable diminution of our own ſugar colonies, and conſequently a diſadvantage to Great Britain. But is the product of that little iſland Barbadoes no leſs than £340,396. brought into the ports of Great Britain in one year, what a fountain of treaſure muſt this be to the kingdom, even by the confeſſion of the enemies to our Britiſh ſugar colonies? Do therefore the New England traders imagine that the parliament of Great Britain will ſacrifice this immenſe treaſure to the advantage of a few New England diſtillers; or if it was a diſadvantage to all New England (from whence Great Britain derives no advantage in compariſon of that), would it not be juſt policy to ſupport the ſugar colonies? but when the preſent oppoſition is conſidered, as founded on a trade with the French, the natural and implacable enemies of this kingdom, what honeſt Engliſhman will look upon it but with diſdain? eſpecially after it has appeared evident from reaſon, from undoubted teſtimony, and even by the implicit confeſſion of the New England people concerned in this oppoſition, that the French have increaſed one third per annum in their wealth by this very trade; that our ſugar colonies have declined in proportion, as has been proved already; and to complete the misfortune, the New England traders have drained even the Britiſh ſugar colonies of all their current caſh, for no other purpoſe but to purchaſe moloſſes and rum of the French. This is a fact known by all the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies, who are ready to prove it in the moſt ſolemn manner.

The two houſes having heard the ſeveral facts ſtated, with the proofs; and conſidered the arguments and inferences drawn from them, paſſed an act of the following tenor: That after the 25th of December 1738, there ſhould be paid a duty of nine-pence a gallon for all rum and ſpirits made in the plantations, not ſubject to Great Britain, on the importation of them into any of the Britiſh plantations; that ſixpence a gallon ſhould be paid for all foreign moloſſes and ſyrups imported, and five ſhillings for every hundred weight, Engliſh money, for ſugar and paneles imported; and that no ſugar, paneles, ſyrups or moloſſes, ſhould be imported into Ireland, unleſs ſhipped in Great Britain. And an allowance of two ſhillings per hundred weight more than heretofore granted, on the exportation of refined ſugars. But the importation of Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſugars into Great Britain is ſtill permitted by the ſaid act.

Since the act, the merchants and planters concerned in the Britiſh ſugar colonies preferred a petition to the Houſe of Commons, ſetting forth, that by two acts of parliament paſſed in the 12th and 22d of Charles II. the inhabitants of the ſaid colonies were reſtrained from ſending ſugar to foreign markets before they are firſt landed in Great Britain. That how prudent ſoever this reſtraint may have been at the time the ſugar trade in the Weſt Indies was entirely in our hands, yet now our ſugar iſlands are in a declining condition, from the increaſe of the French ſettlements, it would be highly beneficial not only to them but to Great Britain, to put the Britiſh ſubject in a capacity of diſputing foreign markets with the French, and to permit him to carry his ſugars earlier and cheaper to thoſe markets than he can do, under the reſtraint aforeſaid. That the ſugar colonies import yearly into this kingdom ſugar enough for our home conſumption, and alſo a large ſurplus for re-exportation to foreign parts; but the demand from abroad has greatly decreaſed within theſe few years, and the markets for that commodity have been foreſtalled by the French, not only to the prejudice of the ſugar trade but alſo of the general trade of Great Britain, which muſt affect the balance thereof. That if Britiſh ſhips were permitted to go to foreign markets under proper reſtrictions, without unloading here, the whole charge,

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and in a great meaſure the riſk, of a double voyage would be ſaved; and the obliging ſuch ſhips to return to Great Britain, unload, and take their clearance here, before their proceeding on another American voyage, would be attended with this further good effect, that they muſt afford to carry freight at the cheapeſt rates, or return home empty; ſo that this regulation would extend our navigation, and contribute to make us the carriers of Europe, without perjudicing the revenue, all the duties on ſugar being drawn back on the re-exportation of it to foreign parts. For theſe reaſons the petitioners prayed that liberty might be granted of carrying Britiſh ſugar from our ſugar colonies in America directly to any foreign markets to the ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, upon the ſame conditions that the people of Carolina are permitted to carry their rice to the ſaid markets, and alſo carrying ſuch ſugars to any foreign markets to the northward of Cape Finiſterre, after firſt touching at Great Britain, before they proceed on another Weſt India voyage. But the great tenderneſs parliament has always had for the famous act of navigation, has prevented theſe indulgences from being granted, that might otherwiſe perhaps have been yielded to in behalf of the ſugar colonies.

But the preſent war with France will afford the beſt means of coming at the truth, in reſpect to the facts aſſerted in the papers before-mentioned; and therefore, whenever a general peace ſhall be made, and parliament is at leiſure to look into affairs of this nature, we have all the reaſon in the world to expect that this commerce will be put upon ſuch a foot as that the inhabitants both of Great Britain and the plantations, may reap from it the greateſt advantages poſſible. In order to this, the intelligent reader will eaſily diſcern that the following ſteps are neceſſary. In the firſt place, due care muſt be taken to give the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies all the relief that is poſſible from any hardſhips of which they have, or with good reaſon might have complained; ſuch as heavy and exorbitant ſalaries to their governors, large ſums levied upon them, without being applied for their ſervice, and the difficulties they are under, in obtaining ſpeedy and effectual juſtice, when perſons in public ſtations are inclined to extend their power too far, with a view to promote their private intereſt. They ſhould likewiſe have all poſſible encouragement given them for recovering their foreign trade, and beating out the French and other nations who have interfered in it; ſince, in regard to both heads, it ought to be conſidered that the public benefit, that is to ſay, the enriching the ſubjects of Great Britain by the balance of trade in general, is the great point to be held in view; from the attaining of which, all other incidental advantages, ſuch as advancing the revenue of the crown, enriching particular families, and raiſing private fortunes, would certainly and neceſſarily follow, without their entering at all into the motives upon which laws for the good of the plantations are enacted. For if it could be once brought about, that either the old markets for ſugar were retrieved or new ones opened, there is no doubt that Jamaica and other iſlands, where there are lands fit for that purpoſe uncultivated, would be more fully planted, the inhabitants become more numerous, and their demands from Great Britain conſequently larger than they are at preſent. On the other hand, the ſame care, the ſame diligence and alacrity are requiſite, with regard to the colonies on the Continent; but, at the ſame time it ought to be remembered, that whatever is done to promote the welfare and trade of the ſugar colonies, muſt neceſſarily tend to the benefit and advantage of the plantations on the Continent, which ſupply the ſugar colonies with lumber, and other things requiſite for the carrying on their trade; and if, beſides this, ways and means could be found to open new channels for the benefit of theſe colonies alſo, it ought moſt certainly to be done.

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We have ſpent a great deal of time indeed in ſurveying thus far the Engliſh poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies; but in a work of this nature time could not well be ſpent better; they are, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the pacific conqueſts of this nation. Territories acquired, and for the moſt part, at leaſt, acquired without ſhedding blood, which ſhews that induſtry is as capable of rendering a nation powerful, as a thirſt of war; and that a martial is not a more noble than a trading ſpirit. What is gained by one war is frequently loſt by another; and even while it is kept, the expences created by a diſputed title are greater than the value of the poſſeſſion; but what becomes ours, by this method of planting, remains always ours, and paſſes without debate to our poſterity, the very power by which we acquire it ſecures its continuance, and the longer we hold ſuch acquiſitions the more valuable they are rendered, and the more effectually annexed to our empire. They are out-works well garriſoned, which yet put us to little or no expence; they are diſtant dominions, and yet cloſely connected to us by the commerce which they create; they are continually drawing people without prejudice to their mother country, becauſe the more populous they grow the greater their demands from hence, conſequently the quicker our trade here, which will always bring over hither people from other countries.

We may therefore ſafely affirm, that nothing can be of ſuch conſequence to Britain as the improvement of her colonies; and which, at the ſame time, is a conſideration that muſt powerfully recommend this to our attention, that it lies wholly in our power. We may be diſappointed in our views, with reſpect to other branches of trade, by the intrigues of our enemies, or from the want of a right diſpoſition in our friends, but with regard to this great branch of our commerce, nothing can injure, nothing can diſappoint us, nothing can abridge or defeat our ſucceſſes therein, if we are not wanting to ourſelves. We can, from our plantations, bring moſt of thoſe commodities that are requiſite for the ſupport of our foreign commerce; and this is, as well, or rather better, than if we had them here at home; we can, from our colonies, ſupply ourſelves with thoſe neceſſaries, for want of which only foreigners could diſtreſs us, ſuch as iron, plank, hemp, pitch and tar, and if we ſo pleaſed there are few things we might not fetch from our plantations; ſince, it is certain, that indigo, cochineal, and ſilk, might be had from our ſouthern colonies, and many things from our northern ſettlements, that have never been ſo much as talked of, but might be eaſily diſcovered, if men well verſed in minerals and metals were ſent thither. In a word, the plantations were an honour of the laſt age, and it ſhould be our ſtudy to make them the glory of this.

CHAP.

## CHAPTER III.

## AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA,

## FROM THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. TO THE REVOLUTION.

1. *A ſuccinct Account of commercial Affairs at the King's Return, and of the Circumſtances that favoured the ſettling new Colonies.*—2. *The State of the Country now called Carolina, from the Time of its firſt Diſcovery to the granting of it to the Lords Proprietors by King Charles II. and thence to the Surrender of that Patent.*—3. *A ſhort Deſcription of the Country of Carolina, and the principal Places in that Colony.*—4. *An Account of the Produce, People, Commerce, Shipping and Importance of this Colony to the Britiſh Nation.*—5. *The Grant of the Iſland of Antego to Lord Willoughby, the planting that Iſland, its Produce, Commerce and Shipping.*—6. *The Conqueſt of Nova Belgia from the Dutch, the Grant of that Country to the Duke of York, whence is derived its preſent Name of New York, and a Defence of our Title to that Plantation.*—7. *An Account of that Country, its Situation, Climate, and Product.*—8. *Of its Trade, Intereſts, and Importance to Great Britain.*—9. *The Grant of the Eaſt and Weſt Jerſeys to ſeveral Proprietors, and the Extent, Product and Trade of theſe Plantations.*—10. *The Settlement of the Iſland of New Providence and the Bahama Iſlands, their preſent Situation, and the Advantages that may be expected from them.*—11. *An Account of the Charter granted to the Hudſon's Bay Company for facilitating the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, and of the Settlements that have been made under it.*—12. *The Motives upon which were founded the Grant of the noble Country of Penſylvania to William Penn, Eſq. by King Charles II.*—13. *An Account of the Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, and State of that flouriſhing Colony.*—14. *The Commerce, Intereſts, and Importance of Penſylvania to Britain.*—15. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Events.*

1. AT the time King Charles II. returned to the poſſeſſion of his dominions, the nature of trade and the importance of the plantations were generally underſtood, and by very few better than the king himſelf, who had a head mighty well turned for the comprehending whatever related to maritime affairs; had improved his notions on that ſubject in Holland, and had converſed much with perſons of quality and character, who had found it neceſſary to ſeek ſhelter from their enemies in thoſe parts of the world. We need not wonder, therefore, that ſoon after the Reſtoration various ſchemes were ſet on foot for enlarging, and effectually peopling the colonies already planted in America, as well as for ſettling new colonies in ſuch places as were not already occupied by our own or any other European nation. The king was adviſed by ſome, and ſolicited by others, to grant charters to new colonies from various motives. Prince Robert, or as we uſually call him, Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, who had ſpent ſome years in America, had great notions of raiſing a naval ſtrength there, capable of diſtreſſing the Spaniards, and of obtaining a ſhare of the gold and ſilver they bring from thence. He was likewiſe perſuaded, that there were very rich mines

in Florida, and was therefore for promoting, at any rate, diſcoveries and ſettlements in that country; the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Aſhley, and ſeveral others of his firſt miniſtry, conſidered things in a very different light: they thought that plantations might be made uſeful drains for carrying off warm and turbulent ſpirits; and that by granting liberty of conſcience there to all the different ſects who were reſtrained at home, they might ſecure peace in Britain, and at the ſame time procure vaſt profit from America; for it was a ſettled maxim with them, 'that induſtry was the beſt cure for enthuſiaſm;' which experience ſhewed was extremely well founded.

There were ſome other reaſons that contributed not a little to render projects of this nature acceptable to the king; for at that time there were numbers of people that wanted ſome eſtabliſhment of this kind for their ſupport, and whom it was much eaſier to diſpoſe of in this manner, than to find means of rendering them eaſy and content at home. As, for inſtance, multitudes of royaliſts who were undone by the war, and who ſeeing the ſucceſs that had attended the planters in Virginia and Barbadoes, were better pleaſed to ſeek new fortunes in the Weſt Indies, than to continue in a ſtate of indigence and neceſſity in England. Many likewiſe of the army that had been lately diſbanded, were alſo inclined to take the ſame method for obtaining a comfortable ſubſiſtance; and were not afraid of danger and fatigues abroad, to which they had been long inured at home. There were a third ſort of people who, either from a diſaffection to the government then newly re-eſtabliſhed, or for fear of being called to an account for what they had done in former times, were very willing to tranſport themſelves into theſe diſtant parts of the king's dominions, that they might have a chance of raiſing eſtates there, and at the ſame time be ſecure from any after reckonings for what, during our long ſcene of public confuſions they had been doing here: we need not wonder therefore, that as ſoon as the government was a little ſettled, many propoſals ſhould be made for gratifying the friends to the government, who had very high pretenſions to the royal favour, with grants in America, which coſt the crown nothing, and which afforded probable means of inriching particular perſons at the ſame time that it opens a ſure and certain means of extending the power, increaſing the trade, and augmenting the wealth of the nation. We may add, that beſides all theſe reaſons, expedients, and advantages, there were likewiſe ſome of neceſſity; for it was evident even to ſuch as were no great politicians, that if ſome meaſures were not taken to prevent it, the Dutch and other foreigners, would infallibly fix themſelves in thoſe countries which belonged of right to this crown, and which had been hitherto neglected; and therefore it was very wiſely judged, that the plantations firſt ſettled, ſhould be in thoſe parts of the continent that were in moſt danger of falling into the hands of other nations.

Upon theſe conſiderations, therefore, the adminiſtration liſtened very willingly to a propoſal that was made within two years after the king was reſtored, for planting the country now known by the name of Carolina; which ſeemed the more worthy of being ſecured, as lying indiſputably in the fineſt climate in the world; and thereby promiſing the higheſt advantages to that European nation which ſhould ſettle and cultivate it. Neither was it at all improbable, that when the property of this country was once fixed by a charter from the crown, and large privileges offered to ſuch as would go thither and ſettle, it might be very ſoon peopled; ſince amongſt the many things for which that country was undoubtedly fit, they were likely to fall upon ſomewhat that might ſupport and maintain them; it is true that many things were given out of the country at that time, which have not hitherto been verified by experience; but

then, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter at large, it ſeems to be rather imputable to the want of induſtry and application in the inhabitants, than to any defect in the ſoil or climate: but to have juſt notions of this, and from thence to form a right idea of the value of this noble country, than which the globe affords not a better, it is neceſſary that we ſhould enter into a few particulars, that we may thoroughly apprehend by what right we poſſeſs it; how it came to be abandoned by another nation that ſeized it while unoccupied by us; after what manner our firſt plantations were made; what great changes have happened in the conſtitution of the colony; the ſtate it is in at preſent; the benefits which Great Britain reaps from it, and what reaſonable hopes there are, that it may yet turn more to our advantage. Of all which heads we ſhall treat as clearly and as conciſely as it is poſſible.

2. The country of Carolina is part of that vaſt region of North America which was formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, a name beſtowed by John Ponce de Leon, in the Year 1512; of whoſe adventures and diſcoveries we have already ſpoken largely: He advanced, however, no farther northwards than the river of St. Matheo, and therefore it is plain, that the Spaniards never had any juſt title to Carolina: But it is, however, very true that they flattered themſelves, that his having touched upon this continent, gave them a right to it; which notion, if well founded, would give us a better right, ſince Sebaſtian Cabot had been ſeveral years before on the northern coaſt of this very country, though it is doubtful whether he advanced ſo far ſouth as St. Matheo. The Spaniards, who deſired to ſecure it to themſelves eight years afterwards, ſent Vaſquez de Ayllon to make a farther diſcovery of it: He came upon the north coaſt, and called the north-north-weſt river by the name of Jordon. He did nothing except inviting many of the natives on board his ſhips, where, when he had got them, he hoiſted ſail, and carried them into miſerable bondage. In the year 1526, Charles V. Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, ſent Pamphilio Narvaez to Florida, who ſtaid ſo long in the ſouth-weſt part of this country, which is the moſt barren, that his people eat one another, his crew having ſpent their proviſions. Ten years afterwards, Ferdinando Soto came hither in ſearch of gold and ſilver mines, having a little army of nine hundred foot and five hundred horſe. Himſelf and three parts of his ſoldiers died through want, by ſickneſs, and the Indians, and the reſt, were led back by Lewis Moſcos to New Spain, though not without great difficulty, the natives ſetting upon them ſeveral times in their march, and killing all that fell into their hands. This unfortunate and expenſive expedition ſo diſcouraged the Spaniards, that for ſeveral years they made no more attempts in thoſe parts, and indeed they ſearched no farther than that part of the continent which lies oppoſite to the gulph of New Spain, and not within, and beyond the Streights of Bahama, which is the moſt fertile and rich, abounding in many valuable commodities.

The French perceiving the Spaniards neglected this long tract of land, Admiral Coligny, in the reign of Charles IX. procured two of the king's ſhips to be ſent thither; the command of which he gave to Jean Ribaut, who, after a voyage of two months, arrived at the River Dolphin, between that of St. Matheo and that of May; lying about the 30th degree. The next river to that of May he called the Seine, the next to that, the Somme, then Loire, then the Charente and Garonne, at the mouth of Albemarle River, then called the Great River. The port being ſafe and commodious, he built a fort, which he called Charles Fort, and gave it the name of Port Royal, in 32 degrees, bordering on Virginia, now North Carolina, where the firſt ſettlement was made by any European nation. The civil war raging in France, Ribaut's ſoldiers mutinied for want of ſupplies; the natives, it is true, were very kind to them out of

hatred to the Spaniards; but they could not furniſh them with many neceſſaries that they wanted; and the admiral was ſo engaged in politics at home, that he had not leiſure to provide for the wants of his colony, ſo Ribaut, having made ſome diſcoveries, in the north-eaſt part of Florida, returned to France; and in his return his company were reduced to ſuch extremity, that they killed and eat one of their own men, and probably would have done ſo by others, had they not accidentally met with an Engliſh ſhip; the maſter of which furniſhed them with ſome proviſions. A peace being concluded two years after in France, between the papiſts and the proteſtants, Coligny, who was then in favour at court, procured other ſhips to be ſent to this country, which was now called Carolina, from Fort Charles, as that was from the French king.

The command of thoſe ſhips and men on board, was given to Lewis Laudoner, who was ordered to carry on the ſettlement. He arrived here the 20th of June, 1564, with three ſhips, and was kindly received by the inhabitants; but could find no gold or ſilver, though he ſpent much labour and time about them. His proviſions being almoſt all gone, and the natives either unwilling or unable to furniſh him with more, Laudoner reſolved to return alſo to France; and as he was preparing to depart, Jean Ribaut arrived with three ſhips, which had ſo good an effect on the Indians, that they ſeemed to be as welcome to them as to the French: The Kings of Homoloa, Servaratri, Almacam, Malica, and Caſtri, waited upon Ribaut to congratulate his arrival, and promiſed to conduct him to the Apalachian mountains, which part Carolina from Virginia. The French conceived great hopes from this ſettlement, but all vaniſhed on the arrival of the Spaniards, who with a ſquadron of ſhips and land forces drove the French out of their forts, killed Ribaut and ſix hundred men, after having given them quarter, and obliged Laudoner, with a few of his countrymen who remained alive, to return to France.

The French king was leſs moved with this outrage committed on his ſubjects, becauſe they were proteſtants; and indeed, it is thought, Coligny intended by this ſettlement to ſecure a retreat for himſelf and his brethren of the reformed religion in caſe they were conquered in France. Peter Melanda commanded the Spaniards, who diſlodged the French, and ſo provoked the Indians, by his cruelty and injuſtice, that they were very ready to revenge themſelves when opportunity offered, as it did not long after. For Captain de Gorgues, a French gentleman, at his own coſt, fitted out three ſtout ſhips, and with two hundred and eighty men ſailed to Carolina, where he took the fort, and put the Spaniards therein all to the ſword. They had built two other forts, which he eaſily reduced, and ſerved the garriſons as he did that of Fort Charles; he demoliſhed them, and was aſſiſted by the kings of Homoloa and Servaratri. The French travelled into the dominions of the Great King of Apalacha, near the mountains, where they converted many Indians to Chriſtianity. Theſe Indians were more civil than thoſe to the northward, their king's dominions larger, and their manners, in a great meaſure, reſembled thoſe of the Mexicans, from whom they were thought to be deſcended. We do not find that Monſieur de Gorgues made any ſettlement here, or that the Spaniards endeavoured to recover the country, which from the year 1567 lay deſerted by all European nations until the reign of King Charles II. of England.

In the year 1622 ſeveral Engliſh families flying from the Maſſacres of the Indians in Virginia and New England, were driven upon theſe coaſts and ſettled in the province of Malica near the head of the river of May, where they became a kind of miſſionaries among the Malicans and Apalachites. The king of the country is ſaid to have been baptized; and in the year 1653, Mr. Brigſtock, an Engliſhman, went to Apalacha, where he was honourably entertained by his countrymen, who were there before him, and from his relation of the country ours is taken.

Such was the ſituation of things, and it had been abandoned by the French for near one hundred years, when king Charles the Second made a grant thereof, bearing date March 24, 1663, to Edward Earl of Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England, George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkley, Anthony Lord Aſhley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colliton, from the north-end of the iſland called Luck Iſland, which lies in the Southern Virginia Sea, and within 36 degrees of north latitude, and to the weſt, as far as the South Seas, and ſo ſoutherly as far as the river San Matheo, which borders on the coaſt of Florida, and is within 31 degrees of north latitude, and ſo weſt, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas aforeſaid, with all royal fiſheries, mines, power of life and limb, and every thing neceſſary in an abſolute propriety, paying a quit-rent of twenty marks yearly. Theſe proprietors afterwards obtained another grant, which ſomewhat varied the bounds of the province, by fixing its northern frontier at Carotoch River in 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and extending it to the latitude of 29 degrees to the ſouth, within which bounds both the Carolinas and the new province of Georgia are included.

The plan of government for this new colony was ſtruck out by that great ſtateſman, Anthony Earl of Shaftſbury, and digeſted into form by the famous Mr. John Lock; ſo that great expectations were raiſed by it. But without entering into a long detail upon this ſubject, it is ſufficient to ſay, that how fair ſoever it might appear in theory, it was found by experience impoſſible to carry it into practice; ſo that after ſtruggling with the inconveniences produced by it for about ſixty years, to the prejudice of the planters and proprietors; the only remedy that could at laſt be found, was to get rid of this fine ſpun conſtitution, in which it was pretended all the errors of our own were cured, and to put the province under the protection and into the hands of his majeſty, which was accordingly done; and this remedy has anſwered all the ends that could be expected from it in ſo few years.

This ſurrender was made by the proprietors to Edward Bertie, Samuel Horſy, Henry Smith, and Alexis Clayton Eſqrs. in truſt for the crown. The proprietors, in their own right, or in truſt, were then Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie Eſq. Doddington Greville Eſq. Henry Bertie Eſq. Mary Danſon, Elizabeth More, Sir John Colliton, John Cotton, and Joſeph Blake Eſqrs. who were poſſeſſed of ſeven-eighths of the propriety of the province, and ſold it to the crown for 17,500l. Each proprietor, who had a whole ſhare, having 2,500l. The outſtanding quit-rents, and other incomes, due to the proprietors from the people of the province amounting to ſomewhat above 9,000l. alſo were ſold to the crown for 5,000l. which was paid to the above mentioned proprietors after the ſale and ſurrender had been confirmed by a particular act of parliament, in the year 1728, entitled, "An act for "eſtabliſhing an agreement with ſeven of the lords proprietors of Carolina, for ſurrender "of their title and intereſt in that province to his majeſty." It will appear by the following clauſe in the act of parliament, that the remaining one-eighth of the propriety, and arrears of quit rents aforeſaid, were reſerved to the right honourable John Lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, "Saving and reſerving always to the ſaid John Lord "Carteret, his heirs, executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, all ſuch eſtate, right, "title, &c. to one eighth-part of the ſaid province or territories, and to one-eighth "part of all arrears, &c."

In conſequence of the powers granted to his majeſty by this act, he has ever ſince appointed governors of North and South Carolina, and there is a great proſpect of its becoming a purchaſe highly beneficial to the crown, which will, however, in a great meaſure

meaſure depend on the capacity and conduct of the governors they ſend thither, who ought to have true notions of the intereſts of king and people, and a firmneſs of mind equally capable of reſiſting flattery and deſpiſing clamour, to both which he will be as much expoſed in theſe, as in any other countries in the world, if from what has already paſſed, we may form any judgment of what will happen in ſucceeding times.

3. After having given the reader an account of the time and manner in which we became poſſeſſed of this colony, and the means by which its government has been changed ſince it was ſettled, we are next to enter into an exact deſcription of the country itſelf, that the reader may be the better able to judge of the value of this plantation, and of the certainty of thoſe rules, for determining the beſt climates, and the commodities that may be expected, either from the bounty of nature, or the induſtry of the inhabitants; with reſpect to which, more rational hopes could ſcarce be formed of any place in our poſſeſſion, or, indeed, of any European nation in America, than of this; which, in point of ſituation, as I have hinted more than once, is as happy as could be wiſhed, and in that reſpect certainly merits the reader's particular attention. Carolina is ſituated between the extremes of heat and cold, but the heat is more troubleſome in ſummer than the cold in winter, their winters being very ſhort, and their froſty mornings frequently ſucceeded by warm days. The air is, for the moſt part, ſerene and clear, both in ſummer and winter; yet they have their winter rains, and ſometimes very heavy ſhowers about midſummer; and eſpecially if the wind changes ſuddenly from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, for then it blows exceeding cold, and brings diſtempers on thoſe who do not take care to guard againſt it; but the country is generally healthful, where people live regularly, and uſe any precaution: Thoſe, indeed, who after a hot day expoſe themſelves to the cool breezes of the evening, uſually feel the effects of it, as others do that indulge their appetites in eating fruit, and drinking pernicious liquors to exceſs.

They are ſubject to hurricanes as well as the Caribbee Iſlands, but theſe do not happen every year; and ſometimes are ſo favourable as not to do much miſchief in ſeven years. There was a very terrible one which happened in the year 1729. This province is now divided into North and South Carolina; and, as we have before ſhewn, the country now known by the name of Georgia is alſo within the original limits of this colony. At preſent we ſhall concern ourſelves only with the two firſt mentioned provinces, intending to ſpeak more of the laſt in its proper place. North Carolina is bounded by Virginia on the north, the ocean on the eaſt, by a line drawn in 34 degrees from the ocean to the mountains on the ſouth, and by that part of Florida, poſſeſſed by the Indians, on the weſt, and is ſubdivided into fourteen townſhips or pariſhes. But there is not one town or church, as I can learn, in the country; and it is but very lately that the ſociety for the propagating the goſpel has ſent itinerant preachers amongſt them. South Carolina is divided from North Carolina, by the above-ſaid imaginary line on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the river Savannah, which ſeparates it from Georgia, on the ſouth, and by the country of the Indians on the weſt, being ſubdivided into fourteen pariſhes or townſhips, each of them having a good church of brick or timber.

But the chief and almoſt the only town in both Carolina's, is Charles Town, ſituate in 32 degrees 45 minutes north latitude, and on the point of a peninſula, formed by Aſhly and Cooper Rivers; the former of which is navigable for ſhips twenty miles above the town; and for boats and pettyaugers (large canoes) near 40 miles. The other river is not navigable for ſhips ſo far, but for boats and pettyaugers much farther; the bar before the harbour has ſixteen feet water at a low tide, and there is good

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riding when a ſhip is got cloſe to the town, the harbour being ſecured by a Fort called Johnſon's Fort, which has about twenty guns in it, level with the ſurface of the water. The town was regularly fortified ſome years ago, and ſeveral of the baſtions, near the water, are ſtill in being, and in good repair. But the baſtions, palliſadoes, and foſſe, next the land, being much damaged by a hurricane, and deemed of too great an extent to be defended by the inhabitants, General Nicholſon cauſed them to be demoliſhed. The town now contains upwards of ſix hundred houſes, generally well built, ſome of them of brick, but more of timber, and moſt of them faſhed, forming regular and ſpacious ſtreets; and their church is much the moſt magnificent in Engliſh America, having three iſles, an organ, and gallery all round the church.

The town of Beaufort is ſituated on the iſland of Port Royal, in 31 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, an hundred miles ſouth of Charles Town; the continent and iſland forming a fine capacious harbour, which might hold the Royal Navy of England. The iſland on which the town ſtands, conſiſts of near one thouſand acres, and is navigable all round for boats and pettyaugers, and one half of it for ſhipping, having four fathom water cloſe to the high bluff, ſo that ſhips may load and unload from the ſhore, without the aſſiſtance of boats. The harbour is ſecured by a fort built ſome years ſince, on which twelve culverins are mounted, but the town and iſland have no fortification; nor is the harbour ſo well fortified as a place of this importance deſerves, eſpecially as it lies ſo nigh Spaniſh Florida, and is ſaid to be demanded by the Spaniards as part of their territories. There is not, indeed, above fifty or three ſcore houſes in the town of Beaufort at preſent, but from its advantageous ſituation, and the goodneſs of the harbour, it is expected that this town will one day be the capital of Carolina: It is already the ſtation for the Britiſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas. There is another port town lately erected at Wingaw, about fifty miles to the northward of Charles Town, to which they have given the name of George Town, and the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel have a miſſionary here.

It would be needleſs to enter into a large deſcription of this country, or of the towns that are erected in it; only it may not be amiſs to ſay that North Carolina is within theſe few years become quite a different country from what it was, and the number of people therein is continually increaſing; ſo that there is good reaſon to believe that whenever the inhabitants are bleſſed with a wiſe, active, prudent, and public ſpirited governor, this country may be ſo improved, as to become infinitely more valuable than from any of the accounts hitherto received of it could be expected. Indeed it may juſtly be affirmed that the welfare and proſperity of all our colonies depend ſo much upon the choice of governors, that we can ſcarce conceive any thing of ſo great importance as the crown's being extremely careful to veſt none with ſuch authority, but men of known capacity, eſtabliſhed reputation, and competent fortunes.

4. As to the produce, ſtrength, and commerce of Carolina, the beſt account we have, is from Colonel Purry, a man of great judgment, induſtry, and integrity, who went thither with a view to ſettle, as he did, and therefore his accounts may be very ſafely depended upon. He obſerves that all ſorts of trees and plants will grow there as well as can be wiſhed; particularly vines, wheat, barley, oats, peaſe, beans, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, indigo, olives, orange trees, and citron trees, as alſo white mulberry trees for feeding of ſilkworms; and that the lands are not difficult to clear, becauſe there are neither ſtones nor brambles, but only great trees, which do not grow very thick, ſo that more land may be cleared there in one week, than could be done in Europe in a month. The cuſtom of the country is, that after having cut down theſe great trees, they leave the ſtumps for four or five years to rot, and afterwards eaſily

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root them up, in order to manure the land. It is therefore very certain that Carolina is in general an excellent country.

It is true the ground is ſandy, but then it is a ſand impregnated with ſalt or nitre, ſo that it brings forth in great abundance, as the like ſoil does in divers parts of Europe. But what ſeems peculiar to Carolina, there are a great number of plantations that have been continually cultivated for near ſeventy years, which yet produce great plenty, without ever being manured by the leaſt dung, for they never lay any on their grounds; the planter only turns up the ſuperficies of the earth, and all that he plants and ſows therein quickly grows and thrives: Thoſe who underſtand ever ſo little of agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the lands in Europe were not conſtantly manured, their ſtrength would be ſo exhauſted that at length the Crops would not pay for their ſeed; but a man who has a little land in Carolina, and is not willing to work above two or three hours in a day, may very eaſily live there, even on ſo little labour. Another conſideration deſerving our notice is, the progreſs of the firſt colonies; their ſudden advancement; the riches of the preſent inhabitants; the great number of public expences for which they provide; the great trade they carry on at preſent; and laſtly, their misfortunes and loſſes, which are entirely repaired. The better to comprehend theſe matters, we ſhall only make the following obſervations: That there were no people in Carolina till near fourſcore years ago; for the Engliſh did not ſend any thither till the year 1670: That they had at firſt a very fatal beginning; afflicted with ſickneſs, and even the plague, which daily diminiſhed the number of the people: That cruel deſtructive diviſions broke out amongſt them: That they had a very bad government under the lords proprietors, being alſo without juſtice, order, or diſcipline: That at a certain time the pirates interrupted their trade and navigation: That they have often had great droughts: That a terrible fire conſumed almoſt all Charles Town: That they have been at great expence in fortifications, public edifices, churches, &c. That they have often ſuſtained long wars with the French, Spaniards, and particularly with the Indians, who once united together to deſtroy the whole province. That notwithſtanding all theſe misfortunes, the people of Carolina, except thoſe who give themſelves up to debauchery, are all rich, either in ſlaves, furniture, clothes, plate, jewels, or other merchandizes, but eſpecially cattle; which ſhews the goodneſs of the country they inhabit.

Silk-worms, in Carolina, are hatched from the egg, about the midle of March; at the ſame time that the mulberry leaves, which are their food, begin to open; being attended and fed ſix weeks, they eat no more; but have ſmall buſhes ſet up for them to ſpin themſelves into balls; which thrown into warm water, are wound off into raw ſilk. Roſin, tar, and pitch, are all produced from the pine trees; roſin, by cutting channels in the ſtanding green trees that meet at a point at the foot of the tree, where is placed a receiver; the channels are cut as high as one can reach with an ax; and the bark is peeled off from all thoſe parts of the tree that are expoſed to the ſun, that the heat of it may the more eaſily force out the turpentine, which being taken from the receiver, and melted in kettles becomes roſin. Tar is made thus: They prepare a circular floor of clay declining a little towards the center; from which is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs; upon the floor is built up a large pile of dry pine wood ſplit in pieces, and furrounded with a wall of earth, which covers it all over only a little at the top, where the fire is firſt kindled: After the fire begins to burn, they cover it likewiſe with earth, to the end there may be no flame, but only heat ſufficient to force the tar downward into the floor; they temper the heat as they pleaſe, by thruſting a ſtick through

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the earth, and letting the air in at as many places as they ſee convenient. Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles ſet in furnaces, or by burning it in round clay holes made in the earth.

Black cattle have mightily increaſed ſince the firſt ſettling of the colony. About forty years ago it was reckoned a great deal to have three or four cows, now ſome people have a thouſand head; and for one man to have two hundred is very common. The cows graze in the foreſt, and the calves being ſeparated and kept in paſtures fenced in, they return home at night to ſuckle them; they are firſt milked, then ſhut up in a fold all night, milked again in the morning, and then turned out into the woods. Here are hogs in abundance; they go daily to feed in the woods, where they rove ſeveral miles, feeding on nuts and roots; but having a ſhelter made at home, to keep them warm, and ſomething given them to eat, they generally return in the evening. The beef and pork that are raiſed here find a good market in the ſugar iſlands.

The trade of Carolina is now ſo conſiderable, that of late years there have ſailed from thence, annually, above two hundred ſhips laden with merchandize of the growth of the country, beſides three ſhips of war, which they commonly have for the ſecurity of their commerce; and laſt winter they had conſtantly five, the leaſt of which had above an hundred men on board. It appears from the cuſtom-houſe entries, from March 1730 to March 1731, that there ſailed, within that time, from Charleſtown, two hundred and ſeven ſhips, moſt of them for England; which carried among other goods, forty-one thouſand nine hundred and fifty-ſeven barrels of rice, about five hundred pounds weight per barrel; ten thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty barrels of pitch; two thouſand ſixty-three of tar; and ſeven hundred and fifty-nine of turpentine; of deer-ſkins, three hundred caſks containing eight or nine hundred each; beſides a vaſt quantity of Indian corn, peaſe, beans, &c. beef, pork, and other ſalted fleſh; beams, plank, and timber for building, moſt part of cedar, cypreſs, ſaſſafras, oak, walnut, and pine.

They carry on a great trade with the Indians, from whence they get their great quantities of deer-ſkins, and of other wild beaſts, in exchange for which they give them only lead, powder, coarſe cloth, vermillion, iron, ſtrong waters, and ſome other goods, by which they have a very conſiderable profit. The great number of ſlaves makes another part of the riches of this province, there being above forty thouſand negroes, which are worth, one with another, twenty-five pounds each. Artificers are ſo ſcarce at preſent, that all ſorts of work is very dear; tailors, ſhoemakers, ſmiths, &c. would be particularly acceptable there; a ſkilful carpenter is not aſhamed to demand thirty ſhillings a day beſides his diet, and the common wages of a workman is twenty ſhillings per day, provided he ſpeaks Engliſh, without which he cannot be underſtood, and conſequently not ſo uſeful as others; and when a workman has but ten ſhillings per day, he thinks he labours for almoſt nothing, though he has his maintenance beſides; but this is Carolina money. Moſt of their ſhoes are brought from England, and generally ſell for forty ſhillings per pair; not but that they have hides enough, and very cheap, an ox's hide being ſold for twenty ſhillings; neither are they deſtitute of the means to tan them, for they make very good lime with oyſter-ſhells, and the bark of oak trees is ſo plentiful, that it coſts nothing but the trouble of gathering; they therefore want only a ſufficient number of good tanners and ſhoemakers. I might ſay the ſame of leather-dreſſers, ſince they ſend every year to England above two hundred thouſand deer-ſkins undreſſed; yet Carolina produces ochre naturally, and good fiſh-oil may be had from New York, or New England, very cheap; ſo that they might be dreſſed and made up into breeches in the country, for which thoſe ſkins are very proper, being cool in

ſummer, and warm in winter. There is not one potter in all the province, and no earthen-ware but what comes from England, nor glaſs of any kind; ſo that a pot-houſe and a good glaſs-houſe would ſucceed perfectly well, not only for Carolina but for all the colonies in America. There is a kind of ſand and earth which would be very proper for thoſe purpoſes, as alſo wood and fern in abundance, if they had but workmen to make uſe of them.

It may ſeem ſtrange to affirm this, in an age when it is well known, that men are inclined to go almoſt any where, and may be tempted to almoſt any thing, from the hopes of money. Theſe facts, however, are very true, neither is it very difficult to account for them; for if without much labour and pains not only a bare ſubſiſtence may be gained, but in time alſo good eſtates may be raiſed by methods already in uſe, we are not to expect that our people in the colonies will either run hazards or give themſelves much trouble to ſtrike out new ways to wealth, even though they ſhould be convinced that ſuch ways, at the ſame time they increaſed their own fortunes, would prove beneficial to their mother-country likewiſe. There are indeed ſome people who take a pleaſure in running down the countries we have planted in America, and in making their countrymen believe that they are amuſed with fine ſtories, without truth, or which, at leaſt, have but a ſmall mixture of truth in them. They ſay, for inſtance, that though Engliſh wheat will grow in Carolina, yet it is apt to mildew, and almoſt always runs up into ſtraw, and produces but a ſmall grain, and that it is very difficult to keep it from the weevil. Theſe, however, are inconveniences felt in other countries, where very good wheat grows, for which many remedies have been found and applied with ſucceſs, as doubtleſs they might be there, if the planters went about it. The truth of the matter is, that rice is raiſed without ſo much trouble, and as they can exchange this in Penſylvania and New York, almoſt weight for weight for flour, they are content, and indeed think it a happineſs they can have bread without being at much pains in procuring it.

The ſame thing may be ſaid of wine, which it is now generally agreed cannot be made there, becauſe their grapes ripening in June, when their great heats and heavy rains come on, are very ſeldom fit for preſſing. But it is very certain, that this is no better than an excuſe, ſince the wild grape ripens in October, and perſons ſkilful in vineyards would ſoon teach them the means of making uſe of theſe. The very ſame objections were raiſed in reference to the country about the Cape of Good Hope; and it was as poſitively ſaid that no wine could be made there, but the Dutch have ſhewn what ſtrength there was in the objection, by their improving into a paradiſe a place we depiſed, and thought not worth the keeping; and while Madeira is to be had ſo cheap, I am convinced no grapes will ripen kindly in Carolina. As to ſilk, the ſame objection does not lie; for it is well known, there are woods of mulberry-trees there, upon which the worms feed and ſpin as well as in any place in the world; I may add, that ſilk has been brought over from Carolina, as good, in the opinion of the beſt judges, as any that comes from Piedmont, for which we pay large ſums of money every year; but it falls out unluckily, that from the end of March to the beginning of May, when the worms want moſt attendance, all the hands in Carolina are employed in planting and hoeing their rice, ſo that they have no time to ſpare for procuring a commodity, of which hitherto they do not ſeem to know the true value.

But all the faults do not lie on that ſide of the water; ſince it is true, that though there comes a great deal of pitch from thence, we have but little tar from Carolina; whereas, there have been formerly many thouſand barrels brought in a year, not at all inferior to the beſt tar from Norway; which was, by this means, reduced from three

pounds to fifteen ſhillings a barrel, with which reduction, it ſeems, we are content to have recourſe again to the north country tar, and no longer make uſe of what might come from this plantation. We may from theſe few hints ſee clearly, that as great as our trade to theſe colonies is, it might ſtill become much greater, and that how beneficial ſoever they may be to Great Britain, we are far from deriving from them all the benefits we might do; and though conſidered, in one light, this ſeems a little diſtaſteful, yet, if we view it in another, it affords us a very comfortable proſpect; ſince, when we are diſpoſed to apply ourſelves heartily to the improvement of this commerce, we have a moral certainty, that our endeavours will ſucceed, and that Great Britain can never feel any ſenſible decay of trade, while ſhe preſerves and cheriſhes her plantations.

5. Among other perſons of quality and diſtinction who were juſtly entitled to the favour of king Charles, there were few who had a better title than Francis Lord Willoughby, who was governor of Barbadoes, and who in 1663 obtained a grant of the iſland of Antego, in which he ſettled a colony about three years after. The country had been known before, and if I am not miſtaken, Sir Thomas Warner had attempted to ſettle it. How it came to paſs that after the death of Lord Willoughby, who removed hither, this iſland came again into the hands of the Crown I cannot ſay, but without all doubt, the fact is true, and this iſland now makes a part of the government with the reſt of the Leeward Iſlands, and is ſaid to owe its preſent happy ſituation to the care, induſtry, and ſkill of Sir Chriſtopher Codrington, who made it the ſeat of his government when he was General and Commander in Chief of thoſe iſlands. It was here, that in the latter end of the the late Queen's time Governor Park was killed by the people; an affair that will be ever remembered, both in that part of the world and this, though it does not ſeem to be well underſtood in either; the fact moſt certainly was barbarous and bloody enough; but, at the ſame time, it is as certain the provocations the people had received were great, which was the reaſon that moſt of thoſe concerned in this murder eſcaped with impunity.

But our buſineſs lies not ſo much with men as with things, and therefore we ſhall proceed to the deſcription of the iſland Antego, or as it is ſometimes written Antigua, which lies in 16 degrees 11 minutes north latitude, and in 63 degrees of longitude weſt from London. It is of a circular form, about twenty miles in diameter, and near ſixty in circumference. The climate is not to be boaſted of, ſince it is allowed to be hotter than Barbadoes, and very ſubject to hurricanes. The ſoil too is ſandy, and a great part of the iſland is overgrown with wood; but the worſt of it is, that there are but few ſprings, and not ſo much as a ſingle brook in the whole iſland, ſo that the people depend chiefly upon rain-water, for which they are ſometimes diſtreſſed; yet, notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, it is a very conſiderable and very thriving plantation.

This iſland is divided into five pariſhes, four of which are towns; as St. John's Town to the northward, and Falmouth, Parham, and Bridge Town to the ſouthward; the other pariſh is St. Peter's. St. John's Harbour is the moſt commodious, beſides which there are ſeveral other good harbours, as Five Iſland Harbour, ſo called from five little iſlands to the weſtward of the iſle of Carliſle Bay; Engliſh Harbour, at the bottom of which is Falmouth Town, defended by Charles Fort; next to it is Willoughby Bay; on the eaſt ſhore is Bridge Town, the Green Bay, off which is Green Iſland; then Nonſuch Harbour, a ſpacious bay. On this coaſt, on the north-eaſt ſhore, are ſeveral little iſlands called Polecat Iſlands and Goat Iſland, and more to the northward Goana Iſland, Bird Iſland, Long Iſland, Maiden Iſland, Prickle-Pear Iſland. The forts are now in pretty good repair; Monkſhill Fort is mounted with thirty pieces of ordnance, it has a magazine with about four hundred and ten muſkets, and eight hundred bayonets,

in good order; the other fort erected at St. John's Harbour, is mounted with fourteen pieces of cannon; there are ſeven other batteries raiſed for the defence of ſo many landing places, in all mounted with twenty-ſix guns.

The capital of the iſland is St. John's Town, which conſiſts of about two hundred houſes; and the number of ſouls in all this colony are one thouſand five hundred at preſent. It has greater plenty of cattle and other beaſts, eſpecially veniſon, than any other of our Caribbee Iſlands; the animals of which are much the ſame, as alſo their productions. Sugar, indigo, ginger, and tobacco, were the chief growths and commodities of Antego, when it was firſt planted, but now indigo and ginger are very rarely cultivated there. The ſugar and tobacco were both bad of the ſort; the former ſo black and coarſe, that one would ſcarce have thought any art could have refined it; and, as if our ſugar bakers ſcorned to put ſuch dirt into their coppers, it was generally ſhipped off for Holland and Hamburg, being ſold for ſixteen ſhillings a hundred weight, when other Muſcovado ſugars fetched eighteen or nineteen ſhillings a hundred. The planters of Antego have ſince improved their art, and as good Muſcovado ſugar is now made there as in any of our ſugar iſlands. They have alſo clayed ſome ſugar, which was not known to have been done in Antego forty years ago.

Though there is not much tobacco planted in this iſland, what there is now is not ſo bad as was formerly, when it was ſold for no other uſe but to make ſnuff. The wild cinnamon tree is ſaid to grow in the lowlands, or ſavanah woods in Antego. After Jamaica and Barbadoes, this has been conſidered by ſome as the moſt conſiderable of our iſlands in America; and as there is ſtill a great quantity of land capable of improvement, and it is allowed the people there might make a third more ſugar than they do, we may venture to allow, that it either is, or may be ſo; and if we conſider what muſt have been gained by our commerce with this iſland for upwards of fourſcore years, we cannot but judge that it has been highly advantageous to this nation, and very well deſerves all the care and concern that can poſſibly be expreſſed for its protection and preſervation.

6. The next colony in America, which our method leads us to conſider, is that of New York, which is ours by a double right, viz. of diſcovery and conqueſt. It was undoubtedly part of the country, the coaſts of which were firſt viewed by Sebaſtian Cabot, and as ſuch made a part of the original province of Virginia, I mean the country known under that name in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was afterwards within the limits of the country, granted by king James to the weſtern company. But before it could be ſettled, that is about the year 1608, the famous navigator Hudſon diſcovered that river which has ſince borne his name, and the country adjacent, which he afterwards ſold to the Dutch who planted there; but this was looked upon as illegal, becauſe they had not king James's licence, which it ſeems they afterwards obtained. There are ſome Engliſh writers ſo very partial in favour of this republic, as to be angry that this ſettlement ſhould be looked upon by us as a kind of invaſion, but ſurely this is without reaſon; for if the ſubjects of any country were at liberty to ſell and diſpoſe of places they had but juſt ſeen, which was the caſe of Captain Hudſon, the inconveniences would be ſo great as to produce endleſs wars, and therefore this practice muſt be underſtood to be contrary to the law of nations.

But however that matter might be, king James was ſo great a lover of peace, that very probably he was glad to rid himſelf of the preſent difficulty, by granting them a licence; yet if we duly conſider this, the granting ſuch a licence was a thing very deſtructive to the intereſt of Great Britain, and might have proved extremely prejudicial to our northern colonies, and have been ſuch a bone of contention, as muſt

have for ever prevented any harmony between the maritime powers. Theſe reflections, which roſe naturally out of the ſubject, have led me a little from my purpoſe, which was to explain the firſt ſettling here, which the Dutch made a little before we planted New England; and from their firſt coming, being ſeated in iſlands and at the mouth of a good river, their plantations were in a thriving condition, and they began in Holland to promiſe themſelves vaſt things from their new colony. The Engliſh puritans in Holland, who firſt removed to America, intended to ſettle here, having had an inviting deſcription of the river, climate and ſoil, from the Hollanders, who did not care however, that the Engliſh ſhould be ſo near their plantations, as to be tempted to encroach on them, conſidering the flaw that was in their title. The Engliſh that went from Holland, intended to ſettle on the coaſt near Fair Field County in New England, lying between Connecticut and Hudſon's river, but the Dutch apprehended they would there be too near neighbours. Theſe Engliſh as has been already related, falling in with Cape Cod, after having refreſhed a little, tacked about to the ſouthward for Hudſon's river; but Jones, who was the maſter of the ſhip they came in, having been bribed by the Hollanders to carry them and land farther to the northward, inſtead of putting to ſea entangled them among dangerous ſhoals, which made them willing to get aſhore where they were, and give over the deſign upon Hudſon's river. The Dutch had two or three years before been inſulted here by Sir Samuel Argall, in his way from Virginia to New Scotland.

He deſtroyed their plantations, and it was to prevent the like for the future, they applied to king James for his licence to ſtay there to build cottages, and to plant for traffic as well as ſubſiſtence, pretending it was only for the convenience of their ſhips touching there for freſh water and freſh proviſions in their voyage to Brazil; but they by little and little, extended their limits every way, built towns, fortified them, and became a flouriſhing colony. In an iſland, called Manahattan, at the mouth of Hudſon's river, they built a city which they named New Amſterdam, and the river was called by them the Great River. The bay to the eaſt of it had the name of Naſſau given it; about one hundred and fifty miles up the river they built a fort, which they called Orange Fort, and from thence drove a profitable trade with the Indians, who came over land as far as from Quebec, to deal with them. Henry Chriſtian, the maſter of a ſhip, the ſame who gave the name to Martha's Vineyard, which he diſcovered, as the Dutch ſay, was the firſt governor there, and his ſucceſſor was Jacob Elkin, put in by the Weſt India Company in Holland, to whom the ſtates-general granted this country. The firſt bounds of Nova Belgia were Maryland on the ſouth, the main land, as far as could be diſcovered weſtward, which would ſtretch to the nations bordering on the Miſſiſſippi, the great river of Canada northward, and New England eaſtward; but, as will appear hereafter, the limits of New York are not ſo large at preſent.

The Dutch colonies were in a very thriving condition when they were attacked by the Engliſh, which was at the opening the firſt Dutch war in king Charles's reign. We find ſome writers very willing to repreſent this as a very unjuſt war, becauſe Sir Robert Carr was ſent to attack this plantation before they, in that part of the world, could have any notice of the war; but then it ought to be remembered, that it was after the Dutch Admiral de Ruyter attacked our ſettlements in Africa, and therefore I cannot think that this is ſo very bad as it has been repreſented, or that it can at all prejudice our title to this country. The commiſſion of Sir Robert Carr impowering him to act againſt the Dutch, was dated on St. George's day 1664, but he did not arrive till the latter end of the year. He brought with him between two and three

thouſand

thouſand men, and offering protection to ſuch of the inhabitants as ſubmitted, he became maſter of the whole country without a blow; and it does not appear that the people were at all diſpleaſed at changing their maſters. His majeſty, after it was reduced, gave leave to ſuch of the inhabitants to ſtay as were inclined thereto, and ſuffered the reſt to depart freely with their effects. The number of the latter was but very inconſiderable in compariſon of the former; and Colonel Richard Nichols, who was left governor of the province, and continued ſo twenty years, brought the people not only to reliſh, but to be in love with the Engliſh government; ſo that there never was the leaſt diſturbance among the inhabitants on the ſcore of their being ſubjects to England.

The Duke of York granted away a part of this province, as will be ſhewn hereafter; but the remainder, which is what we now ſtyle New York, continued a royal government, as it ſtill is, but very much changed for the better; ſince from being one of the pooreſt, it is become one of the moſt conſiderable that we have in America, in conſequence of the colony's becoming one of the moſt flouriſhing, and this, though it has had the misfortune of being ſometimes governed by men of moſt arbitrary principles, and capable of doing ſuch violent things, as nothing but their diſtance from Great Britain could, I think, induce them to venture upon. The laſt governor of the Jerſeys, who is lately dead, felt the effects of ſuch a ſpirit when in another ſtation, and roſe to that government by ſuffering with decency and dignity the outrages of one clothed with that authority; but when he came himſelf to execute that office, he ſhewed, what we very ſeldom ſee, that there are ſome natures which even power cannot corrupt; for he behaved ſo well as to aboliſh the memory of paſt grievances, and to leave a perfect model for his ſucceſſors in that government.

7. The country of New York, properly ſo called ſince it became Engliſh, is thus bounded, viz. by Canada on the north, New England on the eaſt, the ocean on the ſouth, and the five nations and New Jerſey on the weſt, and is about two hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, that is, from the mouth of Hudſon's river to the Lake of Champlain or Corlaer, and it might be extended two hundred miles farther north if we poſſeſſed all the country we claim, as far as the river St. Laurence; but the French having built forts on the Lake Champlain, have in a manner, expelled us from the north part of this country; the Engliſh only poſſeſs the country ſouth of that lake at preſent, and this is exceeding narrow in moſt places; particularly between Connecticut colony on the eaſt, and New Jerſey on the weſt, it is ſcarce twenty miles broad. But to this we muſt add the iſland Manhattan, which the city of New York ſtands upon, Staten Iſland and Long Iſland, all which lie before the mouth of Hudſon's river, and are comprehended in New York proper.

This province is divided into ten counties, which going from north to ſouth down Hudſon's river, are Albany, Ulſter, Ducheſs, Orange, King's County, Cheſter, New York County, Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County, which are pretty well repleniſhed with proviſions and farms, but have not many great towns in them. The chief towns of New York city, Schenectida, Albany, Weſtcheſter, &c. in all, or moſt of which towns, are miſſionaries, either miniſters, ſchool-maſters, or catechiſts, ſent over and maintained chiefly by the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel, who have taken moſt laudable care in this reſpect. New York city is ſituated in 40 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and 47 degrees 4 minutes weſtern longitude, at the ſouth end of York County, being an iſland at the mouth of Hudſon's river, about fourteen miles long and two or three broad. As this town ſtands upon an eminence, and contains upwards of a thouſand houſes well built with brick and ſtone, with a wall and forts,

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*George Town, and City of Washington.*

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forts, which ſerve as well for ornament as defence, there is ſcarce any town in North America that makes a better, and but a very few ſo good an appearance. It has alſo an excellent harbour, furniſhed with commodious quays and warehouſes, and employs ſome hundreds of ſhips and veſſels in its foreign trade and fiſheries. The public buildings are the ſeveral churches belonging to thoſe of the church of England, to the Swedes of the Lutheran perſuaſion, to the Dutch calviniſts, the French refugees, and the Engliſh ſectaries; but the church of England may well be looked upon as the eſtabliſhed religion, becauſe the conſtitution of the government is the ſame as in England; the reſt, however, are tolerated, and capable of poſts in the government, and of ſitting in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, as I apprehend. The other public buildings are the Town Houſe, and that where their general aſſemblies and courts of juſtice are held. As to their fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them againſt an European enemy, any more than thoſe in the reſt of the plantations, for this unanſwerable reaſon; becauſe they were ſome years ago confeſſed to be ſo bad, that it was not fit to enquire into the ſtate of them, leſt foreigners ſhould be acquainted with our weakneſs on that ſide. There are, indeed, four hundred regular troops ſent from England to garriſon this, and ſome other towns of this province; of which two companies always are, or ought to be, upon duty in this city; but admitting they were always compleat, and ever ſo well diſciplined, this ſeems to be but a very inconſiderable force to defend a province of this importance againſt an invaſion, unleſs their country militia be more to be depended upon than that of other places.

As New York may be looked upon to be the frontier garriſon in the ſouth againſt an invaſion from any maritime power, ſo Schenectida town and fort, in the county of Albany, twenty miles north of the town of Albany, may well be deemed their frontier on the north againſt the French of Canada, and their Indian allies, who, in the year 1688, ſurpriſed and almoſt demoliſhed the town, with the works about it; but they have ſince been repaired and enlarged, and fort Nicholſon and ſome other forts erected; in which, and in Albany, the reſt of the regular troops are quartered, for the defence of that frontier. Albany is a conſiderable town, ſituated on Hudſon's river, an hundred and fifty miles north of New York, having a fort erected for its defence; and here it is that the Sachems, or kings of the five nations, meet the governors of our northern colonies, to renew their alliances, and concert meaſures for their defence againſt their common enemy, as has been intimated already. South-weſt of the iſland and county of New York, lies Staten Iſland, being about ten miles in length and ſix in breadth, and in it are a great many good farms and plantations, but not one town that I can meet with in the accounts of this province.

Long Iſland lies eaſt of Staten Iſland, and ſouth-eaſt of that of New York, oppoſite to the colony of Connecticut, being an hundred and fifty miles in length, and generally about twelve in breadth, and contains three of the counties above mentioned, viz. Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County; the chief towns in Queen's County, are Jamaica and Hempſtead; in Suffolk County the chief town is Oyſter Bay. The town of Richmond gives name to Richmond County, in which alſo is the town of Southampton, in the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland; and there alſo are ſituated the towns of North Caſtle and New Windſor. There is a celebrated plain in the midſt of Long Iſland, ſixteen miles long and four broad, to which they have given the name of Saliſbury Plain; having, as it is ſaid, as fine a turf as that on Saliſbury Plain in old England; and there being an excellent breed of horſes in the iſland, they have races here every ſeaſon, to which the gentlemen of New England and New York reſort, as they do to Newmarket with us. There are other good towns which

which lie in the county of Weſtcheſter, on the continent eaſt of the mouth of Hudſon's river, the chief whereof are Weſtcheſter and Rye.

8. At the time we became maſters of this country it was very thinly peopled, in compariſon to what it is at preſent, and in no ſmall danger from the French, who ſettled at the back of it, and the Indians who were ſettled on its frontiers, but at preſent, it is ſafe enough from both; the number of people being vaſtly encreaſed, ſome ſay to fifty thouſand, taking in all ſorts, ſo that the French apprehend danger from us in their turn; and the Indians think themſelves very happy under our protection; and ſuch care has been taken to treat them with proper kindneſs, as to preſerve them in our intereſt, as effectually as if by force they had been reduced to be our ſubjects. They ſupply the Engliſh in the ſummer with veniſon, fiſh and fowl, very cheap. The trade from New York to the ſugar iſlands, particularly Barbadoes, which is very conſiderable, is in corn, flour, bread, beef, pork, peaſe, bacon gamons, ſmoked beef, apples, onions, board and pipe-ſtaves, for which they receive in return, ſugar, moloſſes, rum, ginger, &c.

The New York merchants drive alſo a very advantageous trade with Madeira and the Azores in pipe-ſtaves and fiſh, for which they load their ſhips back with wine and brandy; and, generally ſpeaking, there is ſcarce a more profitable trade in the Britiſh commerce. I am very well warranted in ſaying this, by what the agents for the colony alledged upon the diſpute with the ſugar plantations, of which we have given ſo large an account. They affirm, that their winters being ſevere they take off more of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom than all the iſlands put together, Jamaica excepted; and return more gold and ſilver to pay for them, which I never heard was denied. What they alledge in juſtification of their dealing with the French ſettlements is ſingular enough, and deſerves particular notice. They ſay that they trade with what they have, with thoſe who will purchaſe it, and that while they do this they ſhall live well, clothe themſelves in Engliſh ſtuffs, and pay for them honeſtly; but if they are deprived of this trade, the profits of which enable them to pay for Engliſh clothing, they muſt endeavour to make uſe of their own wool, and ſupply themſelves as well as they can. If this ſhould be prohibited, they affirm, they muſt abſolutely go naked.

This, perhaps, is ſtraining the matter a little beyond the truth; but beyond all doubt, this colony is very uſeful to Great Britain, and in conjunction with the other bread colonies, as they are called, the ſole ſource of our foreign ſugar trade, as in a few words may be ſhewn. The ſugar iſlands muſt depend for their ſubſiſtence, either upon the Britiſh iſlands or upon theſe colonies; ſince it is very certain, that if they were to draw all their maintenance from hence, granting that to be poſſible, it would make labour in thoſe iſlands ſo dear that no ſugar at all could be exported. On the other hand, if the people of New York ſhould be forced to ſet up manufactures of their own, this would employ ſo many hands as muſt neceſſarily raiſe the price of proviſions, and this conſequently would have in a great meaſure, the ſame bad effect in making labour dear in the iſlands. It is therefore the buſineſs of Great Britain to take care of both, and not to ſide haſtily with either.

But it is more eſpecially our buſineſs to prevent ſetting up manufactures in the plantations on the continent; becauſe this would injure the trade between us and them, leſſen the ſhipping employed therein, decreaſe the number of our ſeamen, and detach thoſe colonies in a great meaſure from their mother country; which, as they are evils not to be borne, ſo too much diligence cannot be uſed to avoid them. As things ſtand at preſent, there is not a colony in America which makes a better figure than New York, or where the people ſeem to have a greater ſpirit of induſtry, or more hearty affection to the

the Britiſh nation; and it is univerſally agreed, that the city of New York is, in point of good government and politeneſs, at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior, to any thing we poſſeſs in that part of the world; and as for the inhabitants of the inland part of the colony, they are our beſt defence againſt the French, and are every day gaining upon them in point of trade with the Indians; which are certainly circumſtances that deſerve the utmoſt conſideration, and ought above all others, to recommend this plantation to the protection and favour of the Britiſh government; which no doubt they will always meet with while they continue, as they have hitherto done, to ſtudy by every method to deſerve it.

9. The countries now called the Jerſeys, or with greater propriety, the Eaſt and Weſt Jerſeys, come next in our way. Theſe fell under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain by conqueſt, at the ſame time with, and as making a part of Nova Belgia; and if to this right, acquired by war, or rather vindicated by it, for I conceive that the dominion of this country, which was all that we gained by the war, we had a very juſt title to before; if, I ſay, there was any thing wanting to fill up the meaſure of our claim, it was certainly made up by the peace, ſince an equivalent was then given to the Dutch; ſo that both nations had very good reaſon to be content. In order, however, to obtain a juſt and clear notion of the hiſtory and condition of this tract of country, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that even the Dutch were not the original inhabitants of it; the ſeveral voyages that had been made for the planting of Virginia, made theſe coaſts very well known to multitudes of Engliſh ſeamen, and theſe being diſperſed into different parts of the world, carried the news of theſe rich and pleaſant lands in America along with them whereſoever they went, which inſpired ſtrangers with ſtrong deſires of occupying what we ſeemed to have abandoned, or the ſettling of which was beyond our ſtrength, at leaſt at that time.

The firſt Europeans that ſettled here were the Swedes, who had three towns in this province, Chriſtina, called by the Indians Andaſtaka, Elſinbourg, and Gottembourg. Their ſettlements were chiefly on the ſouth-ſide of the river towards Penſylvania; oppoſite to which there is a place, to this day called Fort Elſinbourg; but the Swedes made very little of their plantation, and the Dutch, always induſtrious for their own advantage, worked them ſo far out of it, that Bergen, the northern part of the New Jerſey, was almoſt entirely new planted by Hollanders. King Charles II. gave this tract, in his grant of Nova Belgia to the duke of York; but the Engliſh never made any ſettlement in it till ſeveral years after they were in the poſſeſſion of that province, and had mightly extended their plantations.

The Duke of York having inveſted this province by the name of Nova Caneria, in John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, they or their aſſignees, agreed to divide it into two parts, denominated Eaſt and Weſt New Jerſeys, which remained two diſtinct proprieties and governments for many years afterwards, as will be ſhewn: Eaſt New Jerſey, or that part of it which borders on New York, fell to Sir George Carteret; whoſe family being of the iſle of Jerſey, this province on that account took its name from thence. Weſt New Jerſey, that part of it which borders on Penſylvania, fell to the Lord Berkeley. This whole province, containing the two Jerſeys, is thus bounded; it has the main ocean on the ſouth-eaſt, the river Delawar on the weſt, Hudſon's river on the eaſt, and the main land on the north; it lies between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude; extends itſelf in length on the ſea coaſts, and along Hudſon's river, one hundred and twenty miles, and is almoſt as broad as long where it is broadeſt. We muſt now take ſome notice of the province as it was under the diviſion of eaſt and weſt, and was divided into two proprieties; of theſe, the largeſt and moſt inhabited, was Eaſt Jerſey,

which extended eaſtward and northward all along the ſea coaſt and Hudſon's river, from Little Egg harbour to that part of Hudſon's river which is 41 degrees north latitude; and ſouthward and weſtward was divided from Weſt Jerſey by a line of partition from Egg harbour, or Creſwick river, Stony river, and the ſouth branch of Raritan river; it extends in length along Hudſon's river, and on the coaſts, 100 miles; in breadth it is very unequal; it is divided into counties, for which there was little occaſion, as Bergen County, Eſſex County, Middleſex on the north ſide of Raritan river, and Monmouth County on the ſouth. According to ſome writers, Weſt Jerſey is divided from the other by a line from north to ſouth; contains the like number of counties, viz. Burlington, Glouceſter, Salem, and Cape May.

Theſe two provinces are in the hands of different proprietors, who made many aſſignments of their rights, which would take up too much room to enter into the detail of here, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that the proprietors both of the Eaſt and Weſt Jerſeys, on the 22d of April 1702, put them into the hands of Queen Anne, and they have been ever ſince governed by the royal authority, having a governor, council, and aſſembly; which governor has power of appointing a deputy. We muſt alſo remark, that ſometimes this government has been granted by a ſeparate commiſſion to the ſame perſon intruſted with that of New York; but at preſent they are in different hands. The chief towns in the Jerſeys are Perth Amboy, the capital of the county of Middleſex, and of all Eaſt Jerſey, pleaſantly ſituated at the mouth of Raritan river, and, had it been built according to the intended model, would have been one of the fineſt towns in North America; but planters have not reſorted to it, as was expected; notwithſtanding, it is ſo commodiouſly ſituated for trade, that ſhips of three hundred tons may come up in one tide, and lie before the merchants doors; but the town of Elizabeth, ſituate to the north of it, flouriſhes much more, and may ſtill be deemed the moſt conſiderable town; in the county of Bergen, the capital of the county of the ſame name; Elizabeth town, capital of the county of Eſſex, and formerly of Middleſex; Middleton, Shrewſbury, and Frehold, in the county of Monmouth; Burlington or Bridlington, the capital of the county of Burlington, and of all Weſt Jerſey; this town is ſituate 40 degrees 40 minutes of north latitude, on an iſland in the middle of the river Delawar, to the northward of Philadelphia in Penſylvania, and on the oppoſite ſide of the river; the houſes are handſomely built of brick, and laid out into ſpacious ſtreets, with commodious quays and wharfs, to which ſhips of two or three hundred tons may come up; it has alſo a handſome market-place, a town-houſe or guildhall, where the courts of juſtice were heretofore held, and two good bridges over the river; the one called London-bridge, and the other York-bridge, and having an eaſy communication with Philadelphia and the ocean, by the river Salem, which falls into Delawar bay, it is ſaid to be one of the beſt towns in Weſt Jerſey, whether we conſider its ſituation, building, or trade.

The trade of the two Jerſeys, as alſo the ſoil and conveniences of rivers and creeks, are much the ſame, except that Weſt Jerſey, by its ſituation on Delawar river, abounds more in the latter. The country yields plenty of all ſorts of grain, and the inhabitants are ſaid to have been ſo ſcrupulous, that they would not enter upon a new plantation before they had purchaſed it of the Indians, which they did at no very dear rate. It is computed that they are about ſixteen thouſand ſouls, and about three thouſand men fit to bear arms. There are not two hundred Indians in this province, indeed neither here or elſewhere in the Britiſh empire, are the Indians of any force, unleſs in conjunction with the French at Canada, or the Spaniards in Florida. The Indians are now rather an help than an hurt to the Engliſh, and here eſpecially they wiſh there

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were more of them than there are, ſo uſeful have they found them. Beſides proviſions for the ſugar iſlands, the inhabitants drive a trade in furs and ſkins, and a little in tobacco; but it would be well if the colonies cultivated that leſs and proviſion more, or any other commodities that are fit for foreign markets, which are much clogged by the product of our tobacco plantations; they ſhip off train-oil, fiſh, corn, and ſome other proviſions for Portugal, Spain and the Canaries; ſhips may be built at Perth, but New England engroſſes that trade, and has the beſt and the moſt materials for it; and it muſt be owned that New York is the beſt market New Jerſey has, for the buying and ſelling any conſiderable quantity of goods of any kind.

This may poſſibly keep the Jerſeys a little under, but notwithſtanding the difficulties they have had to ſtruggle with, it is very certain that within theſe twenty or thirty years paſt they have increaſed prodigiouſly, and nothing can give a check to it except ſome ſudden ſuſpicion of their dealing in commodities and ſetting up manufactures which may interfere with thoſe of their mother country. I do not deny, that if there were any juſt grounds for ſuch a ſuſpicion care ought to be taken and ſome remedy applied, but then this requires great caution. In former times, when we were leſs uſed to trade we encouraged all; and provided our people were but employed, and traders buſy, we took it for granted that profit muſt enſue, and ſo very probably it did. But the preſent age is ſo unacquainted with the cauſe of the increaſe of our riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it, and inſtead of inlarging lay hold of ſome ſmall trifling things which they think may touch their private intereſt rather than promote the general good; and if they think any commodity from the plantations interferes with ſomething we have at home, ſome haſty ſtep is taken to prevent it; ſo that for the ſake of ſaving one penny we often debar ourſelves of things of a thouſand times the value. This misfortune will happen to any trading nation, if the perſons who have the regulation of the commerce do not underſtand it well enough to diſtinguiſh nicely between thoſe channels by which riches flow in upon them and thoſe that carry them away; and therefore, when things are carried into a wrong channel by ſome of the planters, merchants are afraid to mention thoſe diſorders for fear the remedy ſhould prove worſe than the diſeaſe. The gentlemen that would judge of theſe things ought to inform themſelves what this nation was one hundred and fifty years ago, how we have increaſed in riches ſince that time, what price corn, cattle, and land bore then, and what now; and what concurring circumſtances have put us in ſo flouriſhing a condition, who were then ſo inconſiderable in trade, that even London, the metropolis of this kingdom, made but a ſmall figure to what Bruges, Antwerp, and other Hanſe Towns did, as well as the great cities in the Mediterranean.

If we examine into the circumſtances of the inhabitants of our plantations and our own, it will appear that not one fourth part of their product redounds to their own profit; for, out of all that comes here, they only carry back clothing and other accommodations for their families, all which is of the manufacture and merchandize of this kingdom. If there is any thing to ſpare it is laid up here, and their children are ſent home to be educated; if there is enough to ſupport the family they come here, and only an overſeer is left upon the plantation to direct, and the whole produce is remitted home, and if enough to purchaſe an eſtate, then it is laid out in Old England. All theſe advantages we receive by the plantations, beſides the mortgages on the planters eſtates, and the high intereſt they pay us, which is very conſiderable; and therefore very great care ought to be taken in regulating all affairs of the colonies, that the planters be not put under too many difficulties, but encouraged to go on cheerfully. They are born with us, or the deſcendants of ſuch, and we know nothing but the want

of the means to live at home keeps them abroad. There are very few trading or manufacturing towns in the kingdom but have ſome dependence on the plantation trade. It is true, theſe, and in general all the northern colonies, have not commodities and products enough to ſend us in return for purchaſing their neceſſary clothings, &c. but are under very great difficulties, and therefore any ordinary ſort ſells with them; and when they are grown out of faſhion with us they are new-faſhioned enough there; and beſides thoſe places are the great markets we have to diſpoſe of ſuch goods, which are generally ſent at the riſk of the ſhopkeepers and traders of England, who are the great exporters, and not the inhabitants of the colonies, as ſome have imagined. As the colonies are markets for thoſe ſorts of goods, ſo they are receptacles for young merchants who have not ſtocks of their own, and therefore all our plantations are filled with ſuch who receive the conſignments of their friends from hence; and when they have got a ſufficient ſtock to trade with they return home, and other young men take their places, ſo that the continual motion and intercourſe our people have into the colonies may be compared to bees in a hive, which go out empty, but come home loaded; by which means the foundations of many families are laid. The numbers of ſailors, and other tradeſmen, who have all their dependance upon this traffic, are prodigiouſly great.

Our factors, who frequent the northern colonies, being under difficulties to make returns for ſuch goods as they diſpoſe of, what gold, ſilver, logwood, and other commodities they trade for upon the Spaniſh coaſt is ſent home to England, as alſo oil, whale-fins, and many other goods; likewiſe another great part of returns is made by ſhips built there, and diſpoſed of in the Streights, and other parts of Europe, and the money remitted to us. Now all thoſe ſhips are called New England ſhips, and our factors, after they undertake any buſineſs, are no longer called Engliſhmen, but New Englanders, and the ſhips they build, we are informed, are regiſtered as New England ſhips. I ſhall therefore humbly recommend it to ſuch gentlemen as are guardians of the trade of the nation, that our own intereſt is not miſtaken for thoſe of the planters; for every reſtraint and difficulty put upon our trade with them makes them have recourſe to their own products, which they manufacture, a thing of great conſequence to us, and ought to be guarded againſt; for if they are ſupplied with their own manufactures, a great part of the advantages we ſhould otherwiſe receive is cut off; and therefore, as it is elſewhere obſerved, if care is taken to find them employment, and turn their induſtry another way, now they are in their infancy, this may with a very little trouble be avoided.

There is another advantage we receive by our plantations, which is hardly ſo much as thought of; I mean the prodigious increaſe of our ſhipping by the timber trade, between Portugal, &c. and our plantations, which ought to have all poſſible encouragement, for by it we have crept into all the corners in Europe, and become the common carriers in the Mediterranean, as well as between the Mediterranean, Holland, Hamburg, and the Baltic, and this is the cauſe of ſo great an addition to our ſhipping, and the reaſon why the Dutch, &c. are ſo exceedingly ſunk. But if ever a ſtop ſhould be put to the building of ſhips in New England, &c. and carrying our timber from thence, we ſhould ſoon ſink in our navigation, and that of the Dutch flouriſh in its former height and grandeur. The numbers of Engliſh ſhips, we ſo often read of, that are at Liſbon, or the Streights, is a ſufficient demonſtration of the truth of this; doubtleſs a great many of theſe ſhips are laden upon account of the Dutch, for nothing is more common, than their hiring our ſhips (which diſcharge their loading in the Streights), to tranſport their goods from Spain, &c. to Amſterdam, and other places.

We

We have a great many young men who are bred to the ſea, and have friends to ſupport them; if they cannot get employment at home they go to New England, and the northern colonies, with a cargo of goods, which they there ſell at a very great profit, and with the produce build a ſhip, and purchaſe a loading of lumber, and ſail for Portugal, or the Streights, &c. and after diſpoſing of their cargoes, they frequently ply from port to port in the Mediterranean, till they have cleared ſo much money as will, in a good part, pay for the firſt coſt of the cargo carried out by them; and then, perhaps, ſell their ſhips; come home; take up another cargo from their employers; and ſo go back and build another ſhip. By this means multitudes of ſeamen are brought up, and upon a war the nation is better provided with a great number of ſailors, than hath been heretofore known. Here the maſter becomes merchant alſo, and many of them gain, by this lumber trade, great eſtates; and a vaſt treaſure is thereby yearly brought into the kingdom, in a way new and unknown to our forefathers, and, indeed, it is gaining the timber trade (heretofore carried on by the Danes and Swedes), our plantations being nearer the markets of Portugal and Spain than they are. Thoſe advantages have made ſome people think that though we eſteem New England, and the northern colonies, of ſmall advantage to us, yet if things were truly ſtated, they are as profitable as moſt other of our plantations, or, which amounts to the ſame thing, the cauſe of the profits we reap from thoſe other colonies, which, however, coming to us immediately from thence, ſeem to enrich us more than they really do, at the ſame time that they hide from us the true ſources of their own wealth. But,

We will now quit this ſubject, in order to follow the thread of our hiſtory, which leads us next to ſpeak of the ſettling the Bahama Iſlands, places that have not hitherto anſwered in any proportion to the great expectations that were raiſed upon the firſt grant of them; though this is certainly ſo little to be aſcribed to them, that about twenty-five years ago there was a general diſpoſition in the moſt knowing people of this kingdom to attempt a new ſettlement there, which degenerating into a bubble, all hopes of that kind ſeem to be loſt. Our buſineſs, however, is not with the modern, but with the antient, ſtate of theſe iſlands; of which, and of the motives for ſettling them, we ſhall give the cleareſt account we can.

10. The Lucayos, or Bahama Iſlands, are ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean, and to the north of the iſland of Cuba, ſtretching from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, between 21 and 27 degrees of northern latitude, and between 73 and 81 degrees of weſtern longitude. The iſland of Bahama, which communicates its name to the reſt, is ſeated in the latitude of 26 degrees 30 minutes, at the diſtance of about twenty and thirty leagues from the continent of Florida. It is about fifty miles in length, but very narrow, ſcarce any where ſixteen, and in many places not half ſo broad, but very pleaſant and fruitful; the air temperate and ſerene; the ſoil remarkably rich, and the country every where abounding with brooks and ſprings of freſh water.

Though theſe iſlands were the firſt fruits of the new world, Columbus arriving firſt at Guanahani, which is one of them, and to which he gave the name of St. Salvador, yet the Spaniards never thought of ſettling there, but contented themſelves with extirpating the native inhabitants; a moſt barbarous proceeding ſurely, ſince at this time they were the beſt people of any part of all America; ſo that they wantonly murdered many thouſands to no purpoſe in the world. As theſe iſlands lie pretty much out of the courſe of ſhips bound to the continent of America, it was long before we had any notice of them; but in 1667 Captain William Sayle, being bound to Carolina, was forced by a ſtorm amongſt theſe iſlands, which gave him an opportunity of examining

them

them carefully, particularly a large iſland, to which at that time he gave his own name, and is that which has been ſince known by the name of New Providence.

Upon his return to England, he acquainted the proprietors of Carolina with the ſituation and circumſtances of theſe iſlands; obſerving, that in caſe they were ſettled, they might prove a great benefit to this nation, and at the ſame time a conſtant bar and check to the French and Spaniards, in caſe of a breach with either or both of thoſe nations. Theſe reaſons being ſuggeſted to King Charles the IId. his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to make a grant of the Bahama iſlands, between the latitudes of 22 and 27 degrees, to the following proprietors; viz. George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Aſhly, and Sir Peter Colliton, whoſe heirs or aſſigns are, as I take it, poſſeſſed of theſe iſlands at this day; by which I mean the ſoil and property, for as to the government, it has been for ſome time in the hands of the crown; upon a ſuppoſition that this change would render theſe iſlands more beneficial to the nation, as in proceſs of time it very probably may; but hitherto they have not been of any great ſervice to the proprietors, the crown, or the nation; as we ſhall ſhew, by entering a little into their hiſtory, from their firſt ſettlement to the preſent times, for reaſons that in this hiſtory will appear.

Providence Iſland lies in the center of ſome hundreds of iſlands, ſome of them many miles in length, others no bigger than knolls or little rocks, riſing above water; ſo that one may imagine it muſt be very dangerous for ſhips to be forced amongſt them in tempeſts. The moſt conſiderable profit made by the inhabitants of Providence was, by the misfortune of ſuch as were ſhipwrecked, or ſuch as, in a winter voyage for the continent of America, were driven to the Bahama Iſlands, and put into Providence for proviſions; for want of which, after they had lain a long while beating off the iſlands, they uſed to be in great diſtreſs. It is true, this iſland had little or none but what came from Carolina; however, the traders here kept ſtore-houſes to ſupply thoſe that wanted, and they were a great relief to the unfortunate mariners, of whom we are ſpeaking. The Iſle of Providence lies in 25 degrees north latitude, is twenty-eight miles long and eleven miles broad, where it is broadeſt.

It had the name of Providence given it by Captain Sayle, after he had a ſecond time been driven upon it, when he was bound for the Continent. The firſt governor that was ſent thither by the proprietaries, was Mr. Chillingworth; the time of his going there was about the year 1672; ſeveral people went from England, and the other colonies, to ſettle there, and living a licentious life, they were impatient under government; Mr. Chillingworth endeavouring to bring them to reaſon, they aſſembled tumultuouſly, ſeized him, and ſhipped him off for Jamaica, and lived every man as he thought beſt for his own pleaſure and intereſt. The proprietaries found they had got an unruly colony to deal with, and it was a very ſmall encouragement for any man to put himſelf into their hands after the treatment Mr. Chillingworth met with from them.

However, ſix or ſeven years after, the lords proprietaries made Mr. Clark governor, whoſe fate was worſe ſtill than his predeceſſor's; for the Spaniards, at that time, being jealous of every new colony of the Engliſh towards the ſouth, came upon them in Providence, deſtroyed all their ſtock which they could not, or would not, carry off; and burnt ſeveral houſes that were upon the place. The inhabitants deſerted it after this, and removed to other colonies. Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clark's ſucceſſors, always aſſerted, that the Spaniards roaſted Mr. Clark on a ſpit, after they had killed him; but perhaps that is ſaid to increaſe the terror of the ſtory; but it is certain they killed him, and that after this invaſion the iſland was uninhabited till about the time of the Revolution,

Revolution, when ſeveral perſons removed thither from Europe and the Continent; among whom was Mr. Thomas Bulkley, who has printed a large account of his ſuffering there, during the arbitrary government of one Cadwallader Jones, whom the lords proprietors made governor upon this ſecond ſettlement of Providence in the year 1690, where he arrived on the 19th of June; but his adminiſtration proved very unfortunate both for himſelf and the colony, in which there aroſe ſuch troubles and diſſenſions, that he was once depoſed and made priſoner, and again reſtored.

Nicholas Trott, Eſq. ſucceeded Mr. Jones in his government, and he built a fort in the town of Naſſau; notwithſtanding which, the famous pirate Avery, forced the inhabitants to let him have what victuals he wanted; but ſome time after, governor Trott put the iſland of Providence into ſo good a condition, that though the French made ſeveral attempts, yet they were always obliged to retire with loſs. In 1697 Nicholas Webb, Eſq. was ſent to ſucceed Mr. Trott, and he held the government about three years; in which time theſe iſlands were in a better condition than they have ever been ſince; and there was, in his time, in Providence and the adjacent iſlands, near one thouſand inhabitants; ſome tobacco was planted, a ſugar mill ſet up, and other improvements made; but, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, theſe were ſoon deſtroyed.

To Mr. Webb ſucceeded Elias Haſcott, Eſq. who was ſo little liked by the inhabitants, that they took upon them to ſeize him, and put him in irons; and, having ſent him away, aſſumed the liberty of chuſing a governor for themſelves, one Elias Lightgood, Eſq. in whoſe time the ſettlements were deſtroyed; for, in July 1708, the Spaniards and French, from Petit Guaves, landed, ſurprized the fort, took the governor priſoner, plundered and ſtripped the Engliſh, burnt the town of Naſſau, all but Mr. Lightgood's houſe, together with the church, ſpoiled the fort, and nailed up the guns; they carried off the governor, and about half the blacks, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the woods; but in October they came again, and picked up moſt of the negroes. Mr. Lightgood having procured his liberty, by exchange or ranſom, came to Carolina, and going off thence in a veſſel, on ſome adventure, was never ſince heard of. The Engliſh inhabitants of the Bahamas, after this ſecond invaſion, thought it in vain to ſtay longer; ſo they removed, ſome to Carolina, ſome to Virginia, and ſome to New England, and other places.

The proprietors having appointed one Mr. Birch to go over governor to Providence, who, not having heard of the deſertion of the inhabitants, went thither; but finding it a deſart, he did not give himſelf the trouble to open his commiſſion; he remained there two or three months, and was all that while forced to ſleep in the woods; after which he returned back, and left the place uninhabited. This and the other Bahama Iſlands, were looked upon to be ſo neceſſary for the ſecurity of our trade in the Weſt Indies, that the parliament of England have not thought them unworthy of their care, as well to have them cleared of pirates, as to defend them againſt both Spaniards and French, who find their ſituation very convenient to annoy or befriend their commerce. In Queen Anne's war both Spaniards and French over-ran and plundered the Bahama Iſlands twice. Upon which, in March 1714, the Houſe of Lords addreſſed her Majeſty, that the Iſland of Providence might be put in a poſture of defence. Their lordſhips obſerving it would be of fatal conſequence, if the Bahama Iſlands ſhould fall into the hands of an enemy, they therefore prayed her Majeſty to take the ſaid iſlands into her hands, and give ſuch order for their ſecurity as in her royal wiſdom ſhe ſhould think

fit; but nothing was done. And for the future guidance of ſuch as have it in their power to do good offices for our American colonies, it is not improper to remember, that their lordſhips, four years after, took notice of that neglect in an addreſs to his late Majeſty King George; in which they ſay there were not any the leaſt means uſed in compliance with that advice, for ſecuring the Bahama Iſlands, and that then the pirates had a lodgment with a battery on Harbour Iſland; and that the uſual retreat, and general receptacle for the pirates, was at Providence. Hereupon his Majeſty was pleaſed to give directions for diſlodging theſe pirates, and making ſettlements, and a fortification for its ſecurity and defence.

Purſuant to this addreſs, Captain Woods Rogers was appointed governor, the ſame perſon which went with the Duke and Ducheſs of Briſtol to the South Sea, and made a proſperous voyage, eight years before. He ſailed for Providence in 1718, taking with him a naval force for ſubduing the pirates; in the mean time Colonel Bennet, governor of Bermudas, ſent a ſloop to that iſland, requiring them to ſurrender themſelves, purſuant to the late proclamation. The pirates who were then on the iſland, very gladly accepted of the mercy offered them thereby, and promiſed to ſurrender themſelves as ſoon as they could get paſſage to the Engliſh colonies; adding that they did not doubt but their fellows, who were at ſea, would gladly do the ſame after their example. Accordingly, Captain Henry Jennings, and fifteen others, immediately followed the ſloop to Bermudas, and ſurrendered themſelves; and Captain Laſſie, and Captain Nichols, with a good number of their pirates, ſent word that they would alſo ſurrender. The above-mentioned proclamation was brought hither by Captain Peers, in the Phœnix frigate, then lately ſtationed at New York; beſides the above, Captain Hernigold, Captain Burges ſurrendered, and in the whole as many of their men as amounted to one hundred and fourteen, which were followed by many more; however piracy was not ſuppreſſed, nor did Captain Rogers anſwer the expectations of thoſe that employed him; though at his arrival here he ſeemed very zealous in the ſervice he was ſent for.

He arrived at Naſſau, in Providence, in July 1718. Vane, one of the captains of the pirates, knowing what errand he came upon, to reduce thoſe robbers by the proclamation or by force, cauſed a French ſhip of twenty-two guns, which he had taken, to be ſet on fire, intending to make uſe of her as a fire-ſhip, to burn the Roſe frigate, which came with governor Woods Rogers; and, indeed, the Roſe would have been in much danger, had ſhe not got off in time, by cutting her cables. But Vane's bold and raſh attempt could not have ſecured him; for beſides the Roſe, there was at hand the Milford man of war, and another, aboard which was the governor. Theſe were ſoon after ſeen ſtanding in for the harbour of Naſſau, upon which Vane, and about fifty of his men, made off in a ſloop. The governor ſent a ſloop of ſufficient force after them, but the pirates got off; and the Milford, and the other man of war run aground. The 27th of July Mr. Woods Rogers came on ſhore, took poſſeſſion of the fort, and cauſed his Majeſty's commiſſion to be read in the preſence of the officers, ſoldiers, and about three hundred people, whom he found there at his arrival; which had been almoſt daily exerciſed in arms for their defence, in caſe of attack by the Spaniards or French. As for the pirates, they were not in ſo great fear of them, moſt of them having been themſelves of the fraternity, who had ſurrendered and made their peace with the government. Woods Rogers brought with him above one hundred ſoldiers, and this joint force which was, and might have been ſtill further, recruited, being ſufficient to ſecure the Bahama Iſlands againſt any enterprize of the French and Spaniards;

Spaniards; Mr. Rogers ſet himſelf to regulate the government, and reſtore order in it, which had been neglected ſeveral years paſt.

Of the adventurers who came with him, ſix were nominated to be of the council, as alſo ſix of the inhabitants, who had never been pirates themſelves; and thus the appearance of government was renewed. As ſoon as the governor and council had ſettled the board, about two hundred of thoſe that had been pirates ſurrendered themſelves to them, had certificates of their ſurrender, and took the oaths of allegiance, as did, voluntarily, the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Providence; wherein, a few years after, were computed to be one thouſand five hundred ſouls, out of theſe were formed three companies of militia, under officers of their own iſland; theſe companies took their turn every night in the town guard at Naſſau, and the independent company was always upon duty in the fort here, and another of eight guns erected at the eaſternmoſt entrance into the harbour.

It was by theſe methods that the face of affairs, in this part of the world, was entirely changed; the town of Naſſau rebuilt; a regular force eſtabliſhed in Providence, and plantations ſo laid out, that the country looked like an Engliſh ſettlement. Within a ſhort time after, the neighbouring iſland of Eluthera was ſettled likewiſe, upon which, about ſixty families fixed themſelves, erected a ſmall fort for their defence, and raiſed a company of militia under their deputy governor, Mr. Holmes, by whoſe prudent management matters were chiefly brought to bear; the like was done in Harbour Iſland, where the plantation ſoon grew more conſiderable, and a larger fort was built for the protection of the inhabitants. Captain Woods Rogers returning to England, was ſucceeded in his government by Captain Fitzwilliams, in whoſe time an independent company, that had been ſent thither mutinied, which had like to have produced ſome very fatal conſequences, but was happily ſuppreſſed; and by the moderation of the governor, only few of the moſt guilty were made examples.

This happened in the year 1736, from which time theſe iſlands have been improving, though ſlowly. It may well be wondered at by conſiderate perſons, that conſidering the number of poor people and men out of employment, which before the war peſtered the ſtreets of this city, and of all the great towns in the kingdom; ſome methods were not taken for ſending them over to theſe iſlands, which would have been a relief to the people here, afforded them a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and have contributed to augment the ſtrength and increaſe the riches of this nation. I ſhall content myſelf with juſt hinting this as it falls in my way, and proceed to the next corporation formed for enlarging our commerce within the period of time aſſigned to this ſection.

11. This was the Hudſon's Bay Company, erected by King Charles the IId. upon the following occaſion; Monſieur Radiſon, and Monſieur Gooſelier, two Frenchmen, meeting with ſome ſavages in the lake of Aſſimponals, in Canada, they learnt of them that they might go by land to the bottom of the bay, where the Engliſh had not yet been; upon which they deſired them to conduct them thither, and the ſavages accordingly did it. The two Frenchmen returned to the upper lake the ſame way they came, and thence to Quebec, the capital of Canada; where they offered the principal merchants to carry ſhips to Hudſon's Bay, but their project was rejected; thence they went to France, in hopes of a more favourable hearing at court; but after preſenting ſeveral memorials, and ſpending a great deal of time and money, they were anſwered as they had been at Quebec, and their project looked upon as chimerical. The King of England's ambaſſador at Paris, hearing what propoſal they had made, imagined he ſhould do his country good ſervice by engaging them to ſerve the Engliſh, who had already pretences to the Bay, perſuaded them to go for London, where they

met with a favourable reception from ſome men of quality, merchants and others, who employed Mr. Gillam, a perſon long uſed to the New England trade, to perfect this diſcovery.

He ſailed in the Noneſuch ketch, in the year 1667, into Baffin's Bay, to the height of 75 degrees, and from thence ſouthward to 51 degrees, where he entered a river, to which he gave name of Prince Rupert's River; and finding the ſavages diſpoſed to a friendly commerce, he erected a ſmall fortreſs there, which he ſtyled Charles Fort. The ſucceſs of this expedition was ſo remarkable, that the perſons concerned in fitting out this veſſel, upon the return of Mr. Gillam, applied themſelves to King Charles the IId. for a patent, who accordingly granted them one, dated the 2d of May, in the 22d year of his reign, A. D. 1670. The firſt directors of what was called the Hudſon's Bay Company, were Prince Rupert, Sir James Hayes, Mr. William Young, Mr. Gerrard Weymans, Mr. Richard Cradock, Mr. John Letton, Chriſtopher Wren, Eſq. and Mr. Nicholas Haywood.

The bay lies from 64 degrees north latitude, to 51 degrees, and is 10 degrees or ſix hundred miles in length. The mouth of the ſtreights lies in about 61 degrees north latitude, and is ſix leagues over. At the mouth is an iſland called Reſolution; Charles Iſland, Saliſbury Iſland, and Nottingham are in the ſtreights, and Mansfield Iſland is in the mouth of the bay. Hudſon's Streights, which leads to the bay, are about one hundred and twenty leagues in length; the land on both ſides inhabited by ſavages, of whom we have little or no knowledge. The ſouth coaſt is known by the name of the Terra de Labrador, the north by as many names as men of ſeveral nations have been there, and pretended to the diſcovery. On the weſt ſide of the bay the Engliſh made a ſettlement, built a fort at Port Nelſon, and all that country goes by the name of New South Wales. The bay here is called Button's and Hudſon's Bay, which is broadeſt in this place, and may be near one hundred and thirty leagues. On the other ſhore, or the coaſt of Labrador, lie ſeveral iſlands, called the Sleeper's Iſles, and the Baker's Dozen. The bottom of the bay, by which we underſtand all that part of it from Cape Henrietta Maria, in New South Wales, to Redonda, below Prince Rupert's River, is about 80 leagues long, and all the way between 40 and 50 leagues over. Here are ſeveral iſlands to which the firſt adventurers gave the names of ſome great men in England, or ſome that employed them; as Lord Weſton's Iſland, Sir Thomas Roe's Iſland, Charleton Iſland, and others.

The two oppoſite ſhores are called the Eaſt Main and Weſt Main; the former is Labrador, and latter New South Wales. The Continent at the bottom of the bay is, by the French pretended to be part of New France; and, indeed, to croſs the country from Saint Margaret's River, which runs into the river of Canada, to Rupert's River, at the bottom of Hudſon's Bay, is not above one hundred and fifty miles. At Rupert's River the Engliſh built their firſt fort, which they called Charles Fort. They never had any towns or plantations here, but live within their forts in little houſes or huts, wherein the builders conſider nothing but how to defend them from the cold and rains, though they are not ſo much diſturbed by the latter as by the former. There is an iſland about five or ſix leagues from the Weſt Main called the little Rocky Iſle, it being a mere heap of rocks and ſtones, with ſome ſmall bruſh-wood growing upon it; it is ſuppoſed to overflow with great north-weſt winds, which make a high tide all over the bay; in this iſle is plenty of gulls and ſea ſwallows; about three miles from the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland lies a dangerous reef of ſand, which is dry at low water. Charleton Iſland is a dry white land, covered over with a white moſs, full of trees, juniper and ſpruce, though not very large. This iſland affords a beautiful proſpect to ſuch as are near it in the ſpring,

Resolution Bay in the Marquesas.

Engraved by George Cooke.

after a long voyage of three or four months, in the moſt uncomfortable ſeas in the world, occaſioned by the vaſt mountains of ice which drive in the bay and ſtreights; againſt which, if ſhips happen to ſtrike, they are daſhed in pieces, as certainly as if they ran againſt rocks; for, indeed, they are rocks petrified by the violence of the continual froſts. To ſee one day the ſhore on the Weſt Main bare, the mountains covered with ſnow, and nature looking as if frozen to death; and the next to behold Charleton Iſland ſpread with trees, and the branches making, as it were, a green tuft of the whole, is a change capable of giving the greateſt pleaſure, after the fatigues of an intolerable winter voyage.

The air, even at the bottom of the bay, though by the latitude it is nearer the ſun than London, being in 51 degrees, is exceſſive cold for nine months; the other three months very hot; but on a north-weſt wind the ſoil on the Eaſt Main, as well as the Weſt, bears no manner of grain; ſome fruits, gooſeberries, ſtrawberries, and dewberries, grow about Prince Rupert's River. The commodities for trade here are guns, powder, ſhot, cloth, hatchets, kettles, tobacco, &c. which the Engliſh exchange with the Indians, for furs, beavers, martins, foxes, mooſe, and other ſkins and furs. The great profits acquired by this trade, and the proſpect of ingroſſing it, wholly engaged the new company to proſecute their meaſures vigorouſly, and to do all that lay in their power to ſettle a good correſpondence with the natives, whom they found very tractable in that point, and willing to do any thing they could expect from them upon reaſonable terms; for the Indians about Rupert's River, and other places in the bay, are more ſimple than the Canadans, who have had longer commerce with the Europeans; they are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel, either amongſt themſelves or others, except the Nodways, a wild, barbarous people on the borders of Hudſon's Streights, who ſometimes, in ſlight parties, make incurſions on the other Indians, and having murdered eight or ten, return in triumph.

The Indians of certain diſtricts, which are bounded by ſuch and ſuch rivers, have each an okimah, as they call him, or captain, over them, who is an old man, conſidered only for his prudence and experience; he has no authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain occaſions; he is the ſpeech-maker to the Engliſh, as alſo in their own councils, when they meet every ſpring and fall to ſettle the diſpoſition of their quarters, for hunting, fowling, and fiſhing; every family have their boundaries adjuſted, which they ſeldom quit, except they have no ſucceſs there in their hunting, and then they join in with ſome family who have ſucceeded. Their notions of religion are but very ſlender; they ſay there are two Monetoes, or Spirits, the one ſends all the good things, and the other all the bad. Their worſhip conſiſts in ſongs and dances at their feaſts, in honour of their Monetoes that have favoured them; but if they are ſick or famiſhed, they hang ſome little bauble which they ſet a value upon, on the top of a pole near the tent, to pacify the ſpirit offended, as they conceive.

But to return to our hiſtory: in the year 1670 the company ſent over Charles Bailey, Eſq. as their governor, who with Mr. Radiſon, ſettled at Rupert's River, and another factory was eſtabliſhed at Fort Nelſon. Some years after William Lydall, Eſq. was ſent to ſucceed Mr. Bailey, and one Mr. Bridger was ſent to Fort Nelſon. In 1683 Henry Serjeant, Eſq. was made governor at Rupert's River, with orders to be very careful of the French, who began now to ſhew themſelves very jealous of the trade carried on by the Engliſh company with the natives; and at the ſame time they were not a little perplexed by ſome bad practices among their own ſervants; who conſidering the hardſhips they endured in that miſerable cold country, thought they might

make bold with ſome part of the profits, which were entirely owing to their labour and negociations with the natives; for the company by their governors and agents, made ſuch contracts with the captains, or kings of rivers, or territories where they had ſettlements for the freedom of trade there, excluſive of all others, that the Indians could not pretend they had encroached upon them. Theſe contracts were as firm as the Indians could make them by ſuch ceremonies as were moſt ſacred and obligatory among them.

In the year 1686 we find the company in poſſeſſion of five ſettlements, viz. Albany River, Hayes Iſland, Rupert's River, Fort Nelſon, and New Severn; their trade at each of them was very conſiderable. From Albany River they had generally three thouſand five hundred beavers a year, and by Mr. Serjeant's great care and fidelity, their commerce increaſed ſo much, that the French began to be afraid all the upland Indians might be drawn down to the bay. They knew they could do any thing with King James II. who then reigned in England; and therefore they reſolved to drive the Engliſh out of all their places in the bottom of the bay. Firſt they took Hayes Iſland, and then the fort on Rupert's River. The French company at Canada procured a detachment of ſoldiers to be ſent, under the Chevalier de Troyes, who came over land from Quebec, and in a time of profound peace committed theſe acts of hoſtilities. It is worth obſerving, that the French have ſo good an opinion of their American colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful means, to preſerve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themſelves; whereas the Engliſh, who, next the Spaniards, have the richeſt plantations in this part of the world, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of July, the Chevalier de Troyes came before the fort at Albany River, where the governor Mr. Serjeant, then reſided. Two Indians having informed him of their having ſurprized the forts at Hayes Iſland and Rupert's River, and had brought with them the great guns from theſe places, the governor did all that was in his power to defend the place, but was not able to keep it above a week, as appears by the articles of his ſurrender, dated July the 16th, 1686, which articles were but indifferently kept. In 1693, the Hudſon's Bay Company, being aſſiſted by the government, retook all the forts and factories of which the French had deprived them in time of peace; but they were ſoon after driven out of them again by the French.

In the year 1696, the Company applied themſelves to King William, repreſenting their own incapacity to maintain themſelves againſt the French, and praying the aſſiſtance of the crown for their ſupport; upon which two men of war were ordered to their aſſiſtance, under the command of Captain Allen, who coming into the River Hayes, ſent to ſummon all the forts to ſurrender; and the French governor, finding he could not defend them againſt the Engliſh, capitulated; and on the 2d of Auguſt, in the ſame year, ſurrendered Albany Fort upon certain articles, the chief of which were, that all thoſe in the fort, as well French as Indians, and one Engliſhman, the governor's ſervant, ſhould have their lives and liberties; and that no harm or violence ſhould be done to their perſons, or any thing that belonged to them; that they ſhould march out with their arms, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted at both ends, ball in mouth, and carry with them the two guns brought from France; that they ſhould all embark with their clothes, and goods, without being viſited or pillaged in any thing; and, if they met with any French veſſels, there ſhould be a truce between the Engliſh and them; and the ſaid French veſſels ſhould be permitted to take aboard the perſons that came out of the ſame fort, with all that belonged to them. Theſe conditions were

were a little too honourable to grant, though they were complied with. Captain Allen took the governor, and ſome of his men, aboard his own ſhip, the Bonadventure; ſome he put aboard the Seaford, and the reſt aboard a merchant-man, called the Doring.

In his return he fought the Mary Roſe frigate, then a French privateer of fifty guns, and was killed in the engagement; which gave the Frenchman an opportunity to bear away. As to the other two forts, they followed the fate of Albany, and Mr. Knight was reſtored to the government of Fort Nelſon. Mr. Knight had ſerved Mr. Sergeant while he was governor of Fort Albany, and was acquainted with the trade. In the year 1697, the Hampſhire frigate, and Owners Love fireſhip, two of the king's ſhips, were loſt in this bay, and all the men drowned. Indeed the ice rendered it ſo dangerous, that the commerce ſeemed not to be worth the riſk that was run for it. Whether thoſe two ſhips run againſt thoſe frozen mountains that float in the ſea, or foundered, is not known; but it is certain they were loſt, and that all the men periſhed; which was the cauſe of ſome inconvenience. After this time it appears very clearly, that the trade of the Hudſon's Bay Company declined extremely, but whether from any advantage gained in trade by the French, or from any ill management of their affairs at home or abroad, I cannot pretend to ſay. This, however, is certain, that in the next general war the French had renewed their attacks upon the ſettlements of the Hudſon's Bay Company, and this with ſuch effect, that they ſoon left them nothing but Fort Albany, which very well accounts for the low ſtate of their trade to the end of the war, and ſome time after. At the making the treaty at Utrecht, great care was taken of this company, who by the 10th and 11th articles have every thing reſtored to them that had been taken from them, and an equitable ſatisfaction ſtipulated for their loſſes. Since which time the trade of the company has wonderfully encreaſed, inſomuch that it became, at leaſt, treble to what it was at the time that peace was made, and is ſtill in a very flouriſhing condition.

It is very natural for ſuch as reap the benefit of any branch of trade, to be as ſilent and ſecret about it as poſſible, which is the reaſon that till within theſe few years both the country and the commerce of Hudſon's Bay were very little, and indeed ſcarce at all known here, though carried on entirely by this nation. As for the French, they had ſo little notion of it that they treated all Mr. Iberville's projects upon this ſubject as mere chimeras; and when a memorial was preſented to the Regent Duke of Orleans, ſetting forth the great dangers theFrench ſettlements in North America muſt run, if the Engliſh ſhould ever lay open this trade, or think of tranſporting their felons into this part of the world, it was looked upon as a mere viſion. But ſince that time they are become much better acquainted with this part of America, as appears from the account I have already given from one of their authors.

But as to the product and preſent condition of this country, the beſt account I ever ſaw of it, is that publiſhed by Mr. Dobbs, from the mouth of one experimentally acquainted with it, and from whom I ſhall borrow as much as I think may ſuffice to give the reader a general notion of its nature and importance. "The Indians being obliged to go aſhore every day to hunt for proviſions, delays them very much in their voyages; for their canoes are ſo very ſmall, holding only two men and a pack of one hundred beaver ſkins, that they cannot carry proviſions with them for any time. If they had larger canoes, they would make their voyages ſhorter, and carry many more beavers to market, at leaſt four times as many, beſides other ſkins of value, which are too heavy for their preſent canoes; this, and the high price of the European goods, by the company in exchange, diſcourages the natives ſo much, that if they were not abſolutely

abſolutely under a neceſſity of having guns, powder, and ſhot, hatchets, and other iron tools for their hunting, and tobacco, brandy, and ſome paint for luxury, they would not go down to the factory with what they now carry. At preſent they leave great numbers of furs and ſkins behind them. A good hunter among the Indians can kill ſix hundred beavers in a ſeaſon, and can carry down but one hundred; the reſt he uſes at home, or hangs them upon branches of trees, upon the death of their children, as an offering to them, or uſe them for bedding and coverings. They ſometimes burn off the fur, and roaſt the beavers like pigs, upon any entertainments, and they often let them rot, having no further uſe for them. The beavers, he ſays, are of three colours, the brown reddiſh colour, the black, and white; the firſt is the cheapeſt, the black is moſt valued by the company in England, the white the moſt valued in Canada, giving eighteen ſhillings, when others give five or ſix ſhillings; it is blown upon by the companies factors at the bay, they not allowing ſo much for theſe as for the others, and therefore the Indians uſe them at home, or burn off the hair, when they roaſt the beavers like pigs, at an entertainment when they feaſt together. He ſays theſe ſkins are extremely white, and have a fine luſtre, no ſnow being whiter, and have a fine long fur or hair. He has ſeen fifteen taken of that colour out of one lodge or pond.

" The beavers have three enemies, man, otters, and the carcajon, or quecquehatch, which prey upon them, when they take them at advantage; the laſt is as large as a very great dog, it has a ſhort tail like a deer or hart, and has a good fur, valued at a beaver and a half in exchange. The beavers chiefeſt food is the poplar, or tremble, but they alſo eat ſallows, alders, and moſt other trees, not having a reſinous juice. The middle bark is their food; in May, when the wood is not plenty, they live upon a large root which grows in the marſhes a fathom long, and as thick as a man's leg, the French called it volet; but the beavers are not ſo good food as when they feed upon trees. They will cut down trees about two fathoms in girth with their teeth, and one of them obſerves, when it is ready to fall, and gives a great cry, and runs the contrary way, to give room for the reſt to get out of the way. They then cut off all the twigs and ſmaller branches, two or three fathoms in length, and draw them to their houſes, which they have built in their ponds; after having raiſed or repaired their pond head, and made it ſtaunch, and thruſt one end into the clay or mud, that they may lie under water all the winter, to preſerve the bark green and tender, for their winter proviſion. After cutting off the ſmall branches, they cut and carry away the larger, until they come to the bole of the tree. The beavers are excellent food, but the tongue and tail the moſt delicious parts of the whole. They are very fat from November until the end of March; they have their young in the beginning of ſummer, at which time the females are lean by ſuckling their young, and the males are lean the whole ſummer, when they are making or repairing their ponds and houſes, and cutting down and providing timber and branches for their winter ſtore. They breed once in a year, and have from ten to fifteen at a litter, which grow up in one ſeaſon, ſo that they multiply very faſt; and if they can empty a pond and take the whole lodge, they generally leave a pair to breed, ſo that they are fully ſtocked again in two or three years. The loup corvier, or lynx, is of the cat kind, but as large as a great dog; it preys upon all beaſts it can conquer, as does the tiger, which is the only beaſt in that country that will not fly from a man. The American oxen or beeves, have a large bunch upon their backs, which is by far the moſt delicious part of them for food, it being all as ſweet as marrow, juicy and rich, and weighs ſeveral pounds.

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"The Indians weſt of the bay, living an erratic life, can have no benefit by tame fowl or cattle; they ſeldom ſtay above a fortnight at a place, unleſs they find plenty of game. When they remove, after having built their hut they diſperſe to get game for their food, and meet again at night, after having killed enough to maintain them that day; they do not go above a league or two from their hut. When they find ſcarcity of game, they remove a league or two farther, and thus they traverſe through theſe woody countries and bogs, ſcarce miſſing one day winter or ſummer, fair or foul, in the greateſt ſtorms of ſnow, but what they are employed in ſome kind of chace. The ſmaller game, got by traps or ſnares, are generally the employment of women and children, ſuch as the martins, ſquirrels, ermins, &c. The elks, ſtags, rein deer, bears, tigers, wild beef, wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, corcajon, &c. are the employment of the men. The Indians, when they kill any game for food, leave it where they kill it, and ſend their wives next day to carry it home. They go home in a direct line, never miſſing their way by obſervation they make of the courſe they take upon their going out, and ſo judge upon what point their huts are, and can thus direct themſelves upon any point of the compaſs. The trees all bend towards the ſouth, and the branches on that ſide are larger and ſtronger than on the north ſide, as alſo the moſs upon the trees. To let their wives know how to come at the killed game, they from place to place break off branches, and lay them in the road, pointing them the way they ſhould go, and ſometimes moſs, ſo that they never miſs finding it.

"In winter when they go abroad, which they muſt do in all weathers to hunt and ſhoot, for their daily food, before they dreſs they rub themſelves all over with bear's greaſe, or oil of beavers, which does not freeze, and alſo rub all the fur off their beaver coats, and then put them on; they have alſo a kind of boots or ſtockings of beaver's ſkin, well oiled, with the fur inwards, and above them they have an oiled ſkin laced about their feet, which keeps out the cold, and alſo water where there is no ice or ſnow, and by this means they never freeze or ſuffer any thing by cold. In ſummer alſo, when they go naked, they rub themſelves with theſe oils or greaſe, and expoſe themſelves to the ſun without being ſcorched, their ſkins being always kept ſoft and ſupple by it, nor do any flies, bugs, or muſketoes, or any noxious inſect ever moleſt them. When they want to get rid of it they go into the water, and rub themſelves all over with mud or clay, and let it dry upon them, and then rub it off. But whenever they are free from the oil, the flies and muſketoes immediately attack them, and oblige them again to anoint themſelves.

"The Indians make no uſe of honey; he ſaw no bees there but the wild humble-bee; but they are ſo much afraid of being ſtung with them, as they go naked in ſummer, that they avoid them as much as they can. Nor he did not ſee any of the maple they uſe in Canada to make ſugar of, but only the birch, whoſe juice they uſe for the ſame purpoſe; boiling it until it is black and dry, and then uſing it with their meat. They uſe no milk from the time they are weaned, and they all hate to taſte cheeſe, having taken up an opinion that it is made of dead men's fat; they love prunes and raiſins, and will give a beaver ſkin for twelve of them, to carry to their children, and alſo for a thrum or jew's harp.

"He ſays the women have all fine voices, but have never heard any muſical inſtrument. They are very fond of all ſorts of pictures or prints, giving a beaver for the leaſt print, and all toys are like jewels to them. When he got to the natives, ſouthward of Pachegoia, he had about thirty cowries left, and a few ſmall bells, leſs than hawks-bells. When he ſhewed one of them, they gave him a beaver's ſkin for it, and they were ſo fond that ſome gave him two ſkins, or three marten ſkins, for one, to give

give their wives to make them fine. The martens they take in traps, for if they ſhoot them their ſkins would be ſpoiled; they have generally five or ſix at a litter. He ſays the natives are ſo diſcouraged in their trade with the company, that no ſkins are worth the carriage; and the fineſt furs were ſold for very little, when they came to the factory in June 1742. The prices they took for the European goods were much higher than the ſettled prices fixed by the company, which the governors fix ſo to ſhew the company how zealous they are to improve their trade, and ſell their goods to advantage. He ſays they gave but a pound of gunpowder for four beavers; a fathom of tobacco for ſeven beavers; a pound of ſhot for one; an ell of coarſe cloth for fifteen; a blanket for twelve; two fiſh-hooks or three flints for one; a gun for twenty-five; a piſtol for ten; a common hat, with white lace, for ſeven; an axe for four; a bill-hook for one; a gallon of brandy for four; a chequered ſhirt for ſeven; all which were ſold at a monſtrous profit, even to two thouſand per cent. Notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, the two fleets which went down with him, and parted at the Great Fork, carried down two hundred packs of one hundred each, twenty thouſand beavers; and the other Indians who arrived that year, he computed, carried down three hundred packs of two hundred each, making thirty thouſand; in all fifty thouſand beavers, and above nine thouſand martens.

" The furs there are much more valuable than the furs upon the Canada lakes, ſold at New York; for theſe will give five or ſix ſhillings per pound, when the others ſell at three ſhillings and ſixpence. He ſays that if a fort was built at the Great Fork, ſixty leagues above York Fort, and a factory with European goods was fixed there, and a reaſonable price was put upon the European goods, that the trade would be wonderfully increaſed; for the natives from the ſouthward of Pachegoia, could make, at leaſt, two returns in a ſummer, and thoſe at greater diſtances could make one, who cannot now come at all; and above double the number would be employed in hunting, and many more ſkins would be brought to market, that they cannot now afford to bring, for the expence and low price given for them. The ſtream is ſo gentle from the Fork to York Fort, on either branch, that large veſſels and ſhallops may be built there, and carry down the bulky goods, and alſo return again againſt the ſtream; and the climate is good and fit to produce grain, pulſe, &c. and very good graſs and hay for horſes and cattle; and if afterwards any ſettlement were made upon Pachegoia, and veſſels built to navigate that lake, which is not more northerly than the latitude of 52 degrees, the trade would be ſtill vaſtly inlarged and improved, and ſpread the trade not only up the river and lakes, as far as the Lake du Bois and du Pluis, but alſo among the Aſſinibouls, and nations beyond them; and the nation de Vieux Hommes, who are two hundred leagues weſtward of Pachegoia. He ſays the nations who go up that river with preſents, to confirm the peace, are three months in going, and ſay they live behind a range of mountains beyond Aſſinibouls; he ſaw ſeveral of them, who all wanted a joint of their little finger, which they ſaid was cut off ſoon after they were born, but gave no reaſon for it.

" Whilſt he was at York Fort he got acquainted with an old Indian who lived at ſome diſtance from Nelſon's Bay to the weſtward, being one of thoſe they call the home Indians, who had about fifteen years ago, gone at the head of thirty warriors to make war againſt the Attimoſpiquais, Tete Plat, or Plazcotez de Chiens, a nation lying northward, on the weſtern ocean of America; he was the only one that returned, all the reſt being killed, or periſhed through fatigue or want of food; upon their return, when they went they carried their own families with them, and hunted and fiſhed from place to place for two winters and one ſummer, having left their country in autumn,

autumn, and in April following came to the ſea ſide on the weſtern coaſt, where they immediately made their canoes; at ſome ſmall diſtance they ſaw an iſland, which was about a league and a half long; when the tide was out, or water fell, they had no water betwixt them and the iſland, but when it roſe, it covered all the paſſage and the iſland, as high as the woods upon the ſhore. There they left their wives and children, and old men to conduct them home, and provide them with proviſions by hunting and ſhooting for them upon the road; and he with thirty warriors, went in queſt of the enemies of the Tete Plat.

"After they parted with their families they came to a ſtreight which they paſſed in their canoes; the ſea coaſt lay almoſt eaſt and weſt, for he ſaid the ſun roſe on his right-hand, and at noon it was almoſt behind him, as he paſſed the ſtreight, and always ſet in the ſea. After paſſing the ſtreight, they coaſted along the ſea for three months, going into the country and woods as they went along to hunt for proviſions. He ſaid they ſaw a great many large black fiſh, ſpouting up water in the ſea. After they had thus coaſted for near three months, they ſaw the footſteps of ſome men on the ſand, by which they judged they were not far from their enemies; upon which they quitted their canoes, and went five days through the woods and buſhes, which were but very low and ſhrubby, and ſo cloſe they could with difficulty make way through it; and then came to the banks of a river, where they found a large town of their enemies; and, after making their uſual cry, they diſcharged their arrows and guns againſt thoſe who appeared; upon which they fled; but finding how few they were, they returned and killed fifteen of them, and wounded three or four more; upon which they fled to the woods, and from thence made their eſcape to their canoes before their enemies overtook them; and, after a great deal of fatigue got to the ſtreights, and after getting over they all died one after another of fatigue and famine, except this old man; leaving him alone to travel to his own country, which took him up about a year's time, having left his gun when his ammunition was ſpent, and, and loſt all his arrows, and upon his return had not even a knife with him; ſo that he was reduced to live upon herbs and moſs growing upon the rocks, and was almoſt famiſhed when he reached the river Sakie, where he met his friends, who relieved him when he deſpaired of ever again ſeeing his own country."

This, ſays Mr. Dobbs, is the account ſo far as Joſeph la France could inform me of thoſe countries ſouthward of York Fort, which may be brought to trade there in time. It muſt be allowed, that this relation is equally inſtructive and entertaining; it makes us at once acquainted with the country, and with the reaſons which ſhould induce us to think it worth our while to enquire about it; it ſhews us, that theſe countries are far from being unhoſpitable, or uninhabitable; that, on the contrary, there are many nations already known, and many more of whom the Europeans have had notice; all of whom are ſufficiently in want, and have it at the ſame time abundantly in their power to pay us for ſupplies. This, I ſay, is evidently made appear, ſince it is affirmed, and the fact is ſo true as not be diſputed, that the French carry on a great trade with theſe Indians, and that they are very well able to bear the rigour of the ſeaſons in thoſe parts; and if they can bear it, ſurely ſo may we.

It may indeed be objected, that the French are very apt to boaſt of much more than they perform, and therefore we ought not to give an implicit credit to their relations, eſpecially in their own favour.

But this is eaſily anſwered, ſince Mr. Dobbs has alſo furniſhed us with Engliſh memoirs that prove the very ſame thing; and therefore I ſhall quote from him what is ſufficient for that purpoſe, and which is no leſs entertaining than the account given

us by Joſeph la France, and of no leſs authority than his, ſince it is given us by an Engliſhman of credit, who reports nothing but from his own experience and obſervation:

"Mr. Froſt, who has been many years employed by the company in the bay, both at Churchill and Mooſe River factory, and who was their interpreter with the natives, and travelled a conſiderable way into the country, both north-weſt of Churchill and ſouthward of Mooſe River factory, and has reſided at Mooſe River, ſince the factory was made there in 1730, gives a very good account of that climate and country there, and up the river ſouthward of it: he ſays the factory is built near the mouth of the river, in latitude 51 degrees 28 minutes, upon a navigable river, which, at twelve miles diſtant from the fort, is divided into two branches; one comes from the ſouthward, the other from the ſouth-weſt. Upon the ſouthern branch, all ſort of grain thrives, as barley, beans, and peaſe do at the factory, though expoſed to all the chilling winds which come from the ice in the bay. Upon the ſouthern part, above the falls, there grows naturally along the river, the ſame kind of wild oats and rye mentioned already upon the lake of Sieno, the huſk being black, but the grain within perfectly white and clear, like rice; the Indians beating it off when ripe into their canoes, as they paſs along the river, it growing in the water, like rice. In their woods, at the bottom of the bay, at Mooſe and Albany, as well as at Rupert's River, are very large timber trees of all kinds; oak, aſh, &c. as well as pine, cedar, and ſpruce; they have exceeding good graſs to make hay, which improves every day, as they cut and feed it, and may have every where within land all ſorts of pulſe and grain, and all ſorts of fruit trees, as in the ſame climate in Europe; for all the ſorts they have tried thrive very well.

"The ice breaks up at Mooſe factory in the beginning of April, but higher up in the country in March. It is navigable for canoes a great way up among the falls; at a conſiderable diſtance there is one fall of fifty feet, but above that it is deep, and navigable for a great way; the climate above the fall is very good, and the river abounds with that wild rice. The French have got a houſe, or ſettlement for trade, near the ſouthern branch, above one hundred miles above the factory, where they ſell their goods cheaper than the company do, although it be ſo difficult to carry them ſo far from Canada, and very expenſive; and give as much for a marten's ſkin as they do for a beaver, when we inſiſt upon three for one; ſo that the French get all the choice ſkins, and leave only the refuſe for the company. The French have alſo got another houſe pretty high up upon Rupert's River, by which they have gained all the trade upon the Eaſt Main, except a little the company get at Slude river." He ſays, "That upon the ſouth ſide of the great inland ſea, upon the Eaſt Main, which has lately been diſcovered, there is an exceeding rich lead mine, from which the natives have brought very good ore, which might turn to very great advantage, as well as the furs upon that coaſt, which might be vaſtly increaſed if the trade was laid open, and ſettlements made in proper places. He ſays, when he was at Churchill, he travelled a conſiderable way in the country north-weſtward of the River of Seals, that near the river and ſea-coaſt there were ſmall ſhrubby woods; but for many miles, at leaſt ſixty farther into the country, they had nothing but a barren white moſs, upon which the rein-deer feed, and alſo the mooſe, buffaloes, and other deer; and the natives told him, farther weſtward, beyond that barren country, there were large woods. He was acquainted when there, about fifteen years ago, with an Indian chief, who traded at Churchill, who had been often at a fine copper mine, which they ſtruck off the rocks with ſharp ſtones. He ſaid it was upon iſlands at the mouth of the river, and lay to the northward of that country where they had no night in ſummer.

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" As to the trade at Churchill, it is increaſing; it being at too great diſtance from the French for them to interfere in the trade; in the year 1742, it amounted to twenty thouſand beavers. There were about one hundred up-land Indians came in their canoes to trade, and about two hundred northern Indians, who brought their furs and ſkins upon ſledges; ſome of them came down the River of Seals, fifteen leagues northward of Churchill, in canoes, and brought their furs from thence by land. They have no beavers to the northward of Churchill, they not having there ſuch ponds or woods as they chooſe to feed upon; but they have great numbers of martens, foxes, bears, rein-deer, buffaloes, wolves, and other beaſts of rich furs, the country being moſtly rocky, and covered with white moſs, upon which the rein-deer, or cariboux, feed.

" There is a great deal of ſmall wood, of the ſpruce or fir kind, near the old factory; but the wood improves, as it is farther up the river from the bay; where they have juniper, birch, and poplar. And more ſoutherly the timber is larger, and there are great variety of trees; they are under great inconveniences at the new fort, which is upon an elevated ſituation, upon a rock without ſhelter, cloſe by the ſhore, ſurrounded with ſnow and ice for eight months in the year, expoſed to all the winds and ſtorms that happen; where they can have no conveniency of graſs or hay, or gardening, and yet they had four or five horſes there, and a bull, and two cows, near the factory; but they were obliged to bring their hay from a marſhy bottom, ſome miles up the river, to feed them in winter; but if a ſettlement was made higher up the river ſouthward, ſome leagues from the bay, in ſhelter, without the reach of the chilling winds, they would have graſs and hay ſufficient, and might have alſo gardens and proper greens, and roots, propagated there. They ſay there is a communication betwixt that river and Nelſon's River, at a great diſtance within land, or a very ſhort land-carriage betwixt them; for the Indians who trade here tell them, each ſeaſon, what chiefs, with their followers, go down that year to Nelſon or Albany river."

We may juſtly wonder that we never had before any clear account of theſe matters, conſidering how long we have had factories in theſe parts; and that on the contrary all the accounts hitherto given repreſent the coaſts of Hudſon's Bay, as the moſt forlorn and dreadful part of the univerſe, hitherto diſcovered; as regions freezing and frightful, almoſt beyond all deſcription, and which it would appear dreadful and cruel to ſend even malefactors to inhabit. But for this the ſame gentleman has fully accounted; and it is requiſite that the public ſhould be very well acquainted with the account that he has given; for ſince the great council of the nation has thought fit to encourage an attempt to diſcover a paſſage this way into the South Seas, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe that endeavours will not be wanting to puſh that attempt to the utmoſt; to facilitate which there is nothing of ſo great importance as the proving that the diſcouragements which have been hitherto repreſented as inſuperable, have been over-rated, and that notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid of them, it is not only poſſible but probable, that they may be overcome; towards which nothing ſurely can contribute more than the pointing out the motives, upon which they have hitherto been conſtantly repreſented, in ſo ſtrong a light, which is very effectually done in the following paſſage from the ſame author; who, as he has ſtudied this point, ſo it muſt be allowed he has made it as clear as with reaſon could well be expected.

" The company avoid all they can making diſcoveries to the northward of Churchill, or extending their trade that way, for fear they ſhould diſcover a paſſage to the weſtern ocean of America, and tempt, by that means, the reſt of the Engliſh merchants to lay open their trade, which they know they have no legal right to; which, if the paſſage was found, would not only animate the reſt of the merchants to purſue the trade

through that paſſage, but alſo to find out the great advantages that might be made of the trade of the rivers and countries adjoining to the bay, by which means they would loſe their beloved monopoly. But the proſpect they have of gain to be made by trading with the Eſkimauk Indians, for whale-fin, whale and ſea oil, and ſea-horſe teeth, induces them to venture a ſloop annually, as far as 62 degrees 30 minutes, to Whale Cove, where theſe Indians meet them, and truck their fins and oil with them. But though they are fully informed of a fine copper mine on a navigable arm of the ſea, north-weſtward of Whale Cove, and the Indians have offered to carry their ſloops to it, yet their fear of diſcovering the paſſage puts bounds to their avarice, and prevents their going to the mine, which by all accounts is very rich. Yet thoſe who have been at Whale Cove, own that from thence northward is all broken land; and that after paſſing ſome iſlands, they from the hills ſee the ſea open, leading to the weſtward. And the Indians who have been often at the mine ſay it is upon a navigable arm of the ſea, of great depth, leading to the ſouth-weſt, where are great numbers of large black fiſh ſpouting water, which confirms the opinion that all the whales ſeen between Whale Cove and Wager River, all come there from the weſtern ocean, ſince none are ſeen any where elſe in Hudſon's Bay or Streight. All along this coaſt from the latitude 62 degrees to 65 degrees, a very beneficial fiſhery of whales may be carried on with theſe Eſkimauk Indians; who, even without the uſe of iron, can harpoon and kill whales, and if they were ſupplied with iron harpoons, and proper cordage, they might be brought to kill great numbers of them. At preſent all their nets, lines, and ſnares, are made of whale-bone, and moſt of their boats and other neceſſaries of the ſeal-ſkins, fiſh-bones, and ſea-horſe teeth, and in making all things neceſſary for them, they are very neat and ingenious."

The ſame judicious perſon, from whom we have borrowed ſo much already, has taken the pains to give, from very authentic relations, a very clear, as well as a very copious account of moſt of the Indian nations that lie at the back of our northern colonies, and between the French ſettlements in Canada, and on the Miſſiſſippi River; with the countries they inhabited, and the product of thoſe countries, which I eſteem a thing of very great conſequence, and as material a ſervice to this nation, as has been rendered for many years; the account is too long for me to inſert, but the inferences he draws from it are ſo juſt, and of ſo high conſequence, that I think it would be an injury done the reader not to report them, as it would certainly be doing both him and the ſubject great wrong, to report them in any other than his own words, which without farther preface I ſhall uſe; only it is neceſſary to premiſe at the time this gentleman publiſhed his book, the war with France was not actually broke out.

"How glorious, ſays he, would it be for us at the ſame time to civilize ſo many nations, and improve ſo large and ſpacious a country, by communicating our conſtitution and liberties, both civil and religious, to ſo many numbers, whoſe happineſs and pleaſure would increaſe at the ſame time, that an increaſe of wealth and power would be added to Britain.

"There is, at preſent, a beginning of this ſcheme, by the zeal of Mr. Barclay, who is inſtructing and civilizing the Mowhawks, among the Iroqueſe, who from a warlike nation have embarked in trade, and entered into alliances with all nations round the lakes Huron and Errie, and to the weſtward as far as the Miſſiſſippi, which is firmly eſtabliſhed by the gain they make by the trade. The Engliſh, from New York, have fixed at Oſwega, in their country, upon equitable terms with all the Indians, who come now from a great diſtance to trade at that town; Indians coming now to trade there, whoſe names were never before known to the Engliſh. This therefore ſeems to be the

critical time to begin this ſettlement, on the banks of Conde River. If there be a war with France, as we are at a great expence to ſave the liberties of Europe, and ſupport the Houſe of Auſtria, ſince we can have nothing in Europe beneficial for us; in caſe we are ſucceſsful at the concluſion of the war, we ought to ſtipulate for ſomething advantageous in America; and the leaſt we ought to claim is our right to the American lakes, and ſecuring the navigation of them. The French have, at preſent, two little forts, and about thirty men in each; at Niagara, and the ſtreights of St. Joſeph; and a few men at Miſſiliackinac, and at the bottom of the Illineſe Lake. Theſe we ought to have from them, either by force or treaty, which would ſecure the inland trade to us, and prevent their future incroachments, either there or in Hudſon's Bay; and to do this effectually, would be to make a ſettlement near the lake Errie, which may be done with little or no expence, conſidering our preſent barrier and alliance, and trade with the natives; and whenever our troops are diſbanded, ſome of them may be ſent over upon half-pay, to fix in proper places and make good our poſſeſſions, which would be a fine retreat to our ſoldiers, who cannot, ſo eaſily, after being diſbanded, bring themſelves again to hard labour, after being ſo long diſuſed to it.

"By theſe ſettlements, and thoſe adjoining to Hudſon's Bay, and by opening the trade to the bay, many thouſands more would be employed in trade, and a much greater vent would be opened to our manufactures; whereas, all the trade we have at preſent, whilſt it is thus confined to the company, is the employment of one hundred and twenty men in all their factories; and two or three ſhips in that trade, manned perhaps with one hundred and twenty men in time of war, to enrich nine or ten merchants at their country's expence, at the ſame time betraying the nation, by allowing the French to encroach upon us at the bottom of the bay, having given up by that means the greateſt part of their trade there to the French. It is therefore humbly ſubmitted to the government, whether it is not juſt, as well as prudent, to open the trade to all the Britiſh merchants, and reſume, at the ſame time, the charter, ſo far as to take from them all the lands they have not reclaimed or occupied, after ſeventy years poſſeſſion, leaving them only their factories, and ſuch lands as they have reclaimed, adjoining to them; and to give grants, as uſual, in other colonies, to all who ſhall go over to trade, and make ſettlements in the country; for no grant was ever intended to be made to them, to enable them to prevent other ſubjects of Britain from planting thoſe colonies, which they themſelves would not plant or occupy; for ſuch a power, inſtead of being beneficial, would be the greateſt prejudice to Britain. It is therefore become a general law in all the colonies, that thoſe who take grants of land, and do not plant them in a reaſonable limited time, forfeit their right to thoſe lands, and a new grant is made out to ſuch others as ſhall plant and improve them; and if this grant be not immediately reſumed ſo far, and the trade laid open, and ſome force be not ſent to ſecure our ſouthern plantations in the bay by the government, in caſe there ſhould be a French war, we ſhall ſee the French immediately diſpoſſeſs the company of all their factories but Churchill, and all theſe countries, and that trade, will be in poſſeſſion of the French.

"To the making ſuch ſettlements ſome objections have been made by the friends of the company, as the great difficulty of getting people to go to ſettle and plant in ſo cold a country, and the difficulty and danger attending the making ſettlements higher up upon the rivers, and navigating them, as they are ſo full of falls and rapids, that can only be navigated by the natives in ſmall canoes, made of birch bark, which cannot contain above two men with any cargo; and in theſe they are often overſet, and are in ſuch danger of being drowned, and of ſpoiling their goods, that they are often obliged to

carry

carry their canoes and cargo from place to place, which obſtructs greatly and delays the navigation; and that ſcarce five men out of one hundred and twenty, which the company now have in the bay, will venture themſelves in, or can conduct ſuch canoes, without imminent danger of being drowned, and conſequently theſe hardſhips and difficulties will counter-balance the profit to be made of ſettling higher up in the country, upon the rivers, in pleaſanter and warmer climates.

"To this I anſwer, that by the accounts already given here of theſe climates and countries, by impartial perſons, who do not want to diſguiſe the truth, it appears that the cold is tolerable, even at theſe diſadvantageous ſettlements at preſent in the bay; and that upon paſſing only five or ſix leagues up the rivers into the country, the climate is ſo altered, as to be equal to thoſe of the ſame latitudes in Europe; and that theſe prodigious accounts of the effects of cold, are calculated only to ſerve the company, in order to prevent people from going there to ſettle, and encroach upon the company's monopoly of trade. And to the difficulty they make about navigating theſe rivers in thoſe ſmall canoes, and the ſmall number employed by the company, who will venture in them, or can conduct them, I anſwer, that their ſervants being at preſent no gainers by trade, will not endeavour to learn to navigate theſe canoes, where there is any riſk, and care neceſſary to prevent the danger. Beſides, the company allows them no time to learn, by confining them to their factories, whilſt the Indian trade continues, and the navigation is open; and at other times keeps them employed in cutting wood for firing, bringing it home, ſhooting, fiſhing, and digging in their gardens, to ſupply themſelves with proviſions, to leſſen the company's expence, ſo that they are allowed no time to learn to navigate theſe boats, or to go up the rivers to obſerve the ſoil and climate, or what improvements might be made in the country. But if they were maſters of their own time, and could advance their wealth by trade, and found a conſiderable profit to ariſe to them by their dexterity in managing theſe canoes, and the great pleaſure and ſatisfaction they would have by living in a fine climate among theſe lakes and rivers, they would be as enterprizing and dexterous as the Cureur de Bois, and be as able to navigate among theſe water-falls, as the French. Neither is it impracticable to prevent even thoſe canoes from overſetting, by outlagers or blown bladders fixed to their ſides, or other kind of boats may be uſed, ſuch as are made at Torneo in Sweden, upon the rivers falling into the Bothnic Gulph, and Laplanders might be prevailed upon to go there to teach them how to make and manage theſe boats, and train up rein-deer to draw in ſledges in winter, and alſo to uſe Lapland ſhoes, which are better than thoſe uſed in America.

"If the trade was once made free, the profit made upon it would induce many to go and ſettle upon thoſe rivers, when not only horſes and other conveniences would be had near the water-falls, to aſſiſt the land carriage in ſummer, but alſo horſes and rein-deer to draw their ſledges in winter, as in Ruſſia, which is almoſt as cheap a carriage as by water, when the proper roads are made through the woods, ſo that objection muſt be of no force to prevent our opening the trade, and ſettling theſe countries. But ſuppoſing the worſt, that we could not manage theſe canoes, that could not prevent our ſettling to advantage upon theſe rivers and lakes above the falls, for the natives might ſtill be our carriers, in navigating thoſe dangerous places, and taking our goods from one ſettlement to another, whilſt we ſhould be employed in navigation and trade among the lakes and rivers where there are no falls, in larger veſſels, and puſh our commerce ſouthward into better climates and richer ſoils, and put the natives upon improvements in trade, by civilizing and inſtructing them in building convenient houſes, and aſſociating

in towns, making gardens, and tilling their lands; providing them with horſes and tame cattle, and fowl, for their uſe, and proper tools which our trade would furniſh them with.

"Another objection is, that it is a difficult and dangerous navigation into the bay, and the trade is not worth the riſk. To this I anſwer, that the navigation is not ſo dangerous as it is apprehended to be, but appears to be more ſo by the inſinuations and report of the company and their friends, who gave it out in order to deter others from venturing and interfering in their trade, and for that reaſon they oblige their captains, under a penalty, not to publiſh any charts of the bay and ſtreight. Captain Middleton, who was in their ſervice, made above twenty voyages to different parts of the bay, and never loſt a ſhip, nor had any accident in theſe voyages; nor have I heard that the company, in about twenty-three years, have loſt any ſhips in that trade, but two, and the men and cargo were ſaved by Captain Middleton. Where captains are careful in the ice, there is not much danger; it is of great advantage to them that there is no night at that ſeaſon they enter the bay, where the quantity of ice is greateſt; and when they return in September, or even in October, all the ice is in a manner diſſolved or paſſed out of the ſtreight into the ocean, and none ſeen that can hinder their paſſage.

"It is probable, that during the whole winter, from October to March, there is no ice in the ſtreight to obſtruct their paſſage into or out of the bay; for a ſhip which chanced to be cloſed up with ice in an inlet, by breaking of the ice got out, and came through the ice at Chriſtmas, without finding any ice in the ſtreight to prevent her paſſage; for the ice which is formed in bays and rivers, in winter, does not break up and get into the channel or ſtreight until it begins to thaw upon the ſhore in March or April; at which time it is carried by the winds and tide into the ſtreight, and obſtructs the paſſage in May or June, until it is diſſolved; yet, even then, good pilots know how to avoid it and get into the eddy-tide, out of the current; where the ice is more open, and not drove together by the winds and current, as it is in the channel. But theſe difficulties would leſſen every day, if the trade were opened and the voyages more frequent, by the great number of ſhips, which would make many more experienced pilots. And as there is now a more accurate chart publiſhed of the ſtreight and bay, by Capt. Middleton, with the iſlands, ſoundings, tides, and variation, the navigation will become leſs dangerous daily, and coves, and places of ſhelter for ſhips, will be found out, by the number of ſhips which would then paſs, and be trading in thoſe ſeas which are now unknown. I therefore apprehend, that the danger of the ice is more in imagination than reality, when care and judgment are employed; for ſhips are moſtly incloſed in ice in calm weather and fogs, when the ice prevents the motion of the ſea; ſtormy weather diſperſes and breaks the ice, unleſs they get under the lee of a large iſland of ice; and then they faſten to it, and drive along with it, whilſt the ſmaller ice to leeward is drove from them by the wind, and the large iſlands, being many fathoms deep in the water, come on ground before the ſhips are in danger of being forced on ſhore in ſhallow water.

"The greateſt danger and delay from the ice is in the entrance into the ſtreight; for the firſt forty leagues from thence the quantity is leſs, and they paſs on with leſs difficulty; and after getting into the bay, the north-weſt ſide is the freeſt from ice; the bottom of the bay is full of low flat ice, which is all diſſolved in the latter end of ſummer. Upon the whole, except two ſhips, which were loſt in King William's reign, and a French ſhip, after an engagement with our ſhips when they attacked Fort Nelſon, I have heard of none, except the ſhips already mentioned, which have been loſt in the voyage. The two ſhips which went out with Barlow, in 1719, to find the north-weſt paſſage,

paſſage, contrary to the inclinations of the company, if they did not make the paſſage were probably, in the winter, ſurpriſed by the natives, and were not loſt in the ice; for they ſay, that the natives, in about latitude 63 degrees, where they ſuppoſe they were loſt, are ſhyer ſince that time in trading with the company's ſloops; which they apprehend to be from a conſciouſneſs of guilt, fearing that if it were known they ſhould ſtill be puniſhed for it. Since, therefore, the greateſt danger from the ice, is in paſſing the ſtreight, and ſo few accidents have happened in ſo many years, the navigation, I think, cannot be called dangerous, though it has been ſo apprehended, and not equal to the whale-fiſhers, who go annually to Spitſberg and Davis's Streights to latitudes 78 and 80 degrees, without any objection to that navigation, either by the Dutch, Hamburghers, Danes, Biſcayners, or Engliſh."

He concludes from thence, that the opening the trade and ſettling in the bay, would prove a great benefit to, and great improvement of, our trade, which might be vaſtly increaſed, as well in reſpect to furs as to mines, and the whale-fiſhery; all which might be carried on with the aſſiſtance of the Indians, and would turn to a very high profit, even ſuppoſing that no paſſage to the north-weſt ſhould ever be found; but ſhould future experience demonſtrate that this gentleman's notions are, in this reſpect, well founded, and this long ſought for paſſage ſhould actually be diſcovered, it would then certainly follow that this country, ſo little known and ſo much deſpiſed till very lately, would become of more conſequence to us than almoſt any colony in America. Here let me take the liberty of obſerving what hitherto, as far as I know, has never yet been conſidered; that if ſuch a paſſage to the north-weſt ſhould be diſcovered before theſe countries are tolerably planted, the French would have a fair opportunity of ſupplanting us in the advantages expected from that important attempt; and perhaps we ſhould then be forced to fight for the poſſeſſion of countries that are now thought not worth the having.

It may likewiſe deſerve ſome thought, whether it be not better to attempt ſuch ſettlements without loſs of time, as muſt at all events be highly uſeful and ſerviceable to this nation, by dividing the French ſettlements in Canada, and on the Miſſiſſippi, from each other, than to wait till the importance of ſuch ſettlements ſhall appear in ſo glaring a light, as they muſt immediately do if ſuch a paſſage ſhould be diſcovered; for we ought to remember, from the famous inſtance of our being diſappointed in our deſign of ſettling the iſlands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, that it is a very difficult matter, in a time of full peace, for us to acquire any advantage in point of commerce, at the expence of the French, who, in ſuch a caſe, would not fail to take the ſame vigorous meaſures that they did in the caſe before mentioned. I have taken the more pains to place this matter in a fair and true light, becauſe I am perſuaded this is the time in which only it can be conſidered to advantage; for if the caſe now in view (I mean, the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage) ſhould ever come, as I am convinced, ſooner or later it will come to be the caſe in fact, the face of affairs will be quite changed, and this new route to the South Seas and Eaſt Indies will produce ſuch an alteration in the whole commercial ſyſtem of Europe, that things will be ſeen to be then of the utmoſt conſequence, which at preſent moſt people look upon as dreams and viſions, notwithſtanding the late ſanction given them by the wiſdom of the parliament.

But it becomes a prudent and ſenſible people, and above all, it imports a maritime power, to conſider things in time, and while what is propoſed for their benefit is eaſy, or at leaſt practicable; and not to defer and delay things till from being troubleſome and difficult they come to be abſolutely impoſſible. We know what ſharp and cutting remarks have been made on the meanneſs of King James's ſpirit, in ſuffering the Dutch

to

to deſpoil us of the ſpice trade: we cannot but remember the ſevere reflections on Queen Anne's miniſtry, for not ſecuring to us Cape Breton, and therefore we ſhould be cautious of falling a third time into the ſame miſtake, and of running the hazard of making a great diſcovery, ſuch as all the world allows that of the north-weſt paſſage would be, rather for other people's benefit than our own, ſince it muſt paſs for a blunder, greater than ever was made by our anceſtors, and would render us effectually ridiculous in the eyes of lateſt poſterity.

12. The method we have taken in deſcribing the acquiſitions of our nation in America, leads us next to ſpeak of the noble country of Penſylvania; the beſt projected, and one of the moſt flouriſhing of our colonies on the continent of North America. We have before mentioned Admiral Penn, who in conjunction with Col. Venables, conquered the iſland of Jamaica for this nation; he became afterwards Sir William Penn, and ſtood in as high a degree of credit with King Charles II. and his brother the Duke of York, as any ſeaman of that time, as indeed he very well deſerved; for, with abilities ſuperior to moſt, he had as great modeſty as any man, and was ready, upon all occaſions, to ſerve his country in any ſtation that was found practicable. It was this excellent diſpoſition of mind that ſecured him from danger under one government, and recommended him to preferment under another; for when the Duke of York propoſed to take the command of the Engliſh fleet upon himſelf in the Dutch war, as Lord High Admiral, he made choice of Sir William Penn as the moſt experienced, and the moſt capable officer to ſerve under him, which he did with equal ſatisfaction to his Royal Highneſs, and credit to himſelf; eſtabliſhing thereby ſuch a reputation at court, as laſted during his life, and proved no leſs uſeful to his ſon.

But Sir William Penn did not long enjoy his high ſtation, and dying in the weſt country where he was born, was buried in Redcliff church in Briſtol, having, in reward of his ſervices, had a promiſe of the grant of this country from King Charles the IId. Sir William had a kinſman who was one of the firſt planters in New England, and it is, doubtleſs, from him that he had exact and particular information of the advantages that might be made of lands and ſettlements in this continent of America. But young Mr. Penn did not for ſome years apply himſelf ſtrenuouſly to ſolicit the promiſed grant, till at laſt finding his friends, the Quakers, were haraſſed all over England by ſpiritual courts, he reſolved to put himſelf at the head of as many as would go with him and remove to this country, of which he obtained the grant in the year 1679.

He gave it the name of Penſylvania ſome time before he was actually inveſted with it, and ſo it is called in the original patent, bearing date March the 4th 1680. "It contained all that tract of land in America, with all the iſlands belonging to it, from the beginning of the 40th degree of north latitude to the 43d degree, whoſe eaſtern bound, from twelve Engliſh miles above Newcaſtle, alias Delawar town, runs all along upon the ſide of Delawar river." So that it is bounded on the eaſt by that bay and river, and the eaſtern ſea; on the north by Weſt New Jerſey, or rather New York, for it runs a great way above the Jerſeys; on the weſt by the Indian nations, about the heads of Suſquahanaugh and Delawar rivers, by which we ſee it ſtretches far within land, that river running through it about two or three hundred miles; on the ſouth it is bounded by Maryland, and reaching from Penſbury near the falls of the river to Hanlope, near the mouth of the bay, above one hundred and fifty miles directly; but it is narrow all along, being very much crowded in the breadth by Maryland.

The bounds and extent we have mentioned are in the original grant; but Mr. Penn having afterwards obtained part of Nova Belgia of the Duke of York, it was added to the country in the firſt grant, and both together called Penſylvania, which is divided

into three upper and three lower counties; the three upper counties, Buckingham, Philadelphia, and Cheſter, are the Penſylvania, ſo called in King Charles's grant. The three lower counties, Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, are taken out of Nova Belgia, or the province of New York. The upper counties end at Marcus Hook, four miles below Cheſter Town; the lower run along the coaſt one hundred and twenty miles, and are forty miles deep towards Maryland. Thus the whole province of Penſylvania, from the Falls Townſhip, to twenty miles below Hanlope or Cape William, is in length three hundred and thirty miles, and in breadth two hundred. The river Delawar, above and below the Falls, for a good length, is called the Freſhes, and near the mouth are the marſhes, very fertile and profitable.

As ſoon as Mr. Penn had got his patent, he invited ſeveral perſons to purchaſe lands under it. Though he did not ſatisfy himſelf with the title granted him by Charles the IId. and his brother. He alſo bought the land of the Indians. The Swedes, who had encroached upon the Dutch, the firſt planters here, as well as at New York, ſettled upon or near the Freſhes of Delawar. The Fins, or inhabitants of Finland, part of the kingdom of Sweden, applied themſelves chiefly to huſbandry. The king of Sweden appointed a governor here, who had often diſputes with the governor that preſided over the Dutch. The latter applied themſelves moſtly to traffic, living upon, or near, the bay, and by the neighbourhood of New York. The Dutch alſo were too powerful for the Swedes, who, finding they could not maintain their ground, ſubmitted to their ſtronger neighbours. Accordingly John Riſeing, the Swediſh governor, made a formal ſurrender of the country to Peter Styerſont, governor for the States General, after which this province continued ſubject to their Republic till the Engliſh drove the Dutch out of New Amſterdam or New York, which made the poſſeſſion of thoſe territories the more eaſy to Mr. Penn.

There were a few Engliſh here before Mr. Penn ſent over the firſt adventurers under his patent, over whom he placed, as governor, Colonel William Markham, his nephew, to whom both Dutch and Swedes ſubmitted. Thoſe that went over, were generally diſſenters, from London, Liverpool, and eſpecially Briſtol, for the weſt of England abounded with diſſenters more than other counties; they ſhipped themſelves at Briſtol in great numbers for Penſylvania. Mr. Thomas Gouldney, and Mr. Duddleſtone, two tobacco merchants of that city, about this time fitted out the Unicorn, a ſhip of three hundred tons, for this voyage; which putting into Start, took in a great many from Bridgewater. Mr. Penn had ſold twenty thouſand acres of his property to Mr. James Claypool, Mr. Nicholas Moor, Mr. Philip Ford, and others, who formed a company, and had a ſtreet, and a ſide of a ſtreet, ſet out for them in Philadelphia, with four hundred acres of land in the city liberties. They ſet up a tannery, a ſaw mill, a glaſs houſe, and a whalery; of the two latter, I ſuppoſe, they never made any great profit. The proprietors conditions of ſale were theſe: Buyers purchaſed after the rate of twenty pounds for one thouſand acres, ſo that he put four hundred pounds in his pocket immediately, but that was a trifle to what went out of it for the grant and experiments to people and ſettle the country; the quit-rent was twelve pounds for every hundred acres. This was cheap enough, but I think the renters were not ſo well uſed, for they were to pay ſo much an acre yearly. Thus theſe twenty thouſand acres which he ſold the company, would, if rented, have brought him one thouſand pounds a-year. Since that time the value of land is ſo much riſen, that I have been credibly informed it has ſold for twenty years purchaſe, at ſeveral miles diſtant from Philadelphia; and that near it has gone at a pound an acre, and in ſome places at more than a pound an acre yearly.

We

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

Engraved by George Cooke, from a Large Print, by permission of Mr. Nightingale.

*Philadelphia from the Great Tree, Kensington,*

*under which Penn, made his Treaty with the Indians.*

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We have mentioned near four thouſand acres to be at this time parcelled out for ſale, ſome at ſixty miles diſtant from Philadelphia; but none of theſe parcels will fetch a tenth part of ſuch rates as theſe. Servants, men and women, were to have fifty acres when their times were out, and owners of land fifty acres a head for ſuch ſervants, men or women. In the year 1681 Mr. Penn went himſelf to Penſylvania, and carried with him, and there went after him, two thouſand ſouls; a prodigious augmentation in leſs than a year! And he might with reaſon ſay as he did, it was made at once a country. As ſoon as he arrived he took the government into his own hands, and entered upon treaties with the Indian kings, for purchaſing his patent-lands, and others, as is before hinted. One may aſſure one's ſelf he gave but little for them, and if the French and Spaniards ſcorned to pay ſuch a compliment to natural right, and choſe rather to ſeize the lands of the Indian natives by violence, it was what might have been expected from the religion and tyranny of the countries from whence they came. Twenty miles of territory were thus bought of the Indians for leſs than an acre of the beſt ground about Philadelphia would be valued at now. But the Indians, in a little time, obſerving what profit the Engliſh made of the land they ſold them, and that by the coming over of ſuch numbers every year, it would be more and more wanted, they raiſed the price ten times as much as it was at firſt, and yet it was unconſcionably cheap, and for a long time purchaſed by the mile, and not by the acre. Indeed they knew not what to do with it, they had not hands enough to cultivate a hundredth part; and if they could have raiſed ſuch a product there was no body to buy it. The purchaſe was all clear gains to them; and by the coming of the Engliſh, the peiltry trade became ſo profitable, that they were ſoon in a condition to better their manner of houſing, clothing, and living, as they did very much, and are now in theſe articles as well accommodated as the European peaſantry, in many places.

When the province began to be planted, almoſt to the mouth of Delaware, it was laid out into the before-mentioned counties, in order to chooſe repreſentatives, and eſtabliſh courts for the diſtribution of juſtice. The original draught of the conſtitution for this province was made by that great lawyer Sir William Jones, and by it the governor and people have a legiſlative power. Sir William Jones had too much underſtanding, virtue, and honour, to throw the people out of the queſtion, when their religion, their liberty, their well-being in this world and the next, were ſo nearly concerned in it. No law can be here made, nor money raiſed, but by conſent of the inhabitants. The rights and freedom of England were to be in force. They were to make no law againſt allegiance, and then they might enact what laws they pleaſed for the proſperity and ſecurity of the province. Mr. Penn held two General Aſſemblies while he was in the country, and with ſuch unanimity and diſpatch, that though they made laws by ſcores, no leſs than ſeventy, yet they had done their buſineſs in three weeks time. They preſented the proprietary with an impoſt on certain goods, but he remitted it; which was artful enough, to have a thing given on purpoſe to give it away again to thoſe that gave it. He eſtabliſhed courts of juſtice in every county, with proper officers, to prevent law-ſuits and contentions. Among theſe paſſive people there are alſo three peace-makers, choſen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man. Every Spring and Fall there is an orphans court in each county, to inſpect and regulate the affairs of widows and orphans.

Mr. Penn was viſited by the kings, and queens, and great men among the Indians, of whom the greateſt did not think himſelf too good to go on the proprietaries errands, if he had thought fit to ſend him. Both the Dutch and the Swedes, within this juriſ-

diction, were very well pleaſed with his coming, and his conduct; and there were, at that time, almoſt as many Swedes and Dutch in Penſylvania as Engliſh. Mr. Penn ſtaid here above two years, till he had ſettled things to his own and the people's liking; he then returned to England, to forward the affairs of the propriety there, as he had done here. He was generous and free of his thoughts and expreſſions, which were not always ſufficiently guarded; and after the Revolution he became ſuſpected, from his credit with King James. That we may form ſome idea of the manner in which this truly great man acted in this part of the world, and eſtabliſhed his government upon the ſolid baſis of a perfect agreement with the natives, let us hear what he himſelf ſays upon this ſubject: Mr. Penn, in a letter to his friends in England, on the ſituation of his affairs at that time, relates, That he had attended the Indian kings and their councils in ſeveral treaties, for the purchaſe of their lands, and for adjuſting the terms of trade between them. And that their order was thus: "Their king (ſays Mr. Penn) was ſeated in the middle of an half moon, or ſemi-circle; his council, the old and wiſe, ſitting on each hand; behind them, at a little diſtance, ſat the young men, in the ſame figure: having reſolved their buſineſs, the king commanded one of them to ſpeak to me. He ſtood up, and came to me, and in the king's name ſaluted me; taking me by the hand, and telling me, he was ordered by his king to ſpeak to me, and that now it was not he, but the king that ſpoke, becauſe what he ſhould ſay was the king's mind. He firſt prayed me to excuſe them, that they had not complied with me in a former meeting; he feared there might be ſome fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian or Engliſh; beſides, it was the Indian cuſtom to deliberate before they reſolved; and that if the younger people, and owners of the land, had been as ready as he, I had not met with ſo much delay." Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to diſpoſe of, and the price. During the time this perſon ſpoke, not a man of them was obſerved to whiſper or ſmile; the old were grave, the young reverend in their deportment; when they ſpoke, which was but ſeldom, it was warmly and elegantly. I have never ſeen more natural ſagacity, conſidering them without the help of tradition; and he will deſerve the name of wiſe that is too hard for them in any treaty about a thing they underſtand. When the purchaſe was agreed, great promiſes paſſed between us, of kindneſs and good neighbourhood; and that the Indians and Engliſh muſt live in love as long as the ſun gave light. After which another made a ſpeech to the Indians, in the name of all the ſachems, or kings; firſt, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Chriſtians, and particularly to live in peace with me, and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himſelf to live and ſtay there before, and having now ſuch an one that had treated them well, they ſhould never do him or his any wrong. At every ſentence of which they ſhouted, and ſaid *Amen*, in their way.

This conduct of his had ſo good an effect upon the Indians, that they had him always in the higheſt veneration, as they ſtill have to his memory, of which the reader will find an exemplary proof in the following ſpeech, made to Sir William Keith, governor of this country in 1722; only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Onas ſignifies, in the Indian language, a Pen; and therefore this is the name the Indians have given to our proprietor and all his ſucceſſors, or repreſentatives.

"Brother Onas, you told us how William Penn, that good man, did, on the firſt ſettlement of the province of Penſylvania, make leagues of friendſhip with the Indians, and treated them like brethren; and that, like the ſame good man, he left it in charge to all his governors who ſhould ſucceed him, and to all the people in Penſylvania,

ſylvania, that they ſhould always keep the covenant and treaties he had made with the five nations, and treat them with love and kindneſs. We acknowledge that his governors and people have always kept the ſame honeſtly and truly to this day. So we, on our part, always have kept, and for ever ſhall keep peace and friendſhip with a good heart, to all the people of Penſylvania. We thankfully receive and approve of all the articles in your propoſition to us, and acknowledge them to be good, and full of love: we receive and approve of the ſame with our whole hearts; becauſe we are not only made one people by the covenant chain, but are alſo people united in one head, one body, and one heart, by the ſtrongeſt ties of love and friendſhip.

"Brother Onas, you deſire there may be a perpetual friendſhip between you and the five nations, and between your children and our children; and that the ſame may be kept as long as the mountains and rivers endure. All which we like well, and on our parts deſire, that the covenant and union made with a true and clean heart between you and us, may laſt as long as the ſun and moon ſhall continue to give light. And we will deliver this in charge to our children, that it may be kept in remembrance with their children and childrens children to the laſt ages: and we deſire that the peace and tranquillity that is now eſtabliſhed between us may be as clear as the ſun ſhining in its luſtre without any cloud or darkneſs, and that the ſame may continue for ever.

"Brother Onas, we have well conſidered all you have ſpoken, and like it well; becauſe it is only the renewing former leagues and treaties, made between the government of Penſylvania, and us of the five nations, which we always believed we were obliged to keep. And as to the accident of one of our friends being killed by ſome of your people, which has happened by misfortune, and againſt our will; we ſay, that as we are all in peace, we think it hard that the perſons who killed our friend and brother ſhould ſuffer; and we do in the name of all the five nations forgive the offence, and deſire you will likewiſe forgive it; and that the men who did it may be releaſed from priſon, and ſet at liberty to go whither they pleaſe; and we ſhall eſteem that as a mark of regard and friendſhip for the five nations, and as a farther confirmation of this treaty." Upon theſe principles, which are more likely to be obſerved in this than in moſt of our colonies, the friendſhip of the Indians may be preſerved as long as they remain a people; which ſhews how poſſible it might have been to have maintained a like correſpondence with them in other places, which would not only have ſaved a great deal of blood-ſhed, and have contributed to the quick growth of the colonies ſettled in the countries, inhabited by ſuch Indians, but would have been very uſeful in many other reſpects; ſince it is allowed where the Indians are treated as in Penſylvania, with ſtrict juſtice and humanity, they are as firm allies as any in the world; and in that quality more capable of doing ſervice than if reduced to be either ſlaves or ſubjects; becauſe living as they do, they preſerve their ſtrength and activity, and enjoy all the liberty they can deſire, and are very willing to fight for thoſe under whoſe protection they enjoy it.

13. We will now proceed to a more particular deſcription of this famous ſettlement, having before given an account of the ſituation of the country in general, and of its diviſion into counties. The chief rivers in Penſylvania are, the river Delawar, which riſing far north in the country of the Iroquois, takes its courſe to the ſouthward, and dividing this province from that of New Jerſeys, falls into the Atlantic ocean, between the promontories of Cape May and Cape Hanlope, being navigable for two hundred miles and upwards with large veſſels; but has a cataract or ſteep fall in it above Briſtol, which

which renders the navigation impracticable to the northward of the county of Bucks. The ſecond river in this province, is that of Suſquahanaugh, which, riſing likewiſe in the country of the Iroquois, runs ſouth through the middle of Penſylvania, and falls into the bay of Cheſepeak, being navigable for large ſhips. The third river is Schoolkill, which, having its ſource in the country of the Iroquois, runs ſouth almoſt parallel to the rivers Delawar and Suſquahanaugh, and at length turning to the eaſtward, falls into Delawar, at the city of Philadelphia. This river is alſo navigable for large ſhips as far as the city of Philadelphia, and for boats above an hundred miles higher. Theſe rivers, and the numerous bays and creeks in the bay Delawar, capable of containing the largeſt fleets, render this country admirably ſituated to carry on a foreign trade.

In the county of Buckingham, the moſt northerly of any in this province, the chief town is Briſtol, ſituated on the river Delawar, oppoſite to Burlington in New Jerſey, and twenty miles north of the city of Philadelphia. In this country alſo lies the manor houſe of Penſbury, elegantly built by Mr. Penn, the firſt proprietor, and ſituate on an eminence which commands the country, being almoſt ſurrounded by the river Delawar. The country of Philadelphia lies ſouth of that of Bucks, and in it is the celebrated city of Philadelphia, the capital of the province, ſituated in 40 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, being one of the fineſt plans of a town that was ever formed. It is an oblong of two miles, extending from the river Delawar to the river Schoolkill, the eaſt end fronting the river Delawar, and the weſt the river Schoolkill, each front being a mile in length. Every owner of one thouſand acres has his houſe in one of the two fronts, facing the rivers, or in the high ſtreet, running from the middle of one front to the middle of the other; and every owner of five thouſand acres, has an acre of ground in the front of his houſe, and the reſt half an acre for gardens and court yards. In the centre of the town is a ſquare of ten acres, ſurrounded by the town-houſe, and other public buildings, and each quarter of the city is a ſquare of eight acres. The high ſtreet, which runs the whole length of the town, is an hundred feet wide, parallel to which run eight ſtreets, which are croſſed by twenty more at right angles, all of them thirty feet wide, and ſeveral canals are let into the town from each river, which add to the beauty and conveniency of the place. There is alſo a fine quay two hundred feet ſquare, to which ſhips of four or five hundred tons may come up, with wet and dry docks for building and repairing of ſhips; magazines, warehouſes, and all manner of conveniences for importing and exporting of merchandize; there are already fourteen or fifteen hundred houſes in the city, moſt of them well built with brick, but are ſtill a great many more wanting to complete the plan: however, more could not have been expected than has been done in ſo ſhort a time, the ground not having been laid out much above fifty years.

The town of Oxford is ſituated likewiſe in the county of Philadelphia, where a miſſionary is maintained by the Society for propagation of the Goſpel. Germain Town, ſituated to the northward of the city of Philadelphia, alſo is ſaid to be a thriving populous place, inhabited chiefly by the Dutch, or thoſe of Dutch extraction. In this county is the city of Radnor, ſituated on the ſouth-weſt ſide of Schoolkill river, being the capital of a large country, planted by the Welch, and extremely well improved by them. To the ſouth of the county of Philadelphia lies that of Cheſter, the capital whereof is the town of Cheſter, ſituate on the river Delaware, which is about three hundred miles broad at this place; and to the ſouthward of Cheſter lies the town of Chicheſter; either of thoſe ports are capable of receiving and harbouring the largeſt fleets, ſecure from ſtorms. The county of Newcaſtle lies ſouth to that of Cheſter, the capital town being of the ſame name; this is ſaid to be a town of the briſkeſt trade in

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Wright's Ferry, on the Susquehanna,

Pennsylvania.

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# View on the River Schuylkill

near Philadelphia.

the province, next to that of Philadelphia, and has an iron mine in the neighbourhood of it. The town of Apoquinemink lies upon the river Delawar, ſouth of Newcaſtle, and is a place of good trade. The county of Kent lies ſouth of that of Newcaſtle, the chief town whereof is Dover, being a commodious port. The moſt ſouthern county is that of Suſſex, the capital town whereof is Lewes, being a ſecure harbour and a town of trade.

The air here is ſweet and clear; the fall begins here about the 20th of October, and laſts to the beginning of December; froſty weather, and cold ſeaſons are frequent; but as in moſt countries where are ſuch ſeaſons the air is dry and hungry; the river Delawar is ſometimes frozen over, notwithſtanding its breadth. The ſpring laſts from March to June, but the weather then is more inconſtant than in the other ſeaſons, which it generally is in other countries. The heats are extraordinary in the ſummer months, July, Auguſt, and September, but alleviated by cold breezes, which make them very tolerable. The wind is ſouth-weſt during ſummer, but generally north-weſterly, ſpring, fall, and winter; which blowing from the froſty and ſnowy mountains, and lakes of the Terra Canadenſis, is, doubtleſs, a main reaſon of the exceſſive cold here in winter. The ſoil in this tract of land is in ſome places a yellow and black ſand, and in others a loomy gravel, in others a fat earth, like the vales in England; eſpecially by inland brooks and rivers, where the lands in this country are moſtly three to one richer than thoſe that lie by navigable rivers. There is alſo found a black hazle mould, on a ſtony bottom. The earth is fruitful, fat, and eaſy to be cleared, becauſe the roots of the trees lie almoſt on the ſurface of the ground. Some allowance muſt be made for Mr. Penn's property in the tempting deſcription he gives us of the country. We have ſaid enough of the rivers and creeks in it, and ſhewn how commodious they are for navigation and communication; but among other waters Mr. Penn mentions mineral waters; theſe ſprings are about two miles from Philadelphia, at a happy diſtance from water-drinkers, but the number of them is, ſince that, leſſened extremely, and we need not inſiſt on their virtue.

Here are trees of almoſt all ſorts, oak, red, white, and black aſh, beech, Spaniſh cheſnuts, cedar, wall-nuts, cypreſs, and ſwamp; the moſt durable of all are poplar, gumwood, hickery, ſaſſafras; and as for ſhrubs, ſnakeroot, ſarſaparilla, ſalop, ſpruce, and cranberries; wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, water melons, muſmelons, apples, pears, cherries, apricots, carrots, turnips, parſnips, onions, cucumbers, quinces, &c. are in great plenty here; as alſo Indian corn, hemp, flax, &c. It is common for one buſhel of corn ſown here to yield forty, often fifty, and ſometimes ſixty buſhels. One Mr. Edward Jones had for one grain of Engliſh barley ſeventy ſtalks and ears of that corn, in his plantation on the Schoolkill. Of living creatures there are for food and trade, deer, the elk as big as a ſmall ox, rabbits, raccoons, beaver; plenty of oxen, cows, and ſheep; of the latter it is common for farmers to have four or five hundred in a flock. Horſes, ſome very good, and handſome enough. Of fowl here are very fine buſtards forty or fifty pounds weight, pheaſants, heath birds, pigeons, partridges, clouds of blackbirds, ſwans, geeſe, braindes, tucks, teal and ſnipe. The fiſh here are ſturgeons, herring, eels, ſmelts, and perch; the latter caught in abundance in Delawar Bay; and the river above the freſhes, oyſters, crabs, cockles, and muſcles. There are alſo rock, ſhat, catſhead, ſheepſhead, and other fiſh, not worth our particular regard.

We need not wonder that in a country ſo fruitful and ſo pleaſant, and where there was ſo clear a proſpect of living happily, with moderate induſtry, people ſhould reſort in ſuch numbers. At firſt, without doubt, religion was a ſtrong motive, and the

quakers

quakers willingly followed Mr. Penn, from a country where they were perſecuted, to a land of plenty and peace. But in time, and indeed in a little time, this argument ceaſed, and people reſorted thither as they did to the other colonies, upon the ordinary motives of gain and trade; we may, however, venture to aſſert that Mr. Penn's original contract, for ſo the firſt conſtitution drawn by him was ſtiled, had a very great influence in procuring inhabitants, ſince it muſt be allowed there never was a more beneficent ſcheme of government deviſed by the wit of man.

By degrees, however, this alſo has been ſomewhat altered, not by the proprietor or thoſe acting under his authority, but at the deſire and on the requeſt of the people, with reſpect to whom it may poſſibly be true, that ſuch alterations, in proceſs of time, might become neceſſary. The ſpirit, however, of Mr. Penn's inſtitution is ſtill preſerved, and the people here are as free, and as well, and as cheaply governed as in any part of the known world. A very ſtrong proof of this may be drawn from the greateſt error in government that was ever committed there, which was laying a tax of five ſhillings a head upon all new comers; which ſhews, that they were once in ſome apprehenſion of being over-ſtocked; but this law was very ſoon repealed, as it ought to be. At preſent it would be a very difficult thing to pretend to compute the number of people in this flouriſhing colony, but we may form ſome notion of it from the following inſtance, which is very certain, viz. that the inhabitants of Philadelphia in 1740 were full fifteen thouſand.

14. As to the commerce of Penſylvania with reſpect to Europe and America, the caſe, according to the beſt accounts we have, ſtands thus; their merchandize conſiſts of horſes, pipe-ſtaves, pork, beef and fiſh, ſalted and barrelled up, ſkins and furs; all ſorts of grain, viz. wheat, rye, peaſe, oats, barley, buck-wheat, Indian corn, Indian peaſe and beans, pot-aſhes, wax, &c. and in return for theſe, they import from the Caribbee Iſlands and other places, rum, ſugar, moloſſes, ſilver, negroes, ſalt and wine; and from Great Britain houſhold goods and cloathing of all kinds, hard-ware, tools and toys. They have alſo ſome rice, but no great quantities, and a little tobacco of the worſt ſort. Their trade with the Indians conſiſts but in a few articles; they receive of the natives chiefly ſkins and furs of their wild beaſts, for which they give them clothing, arms, ammunition, rum, and other ſpirits in return. This, as well as other northern colonies, has alſo a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniards upon the coaſt of Terra Firma, &c. furniſhing them with European goods and merchandize, for which they receive chiefly dollars in return; and they alſo trade to the bays of Honduras and Campeachy for logwood, by connivance, as the Spaniards ſay; but the ſubjects of Great Britain inſiſt that they have a right to that trade, and as we have already ſhewn, that they do not inſiſt upon this, without juſt grounds, in the opinion of thoſe who are the beſt and propereſt judges of that matter. But after all it muſt be admitted, that Penſylvania has no ſtaple commodity, which, however, is not juſtly chargeable upon the inhabitants of this colony; who, notwithſtanding this, have never ſet up any manufactures of their own.

But the point to be enquired into is, whether they might not have ſuch a ſtaple commodity if they went about it themſelves induſtriouſly, and received from hence proper encouragement? It is a point out of diſpute, that no country in the world is more proper than Penſylvania for producing hemp and flax; and with reſpect to theſe, we ought ſeriouſly to conſider, that there is nothing plainer than that hemp and flax are ſo uſeful in navigation and trade that we cannot do without them; the firſt for cordage of all ſorts, the latter for making ſail-cloth, as well as for the linen manufactures carried on in this kingdom. The neceſſity we are under for theſe commodities ought to put us upon

upon all imaginable care how to provide them, that we may not fall under the ſame neceſſity for them that we did in the year 1703 for pitch and tar, when the government of Sweden abſolutely refuſed to let us have them for our ready money, otherwiſe than in their ſhipping, from their tar company here, at their own price, and only in ſuch quantities as they thought fit. Upon that diſappointment, the government, by allowing a conſiderable encouragement for carrying on the manufactures of pitch and tar, had ſufficient quantities from our own plantations; and it is greatly to be wiſhed the like encouragement was given for raiſing hemp and flax; and as all ſorts of naval ſtores may be raiſed with ſo many advantages to this kingdom, it would be unaccountable to leave us dependent, and at an uncertainty for them. It is very well known, that our land is too dear for hemp and flax, and what does grow here (though it is tough, and makes ſtrong linen) neither dreſſes ſo kindly, nor whitens ſo well as that which grows in hotter climates. In Ruſſia the beſt hemp and flax grow in the ſouthermoſt parts of the empire, where the ſummer is hot and the air clear, and yet the flax is not accounted ſo good as that which grows in Egypt or Italy. Egypt has always been eſteemed for its linen, and even now ſupplies Leghorn with large quantities, and the coaſt of Syria, Aſia Minor, Smyrna, Conſtantinople, and other great cities, have a ſupply of hemp and flax from thence.

All our colonies (which run twelve or fourteen hundred miles in length, all the way bordering upon the ſea) have very hot ſummers, the ſouthermoſt parts of them lie near the ſame latitude with Egypt, and the north part much about the ſame with Ancona or Bologna in Italy, where hemp and flax grow; therefore, we have the greateſt proſpect to receive mighty ſupplies of hemp and flax from them. Part of the land in the colonies is very rich, and of ſo ſmall value, there will be opportunity of breaking up freſh as often as there is occaſion to change the ground, which if laid down will recover itſelf again without the charge of manuring, as we do here, to the very great damage of our ploughing lands. Nothing impoveriſhes land more than hemp and flax; and though it is manured, that alone will not do ſo well, for the land ought to be changed after three or four crops, and generally the fineſt and fatteſt pieces are converted to that uſe. Thoſe great conveniences of having land ſo very cheap, and ſo fine a climate, which we know produces excellent hemp and flax, ſo commodiouſly ſituated along the ſea coaſts, with ſuch numbers of large rivers running up the country to the moſt inland ſettlements, where proviſions may be raiſed at ſo ſmall a charge, and where work may be done by the labour of ſlaves, almoſt as cheap as in India, gives ground to hope, that we may manufacture linen here cheaper than any part of Europe can import them upon us, and the colonies be as profitable to us, by raiſing rough materials to carry on the linen manufacture, as the Suſſex and other downs are, for ſupplying wool for that manufacture, the profits of which we have valued ourſelves ſo much upon, that we have ſet the reſt of Europe upon being our competitors therein.

Now as the woollen manufacture, eſpecially the coarſe part, has ſpread itſelf of late into ſeveral parts of the kingdom, which has exceeded the demand, and cauſed great ſtocks to remain on hand, if thoſe rough materials of hemp and flax were prepared in our plantations, the people in North Britain, &c. would ſoon find the advantage of falling upon that manufacture; the laborious and coarſe part being performed abroad, the reſt would invite not only the poor and neceſſitous, but people of better circumſtances to employ their time in it. If theſe propoſitions are ſufficiently conſidered, and heartily put in practice, we may hope that by providing the aforeſaid rough materials, we ſhall have the delightful proſpect of ſeeing trade flouriſh; for as the ſilk and linen manufactures, where brought to perfection, are altogether as profitable to thoſe nations

as the woollen is to us; and as we increaſe in our linen manufactures, thoſe of Sileſia and all the hereditary countries of the Houſe of Auſtria, whence we take ſuch quantities, muſt abate of courſe; their people alſo will reſort to us, and help to carry them on; for it has always been obſerved, where new manufactures are ſet up, the manufacturers will likewiſe remove. This was the caſe with the Flemings when Queen Elizabeth gave ſuch great encouragement to have the woollen manufacture remove hither; and ours, when we had that inundation of China and India wrought ſilks, our weavers went to Holland, Flanders, France, &c. ſo that ſeveral ſtreets in Spittlefields were almoſt deſolate; but when theſe ſilks were prohibited, the manufacturers returned again.

It is ſuppoſed the Ruſſians exported to England, and all other parts, in hemp and flax, above the value of a million a year. If hemp and flax be ſo valuable a product for merchandize with them, there ſeems to be a much greater proſpect of its being ſo to ourſelves, by raiſing them in our plantations, becauſe they will not be ſubject to any land carriage, but ſhipped immediately from the place of growth; becauſe land is much cheaper in our plantations than in the ſouth parts of Ruſſia. The climate, being equal with that in Egypt and Italy, is ſuppoſed to produce hemp and flax preferable to theirs. We have before ſhewn, that in the caſes of ſugar and tobacco, every white man employs four at home, that is to ſay, finds them work to ſupply him with utenſils requiſite for his. If ſugar and tobacco employ ſuch a number of hands at home, certainly every perſon employed in the plantations, in raiſing and dreſſing hemp and flax, muſt by his labour there, return more than twice the advantage that can be produced by ſugar and tobacco, for they are manufactured in the plantations; the refining the ſugar and cutting the tobacco, with the little quantity that is rolled excepted. Whereas flax and hemp are materials for employing all idle hands; and of conſequence the poors rate will ſoon be abated, and the nation will find in a little time what they ſave yearly thereby, will be more than ſufficient to encourage the people to begin that employment. And if once we come to be employed with hemp and flax by the aforeſaid methods, every place will be filled with flax-dreſſers, and the overſeers of the poor of every pariſh where the wool-ſpinning trade is not carried on, may very eaſily come at hemp and flax, which they will find as profitable to them as the woollen is to the other; and the more diſtant the employment is, the better; for many inconveniences have attended one manufacture interfering with another; beſides there will be an intercourſe of trade created, by one part of the kingdom ſupplying the other with their diſtinct manufactures. This will give full employment to the whole kingdom, and an univerſal cheerfulneſs to every body; for the poor are never happier, nor their minds eaſier, than when they have full employment; and when they are employed, riches is diffuſed throughout the whole nation.

It is a common opinion, that we have above a million of people in the three nations deſtitute of work; but if thoſe rough materials (ſo often mentioned in this diſcourſe) ſhould come to be raiſed in our plantations, there need not be one idle perſon; now, ſuppoſe one million of people were put upon manufacturing thoſe rough materials, and each perſon earned but one penny a day, and allowing but three hundred working days in the year, it would amount to one million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; a prodigious advantage to the nation, which is ſtill greatly heightened by conſidering that theſe people would be then employed, at leaſt in part, and ſo far as they were employed, would be the better ſubjects. That all this might be brought about with leſs trouble than has been given the nation by one Baltic or Mediterranean expedition, and at the tenth part of the expence of a campaign in Flanders, is a thing will be acknowledged

knowledged by all who are capable of judging of this ſubject; and therefore that it ought to be done, is a point that cannot be diſputed. I would not miſlead my reader by the compariſon, into a bad opinion of ſuch expeditions or campaigns; that is not my buſineſs or my intention; the juſtice of my compariſon turns upon this, that the motives to ſuch expeditions and campaigns are, comparatively ſpeaking, near and at hand; whereas we are leſs acquainted, or at leaſt leſs affected by the connection between our intereſts and thoſe of the plantations; though, from what has been ſaid, I think it will plainly appear, that they concern us as much and as nearly, as any intereſts can do without the limits of our own iſland.

15. But it is now time to bring this chapter to a cloſe, and after having given the reader, from the beſt authorities I could find, as clear an account as I was capable of giving of theſe noble ſettlements, I come next to add a few general remarks, not upon this or that plantation, but upon the whole body of our American ſettlements taken together. We have ſhewn how the outlines were drawn, ſo early as in the reigns of King Henry VII. and Henry VIII. We have taken notice of the ſchemes and preparations that were made for ſettling the countries we had a title to in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. We have given an account how far theſe were carried into execution in the ſucceeding reigns. And in this chapter we have plainly exhibited the manner in which this laſt plan was fully accompliſhed. By this means the reader ſees that the diſcoveries of the Cabots, though treated by ſome unſkilful writers as trifling things, and matters of no great moment, were in reality the grounds of our pretenſions, now converted into the actual poſſeſſion of that vaſt tract of country from the northern coaſt of Hudſon's Streights, down to the ſouthern limits of the new colony of Georgia, or of the old colony of Carolina; for the limits are the ſame. As for the iſlands, I take the ſettlement of them to have been occaſioned by the old route to Florida, which has been ſo much ridiculed; but which, notwithſtanding, ſeems to have been the true ſource of our acquiſitions in the Leeward Iſlands. Jamaica is ours by conqueſt, and which is another circumſtance worth remembering, became ſo in a great meaſure by a force raiſed in our plantations. Whether it be our intereſt to think of making ſuch expeditions for the future, I ſhall not determine; but care ought ſurely to be firſt taken of the colonies we have; which it never can be till the importance of our plantations in general is thoroughly underſtood by the bulk of this nation. This is the point I have principally laboured in this work, and I ſhall cloſe all I have to ſay with the conſideration of three points; which I hope will make the matter plain to every underſtanding.

The firſt of theſe points is, 'What the condition of this country was before we had any plantations?' In regard to this, I think I may ſafely affirm that it was very low and deſpicable. In the victorious reign of Edward the IIId. there was a balance of trade ſtruck, and delivered into the exchequer, by which it appeared that the exports of one year exceeded the imports by two hundred and fifty-five thouſand two hundred and fourteen pounds thirteen ſhillings and eight-pence, which for that time was a great deal. At the time Queen Elizabeth entered upon the government, the cuſtoms produced thirty-ſix thouſand pounds a year; at the Reſtoration they were let to farm for four hundred thouſand pounds; and produced conſiderably above double that ſum before the Revolution. The people of London, before we had any plantations, and but very little trade, were computed at about one hundred thouſand; at the death of Queen Elizabeth they were increaſed to one hundred and fifty thouſand, and are now about ſix times that number. In thoſe days we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips from our neighbours. Germany furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to

nails; wine, paper, linen, and a thouſand other things came from France. Portugal furniſhed us with ſugars; all the produce of America was poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoeſe retailed to us the commodities of the Eaſt Indies at their own price. In ſhort, the legal intereſt of money was twelve per cent. and the common price of our lands ten or twelve years purchaſe. We may add, that our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent; the number of Engliſh merchants very ſmall, and our ſhipping much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies. Theſe are plain and certain facts; but as ſoon as we began to extend our trade, and to make ſettlements abroad, the face of our affairs changed; the inhabitants of the City of London were doubled by the end of the laſt period, and were again doubled before the end of this; our ſhipping encreaſed in a ſtill greater proportion; we coined within twenty years after that queen's death about five millions at the tower, in twenty years after that ſeven, and in the next twenty years eight, which are indubitable proofs that we had gained a prodigious balance of trade in our favour.

The next point I ſhall conſider is, 'What our condition has been ſince?' and, with reſpect to this, I may boldly affirm that it has altered for the better, almoſt to a degree beyond credibility or computation. Our manufactures are prodigiouſly increaſed, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at leaſt take off one half, and furniſh us with many valuable commodities for exportation. Inſtead of taking the quantities we were wont to do of goods from other nations, we actually export thoſe very goods, and ſometimes to the very ſame nations; ſugar, rum and tobacco, are the ſources of private wealth and public revenue, which would have been ſo many drains, that would have beggared us, had they not been raiſed in our plantations. It is no longer in the power of the Ruſſians to make us pay what they pleaſe for flax and hemp. The Swedes cannot compel us to pay their own price, and that too in ready money, for pitch and tar, nor would it be in their power to diſtreſs us, ſhould they attempt it by raiſing the price of copper and iron. Logwood is ſunk ſeventy-five per cent.; indigo, and other dyeing materials, are in our power, and at moderate prices. In ſhort, the advantages are infinite that redound to us from our American empire, where we have, at leaſt, a million of Britiſh ſubjects, and between fifteen hundred and two thouſand ſail of ſhips conſtantly employed. Such have been the fruits, ſuch is the condition of our plantations, and let any man doubt of the benefits reſulting from them to this nation if he can; or when he reflects on the numbers maintained here by their induſtry, and even by their luxury, let him deny or envy their wealth if it is in his power.

When our plantations were in their infancy, they were ſome burthen and charge to this nation, and then it was that ſome wiſe and public-ſpirited perſons took upon them to become advocates for a thing which they foreſaw would prove highly uſeful and advantageous. I have read many of their diſcourſes with great pleaſure, becauſe I conſidered them as written with a kind of prophetic ſpirit, in which their authors have exhibited to the eye of the ages in which they wrote, a very juſt picture of what has paſſed in ſucceeding times; but with this remarkable circumſtance, that though ſeveral of them were men as remarkable for bold flights of imagination, as for penetration and judgment, yet in this caſe they have not reached the truth; the preſent ſtate of the plantations exceeding vaſtly all that they promiſed, or even hoped from them; the reaſon of which I conceive to be their framing conjectures from the ſtate the nation was then in, and our trade was at that time ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of what it is at preſent, that I think there is no wonder the writers who flouriſhed in thoſe days

days ſhould fall ſo much ſhort in their expectations from our ſettlements in America. But, perhaps, it may be objected, that though they did not foreſee many things that have ſince fallen out in thoſe parts of the world, yet it is very evident that they believed many advantages would ariſe from thoſe colonies that have never yet come to paſs; which leads me to the third point I propoſe to mention in theſe remarks.

This third point is, 'The improvements and additional benefits that may be ſtill made in, and accrue from our plantations.' We ought, in this reſpect, to conſider of what a vaſt extent that country is, which we actually poſſeſs in the new world, to which I will be bold to ſay this iſland does not bear a greater proportion than the county of Norfolk, to the whole kingdom of England; whence we may eaſily conceive what room there is for making new improvements in ſuch a vaſt tract of country. It is, indeed true, that ſome of our ſettlements on the continent, ſuch as New England, New York, Penſylvania, Maryland and Virginia, are already tolerably well peopled; but then Nova Scotia is ſcarce ſettled, New Britain is a vaſt country, and capable of being turned to our advantage; is ſo far from being ſettled, that it is ſcarce known to us; and the ſame thing may be ſaid of all the country bordering upon Hudſon's Bay. As to the ſouthern colonies, by which I mean the two Carolina's and Georgia, they are very thinly peopled, and very little improved, though beyond all compariſon the moſt valuable poſſeſſions we have in thoſe parts. In regard to the iſlands of Bermudas and Barbadoes, they are thoroughly peopled, and moſt of the Leeward Iſlands tolerably inhabited; but then there are ſeveral iſlands to which we have as clear and as good a title, as to any of theſe, that are not ſettled at all, though from the nature of their climate, ſoil, and ſituation, they are not inferior to any, but on the contrary, ſuperior to moſt of thoſe of which we are poſſeſſed, as will be hereafter ſhewn. The noble iſland of Jamaica, which of itſelf might ſerve to inrich any country to which it belonged, is not a third part cultivated, ſo that there is every where room for us to exert our induſtry, for the honour and advantage of the Britiſh nation; which as it has already drawn ſuch immenſe profits from its ſettlements in America, ſo beyond all queſtion we may ſtill draw much greater, if we proceed with the ſame ſpirit and vigour that our anceſtors did, having much more power in our hands, much fairer opportunities than they had, beſides the light and authority of experience, to guide, encourage, and ſupport us.

In order to this, and that we may actually add theſe advantages in proſpect to thoſe which we at preſent poſſeſs, the ſteps neceſſary to be taken fall under the two following heads: the firſt is, improving ſuch of our colonies as are already well ſettled; and the next, providing for the thorough planting ſuch as are at preſent but very indifferently, or ſcarce at all peopled. It would require a large treatiſe to expatiate fully on theſe heads, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with only a few hints as to each of them. In reſpect to the firſt, I cannot conceive that any thing would be more advantageous than providing every colony with ſome ſtaple commodity, which would infallibly produce the following deſirable conſequences; it would make the inhabitants of thoſe colonies perfectly eaſy, and at the ſame time it would vaſtly inrich us. As for Virginia and Maryland, they are poſſeſſed of the tobacco trade, in which, if any eaſe, encouragement, or advantage can be granted them, they moſt certainly deſerve it; but with reſpect to New England, Penſylvania, New York, and the Jerſeys, ways and means might be found to increaſe their commerce with England directly, by promoting their inclinations to furniſh us with all kinds of

naval ſtores, and with iron. There was, as to pitch and tar, a conſiderable bounty given, and it is very remarkable for many years this produced no effect, which might poſſibly countenance an opinion, that the friends to the plantations were too ſanguine in their notions on this head; but experience afterwards ſhewed the contrary. For the circumſtances of the public making it neceſſary to try how far this might be practicable, it very ſoon appeared that the thing could be eaſily done; and upon ſending over perſons well acquainted with the methods of making pitch and tar, the people in the colonies ſoon fell into it, and ſuch quantities were imported, as not only ſupplied our wants, but enabled us alſo to ſupply thoſe of our neighbours; and then upon a ſuppoſition that the trade was effectually eſtabliſhed, the bounty was diſcontinued. The conſequence of this was, that the importation of theſe commodities from Ruſſia, Sweden and Norway, was revived; for the people of thoſe countries building large bulky ſhips, peculiarly proper for tranſporting thoſe commodities, by navigating theſe ſhips cheaper than we can do ours, are thereby able to underſell our countrymen in the colonies, by three or four ſhillings in a barrel; ſo that to keep this trade there grew a neceſſity of granting a new bounty upon pitch and tar from America, or laying a new duty upon what was imported from the north.

We may ſay the ſame thing with regard to iron, of which, at preſent, we import very near double as much from Sweden as is ſold to all the reſt of Europe, for which we pay moſtly in ready money; and yet no queſtion can be made of its being very practicable to bring the beſt part of the iron we want from our plantations, which has been hitherto prevented by notions ſo frivolous, that I do not care to mention them. Hemp and flax have been ſufficiently inſiſted upon already, and to theſe we may add pot-aſhes; ſo that the reader will eaſily diſcern, that there is no difficulty at all in the way of enabling the northern colonies to pay us for our manufactures, and prevent their ſetting up manufactures themſelves, but our ſetting heartily about it. The ſame thoughts may, in a great meaſure, ſerve for our ſouthern colonies, in which tar may certainly be made as good as any in the world; but then there are other things peculiar to thoſe colonies, ſuch as the planting coffee, tea, cocoa, indigo, and the ſhrub that produces cochineal; but above all, we ought to think of ſilk, for reaſons that ſhall be given when we come to treat of the colony of Georgia; at preſent we ſhall only ſay, that there is this great and extraordinary conveniency attends the cultivation of the laſt mentioned commodity, that as it is proper for the ſame ſoil and climate, as hemp and flax, ſo they may be both carried on together; the ſilk harveſt, as they call it, being over before hemp and flax are ripe.

As to the ſugar iſlands, though they have already a ſtaple commodity of very great value, yet this ſhould not hinder us from conſidering how that commodity may be ſtill rendered more uſeful, I mean to the planters and to us; and how far other things are capable in the ſame countries of being improved. It was the opinion of Sir Joſiah Child (and I think the ſubject well conſidered, it is not eaſy to produce a better opinion) that ſugar may be as much made the commodity of this nation, as the gold and ſilver of Peru and Mexico are the peculiar treaſures of Spain. The reaſons he gives are very ſtrong, but it is very certain that we have not fallen upon the right method of bringing his doctrine into practice; ſince inſtead of exporting one half of the ſugar we bring home, as we formerly did, we do not now export above a ſixth, and this not from falling off of the demand, but becauſe new markets have been found,

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at which foreigners can buy cheaper. To alter this all heads ſhould be ſet to work, and all arts tried; and till theſe ſucceed, it may not be amiſs that the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies would try to bring ſome other goods to market.

Thus much for the firſt head, now for the ſecond:—it has been computed, by ſome, that there is a million and a half of white people in our plantations, which computation has been judged by others ſomewhat of the higheſt; perhaps it may be ſo, but without all doubt it would be our intereſt to have two millions of white people there; nor do I think that there is any reaſon to fear that this would either drain the Britiſh dominions, or at all endanger the dependancy of the colonies. I am, on the contrary, very firmly perſuaded, that the increaſe of people in the colonies, as it would certainly increaſe our trade, ſo it muſt neceſſarily increaſe the number of our people at home; and that the methods proper to be taken for the better peopling our colonies, and improving them, would infallibly render them more dependant.

But to come cloſely to the point, and ſhew how this may be done. Give me leave to obſerve, that though the general propoſition that the number of the people is the riches of a country, be true, yet it is true only of induſtrious and uſeful people; and it is in this ſenſe, that the number of the people in Holland is quoted as an example; ſo that if there be in any country numbers of people uſeleſs, they are ſo far from contributing to the wealth of that country, that they are in fact the cauſes of its poverty. Now, it is certain, that though this nation might become more powerful and more rich, by being more numerous than it is; yet there is not any more probable method of bringing this about than by employing our uſeful hands, which perhaps may be eaſier done abroad than at home. We have vaſt numbers of vagabonds throughout the kingdom, who many of them live by pity, but moſt of them by the folly of better people than themſelves; there cannot therefore be any cruelty in ſending theſe people where they muſt work, and conſequently maintain themſelves, and be uſeful to others. We have many people convicted of ſmall crimes, and from the ignominy of the conviction and puniſhment rendered deſperate; it would certainly be a great charity to provide for theſe. We find multitudes releaſed from time to time out of priſons by acts of grace, which ſet them at liberty, it is true; but, at the ſame time, leaves them at little better more than the liberty of ſtarving; and who can ſay, that it would not be highly laudable to find out ſome means for giving theſe people bread as well as freedom? I humbly conceive, that if a proper fund was aſſigned for ſending theſe people abroad, not like tranſports or negroes, but like unhappy Engliſhmen, with due proviſion for their comfortable maintenance in their paſſage, and a proper reception in the places they are ſent to, this might be found an effectual way of eaſing our poors-rates, ſtocking our colonies, and enlarging the trade of the nation.

But in doing this, great conſideration is to be uſed, there ought to be nothing in it of ſhame, and as little of force as may be. The terms ought to be ſuch as may encourage people in diſtreſs to accept them, and the accepting them might be in the nature of a ſuperſedeas to all criminal proſecutions, not of a capital nature. They ſhould be ſent abroad for a term of years, or till they could repay a certain ſum of money to the corporation intruſted with the management of this ſcheme, and conſiderable rewards ſhould be given to ſuch as behaved well, and gained a competent ſettlement during the time limited for their remaining abroad; and if to this certain honorary preferments were added, it would be ſo much the better. Theſe are the outlines only of a great deſign, worthy the attention of the legiſlature, who perhaps may think a tax

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on public diverſions a reaſonable fund for ſuch a ſervice, there being nothing more juſt than that luxury ſhould contribute to relieve neceſſity, and that thoſe who are able to be idle ſhould be made willing to help thoſe that muſt work.

Such, at leaſt, are my notions of theſe matters, and of the means by which our plantations might be improved, and the advantages we derive from them increaſed and extended. If what I have ſaid be rational and practicable, or without much difficulty may be altered in ſuch a manner as to become ſo, I hope it will be thought worthy of conſideration; but if otherwiſe, let ſome perſon better verſed in theſe things, and more capable of treating this ſubject ariſe, and ſet it in its true point of light. For this is the critical time, the ſeaſon when the friends of trade and the plantations ſhould exert themſelves before a peace takes place, and a new ſcene opens, of which it will be impoſſible to give our judgment immediately, and as impoſſible to think of executing thoſe ſchemes then, that are eaſy as well as practicable now.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA,

### FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE DEATH OF HIS LATE MAJESTY KING GEORGE I.

1. *The Artifices of the French, under the Reign of James II. defeated by the Probity of Colonel Dungan, Governor of New York.* — 2. *The Indians, by their Inſtigation, and with their Aſſiſtance, attack the People of New England in* 1690, *and are repulſed with Loſs.* — 3. *An Account of Sir William Phipps's unfortunate Expedition againſt Quebec.* — 4. *The Hiſtory of the Indian War continued to its Cloſe, with other remarkable Occurrences.* — 5. *The Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel incorporated by King William III. and the many Advantages flowing from that excellent Eſtabliſhment.* — 6. *The Affairs of the Britiſh Colonies, during the Reign of Queen Anne, briefly conſidered.* — 7. *The unfortunate Expedition againſt Canada, under General Hill and Sir Hovenden Walker.* — 8. *The Methods taken by the French for the Benefit of their own Commerce, at the Expence of ours to the Treaty of Utretcht.* — 9. *An Account of his Grace the Duke of Montague's Scheme for ſettling the Iſlands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent.* — 10. *The Hiſtory of the Expedition for that Purpoſe, under Captain Uring, and his Relation of its Miſcarriage.* — 11. *Colonel Braithwaite's Report of his being forced to abandon the Settlement of St. Vincent.* — 12. *The indubitable Title of the Crown of Great Britain to thoſe Iſlands aſſerted, and the Importance of maintaining it demonſtrated.* — 13. *Remarks and Obſervations on the moſt remarkable Paſſages in the foregoing Chapter.*

IT is generally agreed, that the very worſt part of King James's government was the inclination that he had to French counſels, and his falling too readily into French meaſures, which is the more extraordinary in matters relating to commerce; becauſe never any prince underſtood them better than King James. It muſt therefore have been his violent zeal for promoting the popiſh cauſe, that induced him to go the lengths he did, in favour of France; contrary moſt certainly to the intereſt of this nation, as he would have ſeen ſooner than any body, if that zeal of his had not hindered him. But from hence we ſee the difference between Engliſh and French popery. Our deluded prince, though he underſtood trade, was inclined to ſacrifice it, in ſome meaſure, for the ſake of his religion; the French King, though of the ſame religion, and pretending to be as zealous for it as King James, made uſe of it as a colour to promote his own ambitious deſigns, and the trade of his ſubjects at our expence. I know that this is a delicate ſubject to handle, and I ſhould not have mentioned it at all, but from a juſt ſenſe of its conſequence, and a ſincere love for truth and the intereſt of my country.

The French, in the beginning of King James's reign, finding their colony of Canada in the utmoſt danger from the Iroquois, a very warlike Indian nation, jealous of their liberties, and very capable of defending them by force of arms, reſolved, ſince force had hitherto failed, to try what might be done towards ſubduing them by the gentler method of converſion; in order to which they not only employed a multitude of artful jeſuits, but contrived likewiſe, under pretence of extending the Chriſtian faith, to engage King James to countenance and aſſiſt this project. In order to this an Iriſh gentleman,

Colonel Dungan, ſon to the Earl of Limerick, was made Governor of New York; and he was directed, by his maſter, to permit the French jeſuits to preach to, and convert, the Indians under the protection of his government. The ſcheme was certainly well laid, and one would wonder how it came not to take effect; which if it had done, muſt have proved the ruin of that colony at leaſt, the conqueſt of which had been for a long time the object of the French policy. But this Colonel Dungan, unfortunately for the French, was a man of very good ſenſe, and of ſtrict honour; he obeyed his maſter's commands, though unwillingly, but he kept ſo ſtrict an eye upon the French jeſuits, that he very ſoon ſaw to the bottom of their deſigns; and, finding them incompatible with the welfare of the colony he governed, he obliged them to retire; telling them that they came to promote the commerce, rather than the religion of their nation; and that if his good friends the Indians were ſo much in love with jeſuits, that they could not be without them, he would ſupply them with thoſe who ſhould make them good Chriſtians and good Engliſhmen at the ſame time.

This greatly provoked the French governor of Canada, Mr. Denonville, who threatened him with the diſpleaſure of his own maſter, and of the Moſt Chriſtian King; but this had no effect upon Colonel Dungan, who would not be either cheated or bullied; and therefore when the French governor had trepanned ſome of the Indian chiefs, and ſent them over to be made ſlaves in the French gallies, by the moſt notorious breach of faith that ever man was guilty of; the colonel aſſiſted them in a war occaſioned thereby, which brought the French colony within a hair's breadth of ruin. This ſtory, which is very remarkable, we have from French as well as Engliſh authors, and which is no leſs extraordinary, they agree in every circumſtance of it. Only the former are ſo partial, as to treat the colonel's character very ill, becauſe he would not ſacrifice the intereſt of his country, his own honour, and conſcience to their views. After the revolution, when he was become Earl of Limerick, King William, who was very well informed of his proceedings, procured an offer to be made him of a very conſiderable command in the Spaniſh ſervice, but he declined it; and though he liked not the meaſures, choſe to follow the fortunes, of his maſter King James.

The French, by the ſame kind of artifices had very near diſpoſſeſſed the Hudſon's Bay company of that country entirely; and, as ſoon as the war broke out, they actually did ſo, as we have already ſhewn. They alſo made a bold attempt upon the colony of New York, with the aſſiſtance of the Indians in their intereſts, but were repulſed; and Colonel Peter Schuyler, with three hundred Engliſh, and the ſame number of Iroquois, bravely marched from Fort Albany to Quebec, which is four hundred miles; and finding the French Governor with ſeven hundred regular troops, and as many Hurons, an Indian nation always at their devotion in the field, they boldly attacked them, and killed three hundred men and thirty officers, with very little loſs to themſelves; but having no artillery, and the French retiring into their forts, the colonel made a very honourable retreat, ſatisfied with the blow he had ſtruck, and ſecuring his own country from any farther depredations. But it was not only on this ſide that the French attacked our colonies at that time, on the contrary they had framed a deſign of greater conſequence againſt the people of New England, of which, as it is a matter of great importance, we will give as full and clear an account of it as we can; for though their intrigues began ſomewhat earlier than the period aſſigned for this chapter, yet as our expedition was not made till after the revolution, it comes in very properly here.

2. The French, in a time of full peace, and when, as we have obſerved, they were ſoliciting and obtaining favours from King James, excited the Indians on the frontiers of New England, to ſurpriſe ſeveral out ſettlements, where they committed ſeveral great

 barbarities;

barbarities; of this, complaints were made to the French governor at Quebec, who gave very good words, pretending that he knew nothing of what had happened; but promiſed to interpoſe, and check the deſigns of the Indians as far as was in his power, which promiſe was very indifferently performed. The Engliſh thereupon tried what fair means, and a peaceable negotiation with the Indians, would do; in this likewiſe they were deceived and amuſed, while their enemies ſtill perſiſted in their depredations, though they continued to treat, and pretended that all diſputes ſhould be amicably ſettled, well knowing that the colony would take any meaſures rather than engage in an Indian war. During theſe tranſactions, the French and Indians entered into further engagements againſt the Engliſh, who did what they could with honour and juſtice, to bring matters to a peaceable iſſue, which was rendered very difficult by the intrigues of the French, who upon King James's withdrawing to France, repreſented the Engliſh nation as in a rebellious and perilous condition, which was ſufficient encouragement for the Indians to continue the war, having the promiſe of powerful aſſiſtance from Quebec.

They ſurpriſed the garriſon of Quachecho, by the treachery of Meſandonit, a Sachem, whom Major Waldern, who commanded there, had generouſly entertained the night before; and that traitor lying in his houſe, opened the gates in the morning to a party of ſavages that lay in ambuſh not far off, and ruſhing in killed the major and twenty-two men, burnt four or five of the beſt houſes, and carried away twenty-nine perſons into captivity, killing Mr. Broughton in their retreat. The government ordered Captain Noyes, with a ſtrong party, to march to Penocook, and clear the country of the ſavages; but they cleared it themſelves by running away as ſoon as they heard news of his coming. Captain Noyes purſued them, cut down all their corn, burnt their wigwams, and laid every thing waſte. A party from Saco was ſurrounded by a great body of Indians, and eſcaped with difficulty, having loſt ſix of their number; they afterwards maſtered Pemmaquid Fort, by help of intelligence given them by one Mr. Starkey, who falling into their hands thought to get out of them by that ſervice, and told of the weak condition the fort was in by the abſence of Mr. Giles, and part of the garriſon; upon whom they fell at Giles's farm, and killed him and fourteen men. They then got upon a rock, when they miſerably galled the Engliſh, and obliged the governor, Capt. Weems, to ſurrender on promiſe of life and liberty. But the ſavages broke the capitulation, and butchered the greateſt part of them, as alſo Capt. Skinner and Capt. Farnham, who were coming to the relief of the garriſon, and Mr. Pediſhall, as he lay in his ſloop in the Barbran. Theſe loſſes cauſed the inhabitants of Sheepſcot and Kennebeck to abandon thoſe places, and return to Falmouth.

It was time for the government of New England to look about them, and think of oppoſing vigorouſly thoſe murders and depredations of the Indians: They ſent Major Swayne with five hundred men from Maſſachuſet, and Major Church, one of their beſt officers, from Plymouth, with five hundred more, againſt the enemy in the eaſt, where they had intercepted Lieut. Hutchin, who had drawn off a garriſon he had in thoſe parts, to ſet them to work in the field. The ſavages coming unexpectedly upon them cut them to pieces, being ſeventeen in number, and then came to the fort, where were only two boys, and ſome women and children; the boys defended it againſt them, wounded ſeveral; and when they found that the barbarians were about to ſet fire to the houſe that was in the fort, and to burn them out, they would not yield but on terms of life; which theſe inhuman wretches granted, and afterwards killed three or four of the children, with one of the boys; the other made his eſcape. Capt. Garner purſued the enemy, but they were too nimble for him. Another party of them aſſaulted Cano,

killed Capt. Brooks, and had put the whole town to the ſword, had not Capt. Hall come opportunely with relief. The deſigns of Major Swayne and Major Church were fruſtrated by the treachery of ſome Indian confederates, who being ſent out as ſcouts, diſcovered all that they knew to the enemy; who underſtanding the number of the Engliſh fled to their inacceſſible woods and ſwamps; ſo Major Swayne, having garriſoned Blew Point, retired to winter quarters. I enter not into the particulars of the barbarous treatment the Engliſh captives met with from the ſavages, there being nothing in it but what might be expected from their rage and cruelty, and there was no likelihood of their learning humanity towards the Engliſh, by leſſons from their new allies the French, who were very active in inſtructing and diſciplining them for the better management of the war.

It is plain they had improved in it, both in arms and in action, and had continual aſſiſtance from Quebec, without which the Engliſh would ſoon have chaſtiſed them for their inſolence, and taught them to be quiet. To make the French ſome returns for the many miſchiefs the Engliſh had ſuffered by their means, it was reſolved in New England to carry the war home to them. In purſuance of this reſolution, Sir William Phipps, who commanded the fleet and forces, ſailed from New England the 28th of April 1690, and on the 11th of May following arrived before Port Royal. The French had then a very flouriſhing colony in Acadia, or, as we call it, New Scotland, conſiſting of no leſs than ſix thouſand people, who got a living at leaſt by their trade in lumber, fiſh, and ſkins; but for all that the place was ſo miſerably provided for defence, the town being covered only by a ſlight paliſade, and a little fort of no force, that it was very ſoon reduced; and Sir William Phipps had the honour of recovering this country to the crown of Britain. The people in Nova Scotia had leave by the capitulation, either to retire to Canada, or remain in the country; and about two thouſand choſe the latter; ſo that Sir William not only acquired a country, but a people; yet we did not keep the poſſeſſion of either, for any length of time. To revenge theſe loſſes, Monſieur Artel, a French officer from Canada, and one Hoophood, a leader among the Huron Indians, confederates with the French, with men of both nations, aſſaulted Salmon Falls, killed thirty perſons, and carried away fifty into captivity; which terribly alarmed all New England, it being the firſt time that the French had acted openly with the barbarians. And as Quebec was thought to be the ſource of all their calamities in this war, it was therefore reſolved to attack that place, which being reduced, the French would have no city to reſt in, and carry on their ill deſigns againſt their Chriſtian neighbours.

3. The ſucceſs Sir William Phipps ſo lately had, recommended him to the chief command in this expedition; but it ſeems to have been as ill laid and managed as the other was well contrived; for it is certain, he had a ſtrength with him ſufficient to have driven the French out of Canada, had it been well uſed; he had thirty-two ſail of ſhips, and they had aboard two thouſand men, a prodigious armament for ſuch a colony, and ſailed from Hull near Boſton the 9th of Auguſt; but came not within ſight of Quebec till the 5th of October. Thus, they were eight weeks in a voyage, that with good winds and weather, might have been made in two or three. The Engliſh were ſo long making up the river of St. Laurence, that the governor, Count de Fontenac, had time enough to prepare for his defence by drawing all the ſtrength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William expected would have been divided by an army marching over land, and attacking Mount Royal Fort on the frontiers of Canada, while he fell upon the capital. This army was to conſiſt of two thouſand men from New York, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies, and one thouſand five hundred Indians, to whom the French gave the name

Engraved by George Locke.

*General View of Quebec.*

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name of Iroquois; but the Engliſh diſtinguiſhed them by the names of their ſeveral nations. The Engliſh marched as far as the great lake of Canada; but as there were no canoes provided for them to paſs it, they returned; and it is very ſtrange that there ſhould have been no proviſion for their paſſage ſecured, ſince the ſucceſs of the enterprize ſo much depended upon it.

When Sir William arrived within ſight of the place, he fancied that the conqueſt would have been as eaſy as that which he had made of Nova Scotia, and therefore he drew up a paper in the nature of a ſummons to ſurrender, conceived in very rough terms; for Sir William was originally a carpenter, and afterwards a ſailor; ſo that he was very blunt and unpoliſhed, though a very honeſt and very brave man; but the French governor, Count Fontenac, was ſo offended at the ſtyle and ſubject, that he cauſed a gibbet to be ſet up, and would have hanged the major that brought the paper, had it not been for the biſhop's interceſſion. He returned, however, a very inſolent anſwer, calling Phipps and his company heretics and traitors.

On the 8th of October the Engliſh landed, under Lieutenant General Whalley, to the number of one thouſand four hundred, for to theſe they were reduced by the ſmall-pox, and other diſeaſes; but had their full complement been preſerved, what were two thouſand on board the ſhips to four thouſand within the city; for ſo many men Fontenac had now with him? Which Whalley underſtanding, he re-embarked his troops, though they would very fain have attempted one aſſault; but their bravery was ill-timed, conſidering the inequality of their number to that of the enemy. Some writers make the loſs of the Engliſh from the oppoſition they met with on ſhore, to be ſix hundred men; but, I believe, that oppoſition is heightened for the credit of our nation, that the troops might not be thought to abandon this enterprize without looking the enemy in the face. The beſt accounts given by the French writers of this matter, do not aſcribe the deliverance of Quebec more to the courage of their own people than to the want of conduct and diſcipline in the Engliſh. The truth of the matter is, the ſcheme was well enough laid, but thoſe who undertook to execute it had not capacities ſuitable to a deſign of this nature; and beſides there fell out ſome accidents that were fatal to them, as well as wholly unforeſeen, and to which in a great meaſure we may juſtly attribute their diſappointment.

The ſmall-pox did not only carry off numbers in Sir William Phipps's fleet, but broke out alſo in the other army, that was to have marched by land to attack Mount Royal; and this malady infecting the Iroquois, was the true reaſon why that expedition was abandoned; and this being ſoon known to the French, gave them an opportunity of throwing their whole force into Quebec, which was much too great for Sir William Phipps to ſtruggle with, if he and thoſe who attended him, had been better officers than they really were; ſo that there is no great wonder the whole expedition miſcarried. This ſhews, that matters of a military nature cannot be carried on, eſpecially againſt the French, but by military men and officers well acquainted with ſervice; yet the zeal and courage of the people of New England, in undertaking and puſhing this project of theirs ſo far as they did, deſerves great applauſe, as it fully demonſtrates the ſpirit of the people, and very plainly proves that with proper encouragement and proper aſſiſtance, they are both willing to endeavour and able to perform all that, in their circumſtances, a Britiſh government can expect from Britiſh ſubjects. In the preſent caſe their efforts rather exceeded than fell ſhort of their abilities, for their fleet and army were numerous enough, well provided, and well paid; the expence of this fruitleſs attempt falling little ſhort of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, every penny of which was furniſhed by the inhabitants of this colony, or, which was worſe, they ran in debt for it, and were left to pay it; here at home we do not ſufficiently reflect upon the inconveniences

conveniences that ſuch misfortunes as theſe bring upon our ſettlements, but are too apt to charge them with want of vigour, want of application, and want of public ſpirit; whereas, in truth, theſe wants, generally ſpeaking, lie on our ſide the water; and it is to cover our own neglects, that we pretend to find faults in them of which they were never guilty.

The ſhips in their return met with no better fortune at ſea than the men had done by land; ſome of them were driven as far as the Leeward Iſlands; one was wrecked, another was never heard of, a third foundered with all her crew in her, a fourth was driven aſhore on the deſolate iſland of Anticoſta, where Captain Rinsford and his crew, forty at firſt, were reduced through want and weather to half the number in a month's time, and then ſaved almoſt miraculouſly. The loſs of men in this unſucceſsful enterprize amounted to one thouſand, and thoſe as uſeful hands as any in the country. During the progreſs of this miſerable expedition, a party under Lieutenant Clark, venturing out of Caſco, to look for the enemy, met with a body of four or five hundred Indians and French, who killed the lieutenant and thirteen of his men; the reſt eſcaping into the town, were purſued by the Indians and French, who entering the place reduced it to aſhes. The garriſon ſurrendered the fort upon conditions of ſafe conduct to the next Engliſh town; but the French baſely broke the capitulation, and made them priſoners of war, under a very fooliſh pretence of their being rebels to their lawful king.

The governor, Major Davis, and ſome of his men, were ſent to Quebec; the reſt were murdered by the ſavages. The garriſons of Papocodack, Spamwick, Black Point, and Blue Point, drew off to Cace, twenty miles within Caſco, terrified with the fate of that place; their terror infected that garriſon alſo, and half of them fled. Hoophood, the Huron, purſued them and deſtroyed all the country, burnt ſeveral houſes at Berwick, killed thirteen or fourteen men at Fort Point, and carried off ſix priſoners; but Captain Floyd and Captain Greenleaf coming up with him routed his party, wounded and drove him off to a great diſtance. He was afterwards fallen on by the French Indians, who taking him for an Iroquois, killed him and almoſt all that were with him. The Indians and French had after that an advantage over the Engliſh under Captain Wiſwell, whom they killed, with fifteen of his ſoldiers, near Wheelwright Pond, the reſt were brought off by Captain Floyd. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the Indians and French made a deſcent upon Ameſbury, near to the Maſſachuſets, ſurpriſed Captain Foot and tortured him to death; but the townſmen returning into the fort, maintained it againſt them. Major Church paſſed by ſea with three hundred men to Caſco Bay, where he landed, and paſſed directly Pechpyſot, an Indian fort, which he found deſerted, thence to Amonoſcoggin Fort, forty miles up Caſco river, which he burnt, after having killed twenty Indians, all that ſtaid in it, and releaſed ſeven Engliſh captives. Having notice that the Indians had agreed to rendezvous on Pechyſet plain, in order to attack Wells, he haſtened thither to give them battle; which the ſavages avoided, and the Engliſh went into winter quarters. Captain Convers and Captain Plaiſtead, with one hundred men, remaining in thoſe parts, to ſcour the woods; and as the Engliſh had no reaſon to be content with the ſucceſs of the war, ſo they were well pleaſed at the ſight of a flag of truce, with which the Indians came to Wells, and a ceſſation of arms till the May following was agreed on by commiſſioners on both ſides.

The time of the ceſſation of arms with the Indians was ſcarce expired; but the ſavages, inſtead of coming as they had engaged, to reſtore the captives, and turn the truce into a peace, began to commit new hoſtilities, and killed ſeveral Engliſh at Berwick,

wick, Exeter, and Cape Nidduck. To prevent further miſchief, Captain Marel, Captain King, Captain Sherburn, and Captain Waters, with four hundred men, landed at Macquoit, and marched to Speaky; but theſe forces not meeting the enemy, grew ſecure, and ſtraggled out in parties, which the Indians obſerving, gathered in a body, attacked them and drove them to their ſhips, with the loſs of Captain Sherburn and ſeveral men, who could not get aboard in time. They killed ſeven perſons at Berwick, twenty-one at Sandy-Bear, a family at Rowly, another at Haverhill, both in Eſſex county. Thus, we find them drawing ſouthward, and extending themſelves into the Maſſachuſets, which they had not done before. The garriſon of Cape Nidduck was ſo thinned by draughts from it, that the remainder thought fit to deſert it, though a ſtrong fort. A party of popiſh Indians aſſaulted the town of York, killed fifty Engliſh, and drove away one hundred into ſlavery, and the reſt fortified themſelves; and though they were but a handful, yet the ſavages, who were ſeveral hundreds, durſt not attack them. Here Mr. Shubaal Dunner, the miniſter, was ſhot at his own door, to the great joy of the French papiſts. A ſhip was immediately diſpatched to Sagadohook, with a commiſſion, and effects to redeem the captives, and thoſe men who remained in the town were now thinking of abandoning it.

Major Hutchinſon was in June 1692 ſent with a ſtrong party under Captain Convers, Captain Floyd, and Captain Thaxter, to aſſiſt them and other Engliſhmen on the frontiers. Captain Convers was poſted at Wells with only fifteen men, in the ſlight fort there, and fifteen more in two ſloops in the river, to be aſſiſting to the others upon occaſion. Againſt him came no leſs than four Indian kings, Modenkawando, Moxus, Edgerement, Warumbo, and ſtill two greater men, Monſieur Labrocree and Monſieur Barniff, with ſome French ſoldiers, and five hundred Hurons. Moxus had not long before attacked Wells with two hundred Indians, and had been repulſed by Captain Convers, who had not a quarter of that number of men with him, which Modenkawando hearing, he ſaid, my brother Moxus has miſſed it now, but I will go myſelf the next year, and have the dog Convers out of his hole. But he was miſtaken, for the Engliſhmen in the fort, and chiefs in the ſloops, behaved ſo gallantly, following the example of their brave commander Convers, that after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts of the Indians and French to maſter them, by land and by water, Monſieur Barniff, and the four Indian confederate princes, were obliged to retire. But Monſieur Labrocree did not live to bear the reproach of ſo ſcandalous a retreat, being killed in the firſt of it. The enemy happened here to take one John Diamond priſoner, whom they uſed ſo barbarouſly, that it would occaſion too much horror in the reader to relate it.

Things continued, however, in this ſituation, till Sir William Phipps came over in quality of governor of New England, who immediately began to think of erecting a new fort at Pemmaquid, to cover the frontiers, which he compleated in ſix months time, though it was one of the ſtrongeſt places in America; but the expence which this occaſioned made the people uneaſy; who, it ſeems, never forgave the raiſing of the money it coſt, though they could not but be ſenſible that it was entirely laid out for their ſafety; but it ſeems in New as well as Old England, and indeed in all other countries, it is a much eaſier thing to ſerve a ſociety, than to make that ſociety ſenſible of one's ſervice. In the preſent caſe one might have expected things ſhould have taken another turn, ſince by the care Sir William Phipps took, the frontiers of the plantation were better ſecured than in times paſt, and the Indians more than once defeated in general engagements; if the diſputes of between two and three hundred men of a ſide may be called ſo, and I ſee no reaſon why they ſhould not, if we conſider that the conſequences of theſe engagements were of the ſame importance to both nations, as if they had

had been fought by thouſands; and I conceive, that it is the importance of a war, and not the number of men employed in it, that renders it worthy of notice.

Theſe ſucceſſes, the building the forts in the eaſt, and the augmenting the forces there, inclined the ſavages to think in earneſt of peace, eſpecially upon hearing the Macquas threatened to fall upon them, for killing ſome of their ſquas or princeſſes on Whortlebury Plain. The Indian ſachems had a French ambaſſador at their courts, who was a friar, to ſtir them up againſt the Engliſh, and keep them in heart. This prieſt did his utmoſt to perſuade them to continue the war. But the French not aſſiſting them with men, arms, and ammunition, as they promiſed, the friar could not hinder them from begging a peace, which was concluded at Fort Pemmaquid, by thirteen ſegamores and the Engliſh commiſſioners, who ſet their names to the inſtrument, Auguſt 11, 1693. By this treaty the Indians renounced their allegiance with the French, owned themſelves ſubjects to the crown of England, confirmed the Engliſh in the poſſeſſion of all the lands they had acquired, and ſubmitted the regulation of their trade to the next general aſſembly, which gave great ſatisfaction to the people of New England; the rather, becauſe hitherto the Indians had very honeſtly kept their treaties, but it was not long before it appeared that their new ſpiritual guides, the French, had taught them other principles.

4. It was not above a year before the jeſuits excited their new converts to break this peace, concluded with heretics; it is true, there was then a war with France, ſo that as ſtateſmen and politicians the jeſuits may be juſtified, but then they muſt lay aſide all pretences to chriſtianity; for it is certain, there is nothing in our religion that countenances a behaviour of this kind, and therefore we may ſafely ſay, that all their labours tended to make theſe poor people rather tools to France than chriſtians. The firſt breaking out of the new war, which happened in the ſpring of 1694, was without any previous declaration, or even complaint that the terms had not been kept on the ſide of the Engliſh, nor indeed was this ever ſo much as pretended. A body of Indians and French fell ſuddenly on Oyſter River Town, and ſeized near one hundred perſons, twenty of which were of the trained-bands. One Blachford courageouſly defended his houſe againſt them, who deſpairing to reduce him before ſuccours came, left him, and going to Mrs. Cuts's farm near Piſcataway, they murdered her and her family. They made an incurſion into Middleſex county, and aſſaulted Groton, but were bravely repulſed by Lieutenant Lukin, upon which they fell to plundering the plantations thereabouts, killed twenty priſoners, and carried twenty more into captivity. They killed one of the children of Mr. Greſham Hobert, the miniſter, and carried off another with them; they murdered three perſons at work near Spruce Creek, and eight more at Kittery, where they barbarouſly uſed a daughter of Mr. Downing. The ſavages ſcalped this young woman, and left her for dead, but ſhe recovered, and was living twenty years after. Mr. Joſeph Pike, of Newburry, under-ſheriff of Eſſex, was murdered by them, between Ameſbury and Haverhill in that county.

To balance theſe loſſes the Engliſh ſeized Bommaſeen, a famous ſegamore, one of thoſe that ſigned the laſt treaty. He pretended to be juſt come from Canada, and that he came on purpoſe to put an end to theſe hoſtilities. But it being proved that he was a principal actor in the late murders, he was ſent priſoner to Boſton. The taking of Bommaſeen ſtunned the Indians a little, and they were quiet for ſix or ſeven months. At laſt a fleet of canoes came to an iſland a league from Pemmaquid, and ſent propoſals of peace to the garriſon. They owned their guilt in breaking the laſt articles, but threw the blame of it on the French. As a proof of their ſincerity now they delivered up eight captives, when they had above one hundred ſtill in captivity. However, a truce

truce was granted for thirty days, and Colonel Phillips, the gallant Major Convers, and Lieutenant Colonel Howthorn, were appointed commiſſioners to treat with them on the part of the Indians, but becauſe they brought not Bommaſcen with them, whoſe releaſement was all they wanted, the Indian commiſſioners broke off the conference, and went away in diſguſt. They had left the Engliſh planters in their captivity, contrary to their promiſe to releaſe them as a preliminary, which was a plain indication they were not in earneſt. Advice was ſent immediately to all the Engliſh garriſons in the eaſt to be upon their guard; notwithſtanding which, Major Hammond, of Kittery, fell into an ambuſcade, and was taken priſoner; but having the good fortune to be tranſported to Canada, he was very civilly treated by Count Frontenac, who bought him of his Indian maſter, and ſent him to Boſton by a veſſel that came to Quebec for exchange of priſoners. In Auguſt a party of Indians came down to Bellerica on horſeback; this was pretty far within the Maſſachuſets. They killed and took fifteen perſons, and plundered Mr. Rogers's houſe. This was the firſt time the Indians ever made uſe of horſes. They took nine people out of Newbury in Eſſex, and being cloſely purſued by Captain Greenleaf, a valiant and diligent officer, they ſo wounded them when they found they could not keep them, that they all died except one lad, which was a ſignal proof of their barbarity.

Captain March, governor of Pemmaquid Fort, deſiring to lay down his commiſſion towards the latter end of the year, he was ſucceeded in it by Captain Chub. He ſhewed the baſeneſs of his ſpirit, as well as the weakneſs of his underſtanding, in one of his firſt exploits, after he had the command of this garriſon, by murdering Edgeremet and Abenquid, and two other principal ſegamores, who had ſigned the laſt treaty, and came to him on aſſurance of ſecurity, to confer about a new one. In Auguſt the French landed ſome ſoldiers out of a man of war, the Newport, which they had taken from the Engliſh to aſſiſt the Indians in his neighbourhood.

This news ſo frightened the traitor Chub, that he ſurrendered the new and ſtrong fort of Pemmaquid, without the firing one gun, within or without, though he had near one hundred men in it double-armed. The ſurprizing news of this loſs cauſed a mighty conſternation at Boſton and all over New England. Governor Stoughton and the council, immediately ordered three men of war in purſuit of the French, though it was not probable that theſe ſhips could be fitted for that ſervice time enough to come up with the enemy, who having done their buſineſs at Pemmaquid better than they could hope for, were gone far enough out of the reach of the Engliſh. Colonel Gedney marched with five hundred men to the eaſt, but the Indians were gone home, and he could do nothing but ſtrengthen the garriſons there. The ſavages, before their retreat, killed five ſoldiers belonging to Saco Fort, who muſt not be with their garriſon. And one may obſerve, that the greateſt miſchief the Indians do, is by theſe ambuſhes and ſurprizes, which, conſidering how they were almoſt intermixed with them, it is ſtrange they ſhould not be aware of, and guard againſt; for the country muſt by this time, and this means, be in a manner, as well known to them as to the ſavages. Colonel Gedney arreſted Chub, and brought him to Boſton; but nothing treaſonable being proved againſt him, the government only took away his commiſſion, and ſent him thence to his houſe at Andover, in Eſſex county.

Some time after this the Indians entered Haverhill, and carried off thirty captives, one of which was Hannah Duſtan, a woman of a maſculine ſpirit. She had lain in not above a week, yet ſhe and her nurſe walked one hundred and fifty miles on foot, to the town where the Indian ſhe was to ſerve lived. This woman being afterwards to travel with the maſter and his family to a rendezvous of the army of the ſavages,

where, according to the diabolical cuſtom of them, ſhe, her nurſe, and other Engliſh priſoners, were to run the gauntlet; Hannah watched her opportunity in the night, and having animated her nurſe, and an Engliſh boy who was with her, they three killed ten of the Indians with their own weapons, and made their eſcapes; for which action they received a reward of fifty pound, from the general aſſembly, and preſents from particular perſons to a good value. The Indians continuing their inroads, killed a man at York, another at Hatfield, a third at Groton, and a fourth at Exeter; which ſhews us that the New England people were in conſtant danger, and haraſſed on every ſide. The Indians grew every day more barbarous and more implacable, as having the intrigues of the Jeſuits added to their own fierceneſs and thirſt of blood.

They ſurprized and ſhot Major Froſt and his two ſons at Berwick, as they were coming from church one Sunday, and going to his own houſe about ve miles off. Two men that rid poſt to carry this unwelcome news to the governor of Wells, fell into an ambuſcade as they were returning, and were killed, as were three men near Nechawannic, and a dreadful deſolation threatened the whole province; certainly more for want of management than of power. The ſavages roaſted a man to death a mile and a half from Wells. Three ſoldiers, at Saco Fort, as they were cutting fire-wood for the fort at Caco Iſland, were ſhot dead, while Lieutenant Fletcher, with his two ſons, who were appointed for their guard, were fowling in the woods; but the lieutenant and his ſons paid dearly for their negligence, for they fell into an ambuſcade as they returned, and were all three taken priſoners. The father and one of his ſons died in captivity, and the other made his eſcape.

In the beginning of 1697 the government of New England was alarmed with advice that the French in Canada intended to make a deſcent there; that a ſquadron of men of war was come from France to ſupport the army of the Indians and French, that was to attack the Engliſh by land. The lieutenant-governor and council prepared for a vigorous defence; the forts about Boſton were repaired; the militia throughout the whole province were raiſed and well diſciplined. Major March was ordered to the eaſt, with five hundred, to ſcour the woods; the Indians, who were gathering together about Caſco Bay, retired as he approached them; but the Major having put his men aboard ſome ſhips ſailed up among the eaſtern iſlands, and landed on the banks of Damaſcatos river; a very prudent meaſure, for he could not have overtaken the Indians by land, before they had been got into their faſtneſſes. The Indians ſeeing this, fell upon his men as they were getting aſhore, but could not hinder their landing; upon which a ſharp engagement enſued, and the Engliſh drove the enemy to their canoes, a fleet of which was in the river to receive them. The Engliſh had about twelve men killed, and as many wounded; the enemies loſs was much greater; but the main advantage to the Engliſh was, preventing the Indians joining the French, who were approaching with the ſhips of war and tranſports for a deſcent; but hearing of the rout of their confederates, they made the beſt of their way home to Europe, with the French troops on board, to their no ſmall diſcredit.

A party of ſavages made an incurſion into Middleſex, and plundered Lancaſter, killing twenty men, among whom was the reverend Mr. John Whiting, the miniſter, and carried five into captivity. A month after they killed a poor man in the woods near Oyſter River. In the beginning of the next year they made a deſcent upon Andover, and killed Captain Chub and his family. They alſo killed Colonel Dudley Bradſtreet, took his whole family, and were carrying them off; but being cloſely purſued, they releaſed them without doing them any miſchief. The ſavages were now in motion to the weſtward, and killed a man and a boy in the meadows near Hatfield.

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They were purſued by a party of Engliſh from Deerfield, of which one was killed by the Indians, who, after that ran to the woods. They had attempted Deerfield on Connecticut River, but were beaten off by the inhabitants, headed by their miniſter, Mr. John Williams. Theſe ſmall actions ſeemed to preſage the end of this war, of which the ſavages were as weary as the Engliſh, and had no proſpect of making any thing of it againſt a people ſo much ſuperior to them in numbers, arms and ſtores; but they ended it with the better grace, by means of the peace of Ryſwick, between England and France. Upon which Count Frontenac ſent to the ſachem of the Hurons, and told them he was no longer to ſupport them in the war againſt the Engliſh, and adviſed them to make the beſt terms they could for themſelves.

The Earl of Bellamont was by this time arrived at New York, and a treaty of peace with the Indians being ſet on foot, he diſpatched Major Convers, and Colonel Philips, to confer with the Indian ſachems at Penabſcot. They began the conferences October the 6th, in which the Sachems excuſed themſelves for breaking the peace, ſaying, the Jeſuits would not let them alone till they had done it; and if the Earl of Bellamont, and Count Frontenac, would not baniſh theſe devils, they could not promiſe the next peace would laſt long. Major Convers and Colonel Philips concluded it with them on the foot with the laſt treaty; to which they added a more formal ſubmiſſion to the ſovereignty of the crown of England; wherein after acknowledging themſelves guilty of breaking the laſt peace, and in not fulfilling their engagements entered into thereby, while they enjoyed the benefit of it, which they charge upon the evil counſels and inſtigations of the French, they proceed thus:

"Wherefore we, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, ſegamores, captains, and principal men of the Indians, belonging to the rivers of Kennebeck, Amonoſcogin, Saco, and parts adjacent, being ſenſible of our great offence and folly, in not complying with the aforeſaid ſubmiſſion and agreement, and alſo of the ſufferings and miſchiefs that we have hereby expoſed ourſelves unto; do, in all humble and ſubmiſſive manner, caſt ourſelves upon his majeſty's mercy, for the pardon of all our rebellions and violations of our promiſes; praying to be received into his majeſty's grace and protection; and for, and in behalf of ourſelves, and of all the other Indians belonging to the ſeveral rivers and places aforeſaid, within the ſovereignty of his Majeſty of Great Britain, do again acknowledge and profeſs our hearty and ſincere obedience to the crown of England; and do ſolemnly renew, ratify, and confirm, all and every the articles and agreements contained in the aforeſaid recited ſubmiſſion; and in teſtimony hereof, we, the ſaid ſegamores, captains, and principal men, have hereunto ſet our hands and ſeals, at Caſco Bay, near Mares Point, the 7th day of January, in the tenth year of the reign of his Majeſty King William III. A.D. 1698-9. Subſcribed by Moxus, and the reſt of the ſegamores and petty princes."

Thus ended, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, the Indian war, with reſpect to which the French writers have undoubtedly given a very falſe account, and a ſtill more falſe account of the peace; for they ſay poſitively, that the Indians inſiſted upon it, that they were not ſubject to the crown of Great Britain; that they declared againſt their occupying any of their lands; and that they openly profeſſed they were, and would be friends to the French; every tittle of which, as is manifeſt by their inſtrument above recited, and cited for that purpoſe, appears to be a direct falſehood; but in one thing I believe the French writers ſpeak truth, which is, with regard to the policy of the Indians, who made uſe of the ſmall-pox for a pretence to quit the Engliſh army, in its march to attack the French colony of Canada by land, from a foreſight that if this expedition had been attended with ſucceſs, the French

muſt have abandoned their country, and they were unwilling to be left wholly at the mercy of the Engliſh.

Many of our authors indeed, repreſent the Indians as not capable of ſo great a ſtroke in politics; but I have ſeen papers of Governor Dudley and William Penn, who were very well acquainted with them, that ſeem to countenance this opinion; for they ſay, they have ſtrong natural parts, underſtand their own intereſt thoroughly, and do every thing with great deliberation. It is, indeed, certain, that they are wedded to their own ſentiments, and to their own manner of living, and therefore we muſt refer their politics to their maxims, and not pretend to judge of them by our own, with which they have not the leaſt affinity or connection.

5. We have, in the courſe of this work, given ſo full and clear an account of the manner in which all our colonies were ſettled, and of the motives upon which different ſorts of people reſorted to them, that the reader cannot be ſurprized at hearing their religious affairs were in a very indifferent ſituation, when in reſpect to temporal concerns their condition was moſt flouriſhing. Several worthy perſons in the reign of King Charles II. had uſed their endeavours to correct this evil, but their pious deſires did not meet with proportionable ſucceſs, which, however, was far from diſcouraging others from following their example; but though they were ſomewhat more fortunate, chiefly from the aſſiſtance given them by the pious Queen Mary, whoſe character for religion and virtue will live as long as there is either religion or virtue in the world, yet it was at laſt found, that nothing could be effectually done, unleſs the encouragers of this noble deſign of ſpreading the chriſtian faith through the Britiſh dominions in America, were incorporated by charter, the neceſſity and expediency of which Dr. Thomas Teniſon, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, undertook to repreſent to King William III. and upon his repreſentation a charter was obtained, dated the 16th of June, in the 13th year of his reign, by which ſeveral perſons, equally diſtinguiſhed by their titles and virtues, were incorporated for that purpoſe, under the moſt honourable of all names, "The ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts."

This truly, ſays the author of the hiſtory of this ſociety, Dr. Humphreys, was an action ſuitable to Archbiſhop Teniſon's public ſpirit and honeſt zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and exceedingly becoming his high ſtation and authority in the church. The American colonies, ſure, can never, without the greateſt veneration and gratitude, remember him, when they ſhall, many ages hereafter, feel the happy effects of having the chriſtian religion planted among them; and reflect how hearty and forward Archbiſhop Teniſon appeared to obtain that charter, which gave life and authority to ſo glorious an undertaking; nay, that his zeal and ſpirit did not reſt here, he continued to promote and guide, by his wiſe councils, the affairs of the ſociety; he paid them an annual bounty of fifty pounds, during his life, and at his death bequeathed them a thouſand pounds, towards the maintenance of the firſt biſhop that ſhould be ſettled in America. A charter being thus obtained, the next endeavour was to carry their laudable deſign into execution; accordingly his grace the archbiſhop, as empowed by the charter, cauſed ſummons to be iſſued for the members of the corporation, to meet within the time limited; and ſeveral met at the place appointed, on the 27th of June 1701, and choſe proper officers for tranſacting the buſineſs. At following meetings they made divers rules and orders for their more regular proceedings in the adminiſtrations of their truſt, and ſubſcribed, among themſelves, near two hundred pounds; for defraying the charges of paſſing the charter, making the common ſeal, and other neceſſary expences; they alſo ordered five hundred copies of the charter to be printed

forthwith, and diſtributed amongſt the members, to be ſhewn by them to all proper perſons, the farther to notify the deſign they were engaged in, and to invite more perſons of ability and piety to aſſiſt in carrying it on.

This ſtep was but an opening of the matter to the public; the ſociety were diligent to conſider of farther and more effectual ways and means to obtain ſubſcriptions and contributions, ſufficient to enable them to maintain the expence of ſending many miſſionaries abroad. They immediately agreed that the beſt argument to mankind was example, and the moſt effectual means to engage others to contribute, was to lead the way themſelves, by ſubſcribing towards the ſupport of the work. Accordingly Archbiſhop Teniſon, the preſident, the vice-preſidents, all the biſhops and members then preſent, did ſubſcribe a yearly ſum to be paid to the treaſurer of the ſociety for the public uſes, according to the form of ſubſcription drawn up for that purpoſe; having now made this advance themſelves, they gave out deputations, under their common ſeal, to ſeveral of their members, and other perſons of figure and intereſt in the counties of England and Wales; ſignifying their being conſtituted and appointed by the corporation to take ſubſcriptions, and to receive all ſums of money which ſhould be ſubſcribed or advanced for the purpoſes mentioned in the charter; and here it is to be gratefully acknowledged, that ſeveral worthy perſons did, with a public ſpirit, take theſe deputations to help on with a work ſo truly for the national intereſt, and the honour of common chriſtianity; and did, by their example and inſtances, ſo influence ſeveral well-diſpoſed perſons, that conſiderable remittances of benefactions to the corporation were ſoon made, which enabled them to enter on the work with ſucceſs. There were likewiſe ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money ſent into the ſociety by perſons who deſired to conceal their names; and the ſame ſpirit and ardour has continued; neither has the ſociety wanted the encouragement and protection of the ſucceſſors of their royal founder, particularly his late majeſty King George I. and the ſociety have ſtill increaſing views of ſucceſs through the favour of his majeſty now reigning, from his known zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and royal care for the colonies, ſo conſiderable a branch of the Britiſh monarchy.

It is a thing that will certainly excite wonder in the minds of all calm and conſiderate people, let their religious ſentiments or perſuaſions be what they will, that this ſociety, with ſcarce any ſettled fund, ſhould be able to maintain, for between forty and fifty years, ſo extenſive a ſcheme as that of their charter, which tends to correct almoſt all the errors and miſtakes that have hitherto happened in the management of our colonies; for by their prudent and pious care, great check has been given to atheiſm and irreligion, a thing of great conſequence in our ſettlements, conſidered in a political as well as chriſtian light; for without it there is no reſtraining the Indian traders from being guilty of ſuch immoralities, as render us deſpicable in the eyes of the heathen Indians; which, as may be eaſily conceived, muſt tend vaſtly to our diſadvantage, more eſpecially, if at the ſame time we reflect on the management of the French in this particular, who are very careful in their endeavours to convert the Indians, and keep up a great outward appearance of zeal for religion, which makes ſtrong impreſſions on the minds of the ſavages, even though they are not converted, nor have any inclination to become Papiſts. If by ſuch methods they ſhould ſo far compaſs their ends, as to convert many of the Indians, and by that means awe and influence the reſt; it muſt be accompanied with circumſtances very diſagreeable to the inhabitants of our colonies, as from the foregoing hiſtory of the Indian war will appear.

But beſides the many and great advantages that would reſult from the thorough eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion through the colonies, with regard to the conduct

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and behaviour of the people, and the great enlargement of power that would follow in caſe the converſion of the Indians was undertaken by practice as well as preaching, by the example of the laymen, as well as the exhortations of the few clergy that are ſent thither; there is yet another point that deſerves as ſerious regard. The negroes in the ſervice of our planters, are a prodigious body of people, and as there are but too many juſt cauſes given for apprehending the deſtruction of whole countries from their plots and conſpiracies, which have been ſometimes prevented by accidental, or rather providential diſcoveries, when they were upon the very point of being executed; ſo it is certain, that if theſe people, or the greateſt part of them, could be converted, it would not only prove a means of taking away theſe apprehenſions, but would alſo add a great ſtrength to the colonies, in which they are obliged to make uſe of negroes; for theſe people would then conceive new notions of their condition, and conſider their being ſervants to Chriſtians in the light rather of a bleſſing than a calamity; it would not only make them eaſy, but cheerful in their ſervitude, and by degrees would be attended with more advantages than we can foreſee, and yet a very ordinary degree of foreſight will not fail to ſhew us a great many. That this is, and muſt be, attended with many difficulties, will be readily granted, but that it is very far from being impracticable, will appear from what Dr. Humphreys tells us has been in this reſpect already done, and which I take to be as material a point as any that occurs in the hiſtory of this period.

The negro ſlaves, ſays he, even in theſe colonies, where the ſociety ſend miſſionaries, amount to many thouſands of perſons of both ſexes, and all ages, and moſt of them are very capable of receiving inſtructions; even the grown perſons, brought from Guinea, quickly learn Engliſh enough to be underſtood in ordinary matters; but the children born of negro parents in the colonies are bred up entirely in the Engliſh language. The ſociety looking upon the inſtruction and converſion of the negroes as a principal branch of their care, eſteeming it a great reproach to the Chriſtian name, that ſo many thouſands of perſons ſhould continue in the ſame ſtate of Pagan darkneſs under a chriſtian government, and living in Chriſtian families, as they lay before under in their own heathen countries; the ſociety, immediately, from their firſt inſtitution, ſtrove to promote their converſion, and inſomuch as their income would not enable them to ſend numbers of catechiſts ſufficient to inſtruct the negroes, yet they reſolved to do their utmoſt, and at leaſt to give this work the mark of their higheſt approbation. They wrote, therefore, to all their miſſionaries, that they ſhould uſe their beſt endeavours, at proper times, to inſtruct the negroes; and ſhould eſpecially take occaſion to recommend it zealouſly to the maſters, to order their ſlaves, at convenient times, to come to them, that they might be inſtructed.

Theſe directions had a good effect, and ſome hundreds of negroes have been inſtructed, received baptiſm, and been brought to the communion, and lived very orderly lives. It is a matter of commendation to the clergy, that they have done thus much in ſo great and difficult a work. But alas! what is the inſtruction of a few hundreds in ſeveral years, with reſpect to the many thouſands uninſtructed, unconverted, living and dying downright Pagans? It muſt be confeſſed, what hath been done is as nothing, with regard to what a true Chriſtian would hope to ſee effected. But the difficulties the clergy meet with in this good work are exceeding great. The firſt is, the negroes want time to receive inſtructions; ſeveral maſters allow their negroes only Sundays for reſt, and then the miniſters of the pariſhes are fully employed in other duties, and cannot attend them. Many planters, in order to free themſelves from the trouble and charge of feeding and clothing their ſlaves, allow them one day in a week to clear ground and plant it, to ſubſiſt themſelves and families; ſome allow all Saturday;

day; ſome half Saturday and Sunday; others allow only Sunday. How can the negro attend for inſtruction, who, on half Saturday and Sunday, is to provide food and raiment for himſelf and family for the week following; the negro will urge in his own excuſe, that the ſupport of himſelf and all that is dear to him, doth abſolutely depend upon this his neceſſary labour on Saturday and Sunday; but if this be not ſtrictly juſtifiable, yet it is certain the miſerable man's plea will engage the reader's compaſſion.

This is the caſe in ſome colonies, in others it differs. In ſome places the negroes do the whole labour of the country in the field, in others they are uſed only as houſe ſervants. Another difficulty ariſes from the habitations and ſettlements of the maſters being at a great diſtance from each other in moſt places in the colonies, for which reaſon neither can a miniſter go to many families, if the negroes were allowed time to attend him, nor can a proper number of them aſſemble together at one place, without a conſiderable loſs of time to their maſters. But the greateſt obſtruction is, the maſters themſelves do not conſider enough the obligation which lies upon them, to have their ſlaves inſtructed. Some have been ſo weak as to argue the negroes had no ſouls, others that they grew worſe by being taught and made Chriſtians. I would not mention theſe, if they were not popular arguments ſtill, becauſe they have no foundation in reaſon or truth.

After the Society had given the general order mentioned before, to all their miſſionaries, for the inſtruction of the ſlaves, they agreed to uſe another method, which they believed would more ſucceſsfully promote this work. They opened a catechiſing ſchool for the ſlaves at New York, in the year 1704, in which city there were computed to be about one thouſand five hundred negro and Indian ſlaves, and many of their maſters well diſpoſed to have them made Chriſtians. The Society hoped this example ſet, might kindle a zeal in ſome other good people, to carry on this work which they were unable to effect, and to erect ſchools for the inſtruction of the negroes, and to employ catechiſts to teach them at appointed times; and that the legiſlature of the colonies would by a law oblige all ſlaves to attend for inſtruction. The Society found ſoon, it was not eaſy to procure a perſon proper to be a catechiſt: Mr. Elias Neau, a layman, then living in New York city as a trader, was repreſented to be the propereſt perſon for that office. He was by nation a Frenchman, and made a confeſſion of the Proteſtant religion in France, for which he had been confined many years in priſon, and ſeven years in the galleys: when he got releaſed, he went to New York, and traded there; and had the character, from people of all perſuaſions, of a man of piety, of ſober deportment and ſerious life. He accepted of the offer of being catechiſt; and his former ſufferings on account of his religion did, with great advantage, recommend him to be a teacher of the Chriſtian faith, and his humility enabled him to bear with the many inconveniences in teaching theſe poor people.

He entered upon his office in the year 1704 with great diligence. At firſt he was obliged to go from houſe to houſe to inſtruct the negroes; this was out of meaſure laborious; afterwards he got leave that they ſhould come to his houſe; this was a conſiderable relief. There were two obſtructions ſtill; the time was much too ſhort, and the place inconvenient, for teaching the great number of negroes; a little time in the duſk of the evening, after hard labour all day, was the whole time allowed them for learning and for relaxation, and to viſit their wives and children, which were generally in other families, not in their maſters. At this time their bodies were ſo fatigued that their attention could not be great. They were dull and ſleepy, and remembered they muſt riſe early the next day to their labour; the place alſo was incommodious, being the uppermoſt floor of Mr. Neau's houſe, and was not able to hold conveniently a ſmall

part

part of the ſlaves that might reſort thither. Beſides, the negroes were much diſcouraged from embracing the Chriſtian religion, upon account of the very little regard ſhewed them in any religious reſpect. Their marriages were performed by mutual conſent only, without the bleſſing of the church; they were buried by thoſe of their own country, or complexion, in the common field, without any Chriſtian office, perhaps ſome ridiculous heathen rites were performed at the grave by ſome of their own people. No notice was given of their being ſick, that they might be viſited; on the contrary, frequent diſcourſes were made in converſation that they had no ſouls, and periſhed as beaſts.

Mr. Neau contended with theſe difficulties, and notwithſtanding all, proved an inſtrument of bringing many to the knowledge of the Chriſtian faith: he took great pains in reading to them, in making ſhort collections out of books on the catechiſm, and in making an abſtract of the hiſtorical part of the Scriptures; ſo that many who could not read, could yet, by memory, repeat the hiſtory of the creation of the world, the flood, the giving of the law, the birth, miracles, and crucifixion of our Lord, and the chief articles and doctrines of Chriſtianity. This was a work of great pains and humanity. Mr. Neau performed it diligently, diſcourſing familiarly with thoſe poor people, and labouring earneſtly to accommodate his diſcourſe to their capacities. His labours were very ſucceſsful. A conſiderable number of the ſlaves could give a ſufficient account of the grounds of their faith, as ſeveral of the clergy, who examined them publicly, before they gave them baptiſm, have acquainted the Society. In the mean time, while the Society was thinking of farther ways to advance this work, a calamity appeared, which mightily diſcouraged this country from promoting the inſtruction of their ſlaves.

In the year 1712 a conſiderable number of the negroes of the Carmantee and Pappa nations, formed a plot to deſtroy all the Engliſh, in order to obtain their liberty, and kept their conſpiracy ſo ſecret that there was no ſuſpicion of it, until it came to the very execution; however, the blow was, by God's aſſiſtance, happily defeated. The plot was this: The negroes ſet fire to a houſe in York city, on a Sunday night in April, about the going down of the moon; the fire alarmed the town, who from all parts run to it. The conſpirators planted themſelves in ſeveral ſtreets and lanes leading to the fire, and ſhot or ſtabbed the people as they were running to it. Some of the wounded eſcaped and acquainted the government, and preſently by the firing a great gun from the fort, the inhabitants were called under arms, and prevented from running to the fire; a body of men was ſoon raiſed, which eaſily ſcattered the negroes; they had killed about eight perſons, and wounded twelve more. In their flight ſome of them ſhot themſelves, others their wives, and then themſelves; ſome abſconded a few days, and then killed themſelves, for fear of being taken, but a great many were taken, and eighteen ſuffered death. This wicked conſpiracy was at firſt apprehended to be general among all the negroes, and opened the mouths of many to ſpeak againſt giving the negroes inſtruction. Mr. Neau durſt hardly appear abroad for ſome days, his ſchool was blamed, as the main occaſion of this barbarous plot. But upon the trial of the wretches, there were but two of all his ſchool ſo much as charged with the plot, and only one was a baptiſed man; and in the people's heat, upon ſlender evidence, perhaps, too haſtily condemned; for ſoon after he was acknowledged to be innocent by the common voice; the other was not baptiſed. It appeared plain that he was in the conſpiracy, but guiltleſs of his maſter's murder, who was Hooglands, an eminent merchant. Upon full trial, the guilty negroes were found to be ſuch as never came to Neau's ſchool; and what is very obſervable, the perſons whoſe negroes were found to be moſt guilty,

guilty, were ſuch as were the declared oppoſers of making them Chriſtians: however, a great jealouſy was now raiſed, and the common cry was very loud againſt inſtructing the negroes.

The common-council of New York city made an order, forbidding the negroes to go about the ſtreets after ſun-ſet without lanthorns and candles. This was in effect, forbidding them to go to Mr. Neau's ſchool; for none of them could get lanthorns, or come to him before ſun-ſet; but ſome time after, the more ſerious and moderate people abated of this violence; it appearing to be a plot of a few only, not a general one of all the negroes, no conſequence attended the action, and the people grew more compoſed. Robert Hunter, Eſq. the governor of the province, obſerved their fears were ill grounded, and that Mr. Neau's ſcholars were not the guilty negroes; and therefore, in order to ſupport the deſign of inſtructing them, he was pleaſed to viſit his ſchool, attended by the Society's miſſionaries and ſeveral perſons of note, and publickly declared his approbation of the deſign; and afterwards, by a proclamation put out againſt immoralities and vice, he recommended to the clergy of the country, to exhort their congregations from the pulpit, to promote the inſtruction of the negroes. This gave new life again to the work, and the negroes frequented Mr. Neau's ſchool as before; ſeveral were inſtructed, and afterwards examined publickly in the church before the congregation, by the Reverend Mr. Veſey; and gave a very ſatisfactory account of their faith, and received baptiſm.

The Society had accounts from time to time of Mr. Neau's diligence and ſucceſs, particularly one very ample teſtimonial, ſigned by the governor (Robert Hunter, Eſq.) the council, the lord mayor, and recorder of New York, and the two chief juſtices, ſetting forth, That Mr. Neau had demeaned himſelf in all things as a good Chriſtian, and a good ſubject; that in the ſtation of catechiſt he had, to the great advancement of religion in general, and the particular benefit of the free Indians, negro ſlaves, and other heathens in thoſe parts, with indefatigable zeal and application, performed that ſervice three times a week; and, that they did ſincerely believe, that as a catechiſt, he did in a very eminent degree deſerve the countenance, favour, and protection of the Society. The Society were fully ſatisfied with Mr. Neau's behaviour, and continued to ſend him numbers of catechiſms and ſmall tracts of devotion and inſtruction, to give among the ſlaves and ſervants at his diſcretion. Mr. Neau perſevered with the ſame diligence till the year 1722, in which he died, much regretted by all who knew his labours.

The Society have been very careful in carrying on that great and good work, as far as in their power lay, ever ſince; and though they have not been ſo ſucceſsful as they could have wiſhed, yet their diſappointments have not been of a nature to make them deſpair, and we may reaſonably preſume, that by degrees, and by a conſtant perſeverance, they will, in proceſs of time, overcome all difficulties.

6. After the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the crown, and this nation's engaging in another general war againſt France, it was thought a thing of very great conſequence to ſecure the five Indian nations bordering upon New England and New York; and therefore, inſtead of waiting for an application from the Society, an order was directed to them from the Privy Council upon this ſubject; and they were directed to ſend over miſſionaries without delay, with a promiſe that they ſhould be properly ſupported; and this in terms that very plainly ſhewed the Government looked upon it as a matter that did not only regard the Church, but the State. The Society, upon this, ſent over, very ſoon after, one Mr. Moor, and intended to have ſent over other miſſionaries if his endeavours had met with any ſucceſs. The ſcheme was very wiſe and very good, yet

it did not anſwer in the execution, for want, as I conceive, of proper expence about it. In a national concern like this, money ſhould not have been ſpared, and great care ought to have been taken in preparations before any thing had been hazarded in the execution; ſo that a number of miſſionaries ſhould have entered the Indian countries at once, ſome or other of which would certainly have fallen upon the right way of gaining the affection of theſe people, which it ſeems was not the good fortune of Mr. Moor; who arriving at New York in 1704, was very well received by Lord Cornbury, who was then governor of that colony, and who alſo gave him all the aſſiſtance he could deſire in his miſſion; but the Mohocks, to whom he addreſſed himſelf, did not treat him as he expected; for at firſt they ſeemed to expreſs very great ſatisfaction at his arrival, and to be extremely well pleaſed with his concern for their ſalvation; but they trifled with him afterwards, and at laſt gave him plainly to underſtand, that his coming amongſt them would be to little purpoſe; for under pretence that religion was a public concern, in which all their families and little clans had an equal concern, ſo that he could not be received by any without the common conſent, they put him off from time to time, and would have put him off for ever, if, after a year's waiting, he had not returned to New York; where he embarked on board a ſhip for England, but was unhappily loſt in his paſſage.

Thus was the attempt fruſtrated; but the Society received accounts that this ill ſucceſs was owing not only to the averſion of the Indians to Chriſtianity, but was very much occaſioned by the artifices of the French Jeſuits, who induſtriouſly obſtructed the labours of the Engliſh miſſionaries among them, and left no means untried to ſeduce them from their fidelity to the crown of England, and keep them in a continual war with the Engliſh. And indeed all the evils that the Engliſh colonies have undergone during the laſt war, have been occaſioned by the Indians, that is, thoſe Indians which the Jeſuits have by their artifices corrupted; for among the five nations there is a great number of French Jeſuits, who are incorporated, by adoption, into their tribes, and as ſuch they oſtentatiouſly aſſume Iroquois names; and the chief of the poor ſilly Indians, conſidering them as perſons of their own blood, do intirely confide in them, and admit them into their councils, from whence one may eaſily imagine what diſorders the Jeſuits make in their affairs. Beſides, the Indians bordering on New England are the moſt cruel and barbarous of all the ſavage nations, and have deſtroyed all their innocent neighbours. They are always unfixed, either rambling for ſeveral months together, or hunting, or upon warlike expeditions; and at their return to their villages, have generally forgot all their former inſtructions, and it is impoſſible for any miniſter to accompany them in their rambles of three or four hundred leagues at a time. After this good endeavour was defeated, the Indians remained without inſtruction, except that ſome few were taught by the Dutch miniſter at Albany. But the year 1709 produced an event, which the Society hoped might have had very happy conſequences, and fixed Chriſtianity among the Iroquois. Four ſachems, or four chief perſons of four nations of the Iroquois, came in the nature of ambaſſadors to England, confirming the peace made with the governor of New York, and requeſting her majeſty would be pleaſed to direct that their ſubjects might be inſtructed in Chriſtianity, and miniſters might be ſent to reſide amongſt them.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury received thereupon, the following letter from the Earl of Sunderland, then one of her majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

"My Lord, Whitehall, April 20, 1710.

"The incloſed being a copy of what has been given to the Queen, by the ambaſſadors lately arrived from the five Indian nations; I am ordered by her majeſty to tranſ-

mit it to your Grace, and to ſignify to you her pleaſure, that you lay it before the Society for propagating religion, that they may conſider what may be the moſt proper ways of cultivating that good diſpoſition theſe Indians ſeem to be in for receiving the Chriſtian faith, and for ſending thither fit perſons for that purpoſe, and to report their opinion without loſs of time, that the ſame may be laid before her majeſty.

" I am, &c. *Sunderland*, &c."

The archbiſhop was then much indiſpoſed, and confined to his houſe with the gout, and therefore ſignified to the ſecretary of the Society to call a committee to meet at Lambeth; a committee met, and it was agreed there, and afterwards by the Society at a general meeting, that two miſſionaries ſhould be ſent to the Mohock and Oncydes's Indians, with a ſalary of one hundred and fifty pounds ſterling each, together with an interpreter and ſchool-maſter, to teach the young Indians; and this opinion was humbly laid before the Queen; her majeſty was farther pleaſed to direct, that a fort ſhould be built among the Mohocks, at the Government's expence, with a chapel and a manſion houſe for the miniſter, for his greater conveniency and ſecurity, and that the religious offices might be performed with due decency; a fort was ſoon after built one hundred and fifty feet ſquare, and garriſoned with twenty ſoldiers and an officer, and a houſe and chapel completed. The Reverend Mr. Andrews was appointed miſſionary, and Mr. Clauſen, who had been ſeveral years employed as interpreter by the government of New York, in tranſactions with the Indians, was received as interpreter to Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Oliver made ſchool-maſter. Mr. Andrews was particularly directed by the Society, to uſe all poſſible means to perſuade the Indians to let their children learn Engliſh; and the ſchool-maſter was to make it his whole buſineſs to teach them. The Society was now in good hopes this attempt would prove ſucceſsful, ſince her majeſty was ſo graciouſly pleaſed to provide for the ſecurity of the miſſionary, by building a fort juſt by the Mohocks' caſtle, to which the men and children might eaſily reſort to be inſtructed; and the ſachems, the chief perſons of this people, had been in England, received many marks of royal favour, had been eye-witneſſes of the greatneſs of the nation, had been nobly entertained here, and carried home to their own countries ſafely and honourably, and had themſelves alſo deſired their people might be inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith.

Mr. Andrews arrived at Albany in November 1712. The ſachems who had been carried home before he went from England, were convened by order of the governor of New York, to meet Mr. Andrews and the commiſſioners for Indian affairs at Albany, in order to give a public authority and ſanction to Mr. Andrews's miſſion, and that the ſachems might receive him their miniſter with greater ſolemnity. The ſachems came to Albany, met the commiſſioners for Indian affairs, and Mr. Andrews, the miſſionary, made a long ſpeech to the ſachems, reminding them how gracious her majeſty was in building a fort, ſending a miniſter to them; put them in mind how earneſtly they had requeſted it; and ſet forth what advantages they and their children would reap by being taught our religion and learning. A letter from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was delivered to them, and afterwards read to them in Indian by Mr. Clauſen, the interpreter of the province. Some of the ſachems made ſpeeches, and returned thanks to the queen, expreſſed a great ſatisfaction in having a miniſter ſent them, and received Mr. Andrews as ſuch, and promiſed him all civil and kind uſage.

The whole affair was tranſacted with much ceremony, the ſachems returned home, Mr. Andrews ſtaid ſome time at Albany to refreſh himſelf; ſoon after he went up to the fort, two hundred miles from New York, accompanied by Robert Livingſton, Eſq.

the mayor of Albany, Capt. Mathews, Mr. Stroopman of Schenectady, the Reverend Mr. Barclay, and ſeveral other gentlemen: he was preſently viſited by a great many Indians, men, women, and children, who ſaluted him with abundance of joy, and bid him welcome to their country. The caſtle or chief town of theſe Mohocks is neighbouring to the queen's fort, conſiſting of about fifty wigwams or houſes; theſe wigwams are huts made of mats, or barks of trees put together with poles about three or four yards high. The Mohocks clothing is a ſhort cloke, like a mantle, made of a blanket, or bear-ſkin. Their bed is a mat, or ſkin, laid on the ground. They paint and greaſe themſelves very much with bears fat clarified. They cut the hair off from one ſide of their heads, and tie up ſome of that on the other ſide in knots, on the crown, with feathers. The men are very ſlothful, the women very laborious, mere ſervants to their huſbands. They carry all burdens, fetch the veniſon home their huſbands kill (the men are too lazy to bring it), get in the wood to burn and dreſs it; carry their children on their backs in their rambles of many hundreds of miles; hoe the ground and plant all the Indian corn that is raiſed. The language of theſe people is very difficult, their ideas are very few, and their words therefore not many, but as long as ſentences, expreſſing by a long rumbling ſound what we do in a ſhort word. There is here no manner of conveniency of life for a miſſionary; for four or five months in the year there is ſcarce any ſtirring abroad, by reaſon of the extraordinary coldneſs of the weather, and the deep ſnows that fall; and in the ſummer-time, the flies and muſketoes are almoſt intolerable, and the rattleſnakes very dangerous: the neareſt place of getting any proviſions is at Schenectady, twenty-four miles diſtant, or from Albany forty-four miles off. The road to theſe places is, for the moſt part, only a ſmall, rough Indian path through vaſt woods, where riding is very dangerous, by reaſon of the road being in many places ſtopped with fallen trees, roots, ſtones, and holes; beſides many ſteep hills, and dead ſwamps or bogs in the way; there was nothing deſirable to be ſeen; the face of the earth rude and uncultivated, like the wild inhabitants; no pleaſure to be found but that of doing good to the miſerable natives.

Theſe were the circumſtances of the place and people, whither Mr. Andrews was appointed; and notwithſtanding all theſe inconveniencies he reſided there, and invited the Indians to come to him; many came: he uſed very often to diſcourſe with them, inſtructing them in the chief articles of the faith, and giving them ſhort general accounts of our religion. This was done by the help of Mr. Clauſen, who always attended and interpreted to the Indians. Mr. Clauſen had been formerly taken priſoner by the Indians, lived long among them, and underſtood their language ſufficiently. Mr. Andrews uſed to draw up ſhort accounts of the Chriſtian doctrines, and ſome hiſtorical parts of the Bible; particularly the creation of the world, and miracles of the Lord. The interpreter uſed to read them to the Indians, and divine ſervice uſed to be performed in Engliſh to the ſoldiers in the garriſon. The ſchoolmaſter, Mr. Oliver, opened his ſchool; the Indians, at firſt, ſent many of their children; he began to teach them Engliſh; the parents obſtinately refuſed to have them taught Engliſh; all poſſible endeavours were uſed to perſuade them, they ſtill perſiſted. Mr. Andrews ſent this account to the Society, and rather than quite break with the Indians, the ſchoolmaſter, and interpreter, began to teach the children a little in Indian. The Society were forced to comply with the Indians obſtinacy: they procured an impreſſion of horn-books and primers in Indian, for the children, ſent them great numbers, as alſo leathern ink-horns, pen-knives, a quantity of paper of ſeveral ſorts, and ſeveral other little neceſſaries. The children were now taught in Indian, and were treated with great kindneſs; no correction dared to be uſed, for the parents were ſo fond of their children,

children, and valued learning ſo little they thought it not worth gaining, at the leaſt diſpleaſing of their children.

To engage them farther to learn, Mr. Andrews uſed to give the children who came to ſchool victuals, and ſome ſmall utenſils for their parents. The children uſed often to come for the ſake of getting victuals, for the Indians are frequently drove to great extremities on account of their making little or no proviſion before hand. The children had a good natural capacity, and an aptneſs for learning; many of them begun to read, and ſome to write. This method of giving them victuals, engaged the parents to ſend them for ſome time to ſchool. In the mean time Mr. Andrews proceeded to inſtruct the grown Indians by help of the interpreter, in ſome of the chief articles of faith, and rules of life; divine ſervice was conſtantly performed on Sundays and holidays in Engliſh, to the ſoldiers, and ſuch Indians as underſtood any Engliſh frequently attended in the chapel: the chapel was very decently adorned; Queen Anne had given a handſome furniture for the communion-table; the imperial arms of England painted on canvas were fixed up in the chapel. Archbiſhop Teniſon gave twelve large Bibles very finely bound, for the uſe of the chapel, with painted tables containing the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Mr. Andrews was very civil to all the Indians who came to hear him; uſed frequently to entertain them at his houſe, and give them proviſions home with them when they wanted very much, and that they often did.

The Society, ſince they could by no means prevail with the Indians to learn Engliſh, neither young nor old, laboured to get ſome good tranſlations made of parts of the Scripture, at leaſt, into the Indian language, though exceeding improper to convey a due idea of the Chriſtian doctrines; as being willing, by all methods of compliance, to gain ſomething upon them: the Society were much aſſiſted in this by Mr. Freeman, a very worthy Calviniſt miniſter; he had been five years miniſter at Schenectady, to a Dutch congregation, and had been employed by the Earl of Bellamont, in the year 1700, to convert the Indians. He had a good knowledge of the dialect of the Mohocks, which is underſtood by all the Iroquois, who reach near four hundred miles beyond Albany. The Society applied to him for any proper papers wrote in that language, which he might have. He acquainted the Society, that he had tranſlated into Indian, the Morning and Evening Prayers from our Liturgy, the whole Goſpel of St. Mathew, the three firſt chapters of Geneſis, ſeveral chapters of Exodus, ſeveral Pſalms, many portions of the Scripture relating to the birth, paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of our Lord; and ſeveral chapters of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, particularly the fifteenth chapter, proving the reſurrection of the dead. He very frankly gave the Society a copy of theſe tranſlations, which were ſent to Mr. Andrews for his help, and they were a great help to him. He uſed frequently to read ſome of theſe to the Indians, and they could comprehend well enough by his reading. But the Society were deſirous ſome part of the Scriptures might be printed in Indian, and the copies given to the Indians, and they taught at leaſt to read that; accordingly the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Church Catechiſm, Family Prayer, and ſeveral chapters of the Old and New Teſtament were printed at New York. The copies were ſent to Mr. Andrews, and he gave them to ſuch of the Indians as knew any thing of letters.

He had hopes now of ſome ſucceſs in his miſſion; ſeveral of the women and ſome men began to lead more orderly lives. They were inſtructed, and retained well in their memory what the chief articles of our faith are, and rules of life; a good number were baptized, and particular accounts were ſent regularly to the Society. Mr. Andrews was willing to try what good he could do in another nation of the Indians; he

travelled to the caſtle of Onydans, one hundred miles diſtant from the Mohocks; the country all the way was a vaſt wilderneſs of wood, and the road through it was a narrow path. He was forced to carry all neceſſaries with him, and at night to lie upon a bear's ſkin. When he arrived at the caſtle he was viſited by more than one hundred people, who ſeemed all glad to ſee him; he read ſeveral papers to them, ſtaid ſome time with them, and, after inſtruction, baptized ſeveral, whoſe names have been tranſmitted to the ſociety. Mr. Andrews afterwards returned to the Mohocks, his place of reſidence. In a ſhort time the Indians grew weary of inſtruction; the men grown would go out in bodies a hunting for ſeveral months, and forget all they had been taught; and the young boys, when they grew up, were taken out by their fathers to hunt, and ſo loſt all they had got. This roving life utterly deſtroyed all the miſſionary's and ſchool-maſter's labours.

But beſides this difficulty, and the natural averſeneſs of the Indians to learning, two misfortunes happened which created a jealouſy, and afterwards a hatred in the Indians againſt all the Engliſh as well as againſt their religion. Some jeſuits, emiſſaries from Quebec, among the Canada Indians, adjoining to the Iroquois, had infuſed into the minds of thoſe people, that the Engliſh did not intend, by building a fort among the Iroquois, to teach them their religion, but to cut them all off at a proper juncture; and that a box had been found accidentally, left by the Engliſh when they attempted Quebec, containing papers which diſcovered this intention of the Engliſh. The Canada Indians believed this idle ſtory, and ſpread it among all the Iroquois. This ſtirred up ſome jealouſy, but a further misfortune quite ſet the Indians againſt the Engliſh; ſome of the Tuſcararo Indians who had fled from North Carolina after the war there with the Engliſh, came and ſettled in the country of the Onontages, one of the Iroquois nations bordering on the Mohocks. Theſe people being enraged at the Engliſh, ſtirred up the Onontages againſt them, telling them they had been moſt barbarouſly uſed and drove out of their country, and the Engliſh watched only for an opportunity to extirpate them too. The other Indians were too eaſily perſuaded to believe every thing the Tuſcararo Indians told them; ſo that when any of theſe people came by the Mohocks Caſtle and the Queen's Fort, in their way to Albany, to trade and buy themſelves neceſſaries, they uſed only to mock at Mr. Andrews when he would offer to talk to them about religion, and when he proffered to go to their abode they abſolutely forbade him.

In a little time the old Mohocks left off coming to the Chapel to Mr. Andrews, and the children came no more to ſchool. Mr. Andrews wrote the ſociety word of the ill ſucceſs of his miſſion, though he had ſpared no pains; that the hopeful beginnings proved of no effect at laſt; and that he began to deſpair of converting the Indians. The ſociety found now, from ſeveral accounts, that the miſſion among the Indians proved fruitleſs; that it was not poſſible to teach them the Chriſtian religion, before they were in ſome degree civilized; and they found the following difficulties did only hinder that. No way could be found to engage the Indians to lead a ſettled life, to apply themſelves to cultivate the ground, to build towns, and to raiſe cattle; they would ſtill rove through their vaſt woods many hundreds of miles, depending for their ſubſiſtence upon the game they could kill. They would eat all ſorts of carrion, and in ſome long rambles, when by various accidents they could get no game, would kill and eat one another, even their wives, and that without any concern or remorſe. Generally half of a hord or nation went out a hunting or a warring upon a neighbouring nation together, and on thoſe expeditions forgot all the little they had learned, and at their return were as mere ſavages as ever. They could not be diſſuaded from taking wives and leaving them at their pleaſure; this not only hindered religion from being fixed among them, but

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was the cauſe that a great many aged men and women periſhed miſerably, as having no one to take any care of them.

They would, in their wars, uſe the greateſt barbarities, and deſtroy all the priſoners they could take, by ſuch extreme tortures, it would move too much horror in the reader to repeat in this place. It is true, they were very fond of their children, but they perverted even ſo good a principle; they would not oblige them to learn any manual art, or our language, but let them live a lazy beſtial life: nay, ſome of the young children who have by chance fallen into the Engliſh hands, and lived in families, been taught our language, learnt a decent behaviour, and known ſomething of tillage or handicraft; when they have grown up have run wild again, have thrown off their clothes, and choſe rather to ramble naked almoſt in the woods with their own people, than to live a ſober and ſettled life. But the greateſt obſtruction to their being civilized, was their greedineſs of ſtrong liquors, eſpecially rum, and the fatal effect drunkenneſs hath upon them. When they drink they will never leave off till they have gone to the greateſt exceſs, and in this condition they are moſt wretched objects. They grow quite mad, burn their own little huts, murder their wives and children, or one another; ſo that their wives are forced to hide their guns or hatchets, and themſelves too, for fear of miſchief. And if the men, through this exceſs, fall into any ſickneſs, they periſh miſerably, as having no methods of helping themſelves by phyſic or otherwiſe.

It is, indeed, matter of great wonder, that theſe wretched people who have lived joining to the Engliſh ſettlements ſo many years, and cannot but obſerve that the Engliſh, by agriculture, raiſe proviſions out of a ſmall ſpot of ground, to ſupport in plenty great numbers of people; whereas they, by their hunting, cannot get a wretched ſubſiſtence out of all their wilderneſſes of ſeveral hundred leagues in extent, ſhould ſtill refuſe to till their ground or learn any manual art; ſhould ſtill live a brutal life, inſenſible of ſhame or honour. It is true, the Engliſh have taken from them exceeding large countries, yet this, far from being a prejudice, would be a vaſt advantage to them, if they would but learn the Engliſh language, arts, and induſtry. They have ſtill an immenſe extent of land, part of which, if duly cultivated, is able to maintain many millions of people more than they are. It might have been imagined the Sachems, that is, thoſe petty kings who were in England in the late Queen's time, ſhould have been ſo ſtrongly affected with ſeeing the grandeur, pleaſure, and plenty of this nation, that when they came to their own countries, they would have tried to reduce their people to a polite life; would have employed their whole power to expel that rude barbariſm, and introduce arts, manners, and religion; but the contrary happened; they ſunk themſelves into their old brutal life; and though they had ſeen this great city, when they came to their own woods they grew all ſavage again.

Mr. Andrews wrote ſeveral accounts more in 1718, that all his labours proved ineffectual. That the Indians would not ſend their children to ſchool, and nobody came to the chapel; that the four other nations of the Iroquois, as they came by the Mohocks Caſtle, inſulted and threatened him; that the interpreter and ſchool-maſter perceived all their labour was loſt, and that they were frequently in danger of their lives if they went out of the fort. The ſociety received theſe accounts with much diſſatisfaction, as being extremely contrary to what their good deſires had made them hope. However, they were ſo unwilling to abandon this wretched people to themſelves, that they would not diſmiſs Mr. Andrews from his miſſion, upon his own repreſentation of his ill ſucceſs. They wrote to the governor of New York, Robert Hunter Eſq. acquainted him with the accounts they had received, and requeſted the favour of his Excellency to cauſe an inquiry to be made, whether Mr. Andrews's labours were ſo fruitleſs

fruitleſs among the Indians, and ſubmitted to his judgment to diſmiſs Mr. Andrews if they ſhould be ſo found. The accounts tranſmitted hither were found true upon examination, and Mr. Andrews left that miſerable race of men.

We have choſen to give the whole of this remarkable account together, that the reader may ſee, and be fully appriſed of the many and great obſtacles that lie in the way of our bringing the Indians to embrace our intereſt together with our religion; but there are ſtill hopes, that as the ſociety proceeds in the great deſign of ſettling a regular clergy in our colonies, and thereby influencing the planters, not only to profeſs, but to ſhew themſelves Chriſtians; theſe obſtacles will be leſſened by degrees, and the Indians come to have a better opinion of our faith, in the ſame proportion that they grow better pleaſed with the juſtice and regularity of our behaviour towards them; but in the mean time what has been related ſhews that this important taſk has not remained unattempted, and that if it has been in ſome meaſure interrupted, this interruption was occaſioned by accidents unforeſeen, inevitable, and in their nature hitherto unconquerable.

7. But it is now time for us to proceed to that great and ſingular expedition, undertaken in the Queen's reign, for diſpoſſeſſing the French of Quebec, and driving them entirely out of Canada. This was firſt conceived practicable, and meaſures taken for putting it in execution, in the year 1707, at which time the Earl of Sunderland, then ſecretary of ſtate, wrote to the government of New England, to prepare for giving what aſſiſtance lay in their power, towards a deſign of ſuch importance to, and ſo often recommended by, the people of that colony; who from the time Sir William Phipps miſcarried in it, were continually wiſhing for an opportunity to recover their credit, and to revenge their loſs upon the French, by renewing their attempts upon Canada. The perſon then intended to command the land troops, was General Maccartney, and every thing was ſettled with reſpect to his voyage, when the fatal battle of Almanza, in Spain, made it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend the troops deſigned for this ſervice into that country, to prevent the total ruin of the late Emperor's, then King Charles, affairs. The circumſtances of the war in ſucceeding years hindered the revival of this project till the change of the miniſtry, and then it was reſolved upon afreſh, as the moſt effectual means of forcing France into a ſpeedy and ſolid peace.

How it was executed is a very hard taſk to ſay; but we will make uſe of the account publiſhed by the ſecretary of the admiralty, who had it in his power to give the fulleſt and faireſt relation of this matter; and if he has not done ſo, we know not where to find a better. He tells us the Queen's inſtructions to Sir Hovenden Walker, Rear Admiral of the White, were dated the 11th day of April 1711, by which he was ordered to take under his command, the Torbay, a ſhip of eighty guns, the Edgar, Swiftſhure, and Monmouth, of ſeventy guns; and Dunkirk, Sunderland, Kingſton, and Montague, of ſixty guns, with two bomb veſſels; as alſo the Leopard and Saphire, one of fifty and the other of thirty guns, ſent before to North America; with all theſe, except the two laſt, together with the ſtore-ſhips and tranſports deſigned on the expedition, he was, as ſoon as might be, to rendezvous at Spithead; and when Mr. Hill, General and Commander in Chief of the forces, ſhould be embarked, and the troops on board, he was, with the firſt opportunity of the wind, to proceed to Boſton in New England, without touching at any iſland, country, or place, if it could poſſibly be avoided; and as he was required to appoint proper ſignals and places for rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, ſo was he to give ſtrict orders to the captains of the ſhips under his command, that if they happened to be ſo ſeparated, they ſhould not inform the enemy, or any other, on what deſign they were going.

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In his paſſage to Boſton, the chief town in New England, he was, when himſelf and the General ſhould judge it moſt proper, to detach one ſhip of war or more to convoy directly to New York the tranſport ſhips, in which were laden artillery, ſilks, cloaths, and accoutrements, with other things, for the uſe of the forces to be raiſed there, as well as in the Jerſeys and Penſylvania; the ſame to be delivered as the General ſhould direct; and then the ſhips of war were to be ordered to return to Boſton; but if it ſhould not be judged proper to make ſuch detachment, the tranſports were to be ſent to New York, under a ſufficient convoy, when he arrived at Boſton; and the ſaid convoy, to bring there ſuch neceſſaries and ſtores as ſhould be provided for the ſquadron and forces. When he arrived at New England, he was to take the Leopard and Saphire under his command, and conſider whether it might be neceſſary to make any addition to the ſquadron by the convoy to the New England maſt ſhips or others ſtationed on the coaſt of America, which he was empowered to do; and if the General ſhould, upon adviſing with him, think it practicable to ſend any of the tranſports with ſome of the new raiſed troops in New England, to garriſon Annapolis Royal, lately called Port Royal; and to bring from thence the marines left there, or any part of them, or the artillery, or ſtores of war, he was to appoint a ſufficient convoy, with directions for them to return forthwith to New England.

He was, when at Boſton, to take under his care all tranſport veſſels, ketches, hoys, boats, and other neceſſaries provided in New England; and as ſoon as the forces from thence, and thoſe raiſed there, ſhould be on board, he was to ſail with them into the river of St. Laurence up to Quebec, in order to attack that place; and being arrived, to make a proper diſpoſition of the ſhips for that purpoſe, as well of ſuch as might be fit to be employed before the town, as others; upon conſulting with the General to paſs the place, and proceed up the river towards the lake, not only to prevent any communication with Quebec, but to protect the canoes and boats with the forces from New York, to which end he was empowered to convert ſome of the ſmall veſſels ſent from thence to New England, into frigates ſuitable to the navigation of the upper part of the river, and to man and arm them accordingly at New England, or elſewhere; he was to aſſiſt the General with veſſels and boats proper for landing the forces and embarking them again, but more eſpecially upon his arrival at Quebec, or freſh tranſporting them from place to place.

He was alſo ordered to ſend to the General ſuch marine ſoldiers as ſhould be on board the ſquadron, when he ſhould demand the ſame; which he was to have the command of while employed on ſhore; beſides which, he was to aid him with ſuch a number of ſeamen, gunners, guns, ammunition, and other ſtores from the ſhips, as he ſhould demand for the land ſervice; which ſeamen were to aſſiſt in drawing and mounting the cannon, or otherwiſe, as ſhould be found neceſſary. He was ſtrictly required to loſe no time in proceeding to New England, and proceeding from thence to the River St. Laurence; nor in putting in execution the ſervice at Quebec; but that on his part, all expedition ſhould be uſed in the reduction of the place, and of the country of Canada, or New France; and in the ſeaſonable return of the ſquadron and tranſports. Her Majeſty empowered him to direct the commiſſary of the ſtores to deliver to any ſhip or veſſel, whether of war or otherwiſe, any proviſions or liquors under his care; he was likewiſe to provide any other naval ſtores for the uſe of the ſquadron; and in caſe of ſucceſs it ſhould be found neceſſary by him and the General to have a naval force left in the river of St. Laurence, he was to appoint ſuch part of the ſquadron to remain there as might be judged proper for taking care to make ſuitable proviſion for the maintenance and repair of ſuch ſhips; and the like liberty was given as to any of the ſmaller veſſels,

ſuch as tranſports or otherwiſe, or to make uſe of any of the enemy's ſhips that might be taken, if proper, to bring into Europe ſuch governors, regular troops, religious perſons, or others whom the General, by his inſtructions, was directed to ſend away from Canada, with commiſſaries, ſtores, and proviſions for their tranſportation.

Theſe ſervices being directed, he was to take on board the General, if he ſhould think fit to return, and ſuch of the forces as might not be left in Canada, and haſten with the ſquadron and tranſports out of the river; and if the ſeaſon of the year would permit, he was to proceed to, and ſummon and attack, Placentia in Newfoundland, in ſuch manner as General Hill ſhould direct; which ſervice being over, he was to order ſuch ſhips of war as did not properly belong to the ſquadron under his command, to return to their ſeveral ſtations, directing the maſters of the tranſports which he ſhould have no occaſion for, to go and ſeek freight either upon the continent of America or in the iſlands, to eaſe the public of the farther charge of them, and for the benefit of the trade of Great Britain. Laſtly; it was recommended to him, as it was to the General of the land forces, to maintain a conſtant good underſtanding and agreement, and on all occaſions to render each other all neceſſary and requiſite aſſiſtance; and if any differences ſhould ariſe between them, upon any conſtruction of command, or the nature of command in the ſervice, or otherwiſe howſoever, the Queen was pleaſed to reſerve the determination of the ſame to herſelf, at their return to Great Britain, without prejudice to either of them in ſubmitting to each other for the good of her Majeſty's ſervice.

And that he might be ſufficiently informed of her Majeſty's deſign upon Canada, and of the preparations directed to be made for the carrying it on, to the governors of New York and Maſſachuſets Bay, and New Hants; as alſo of the additional inſtructions to the governors of New York, and of thoſe to Francis Nicholſon Eſq. and the ſeveral governors of the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, Providence Plantation, and Penſylvania.

Theſe were the contents of the Queen's orders to Sir Hovenden Walker, prepared without ſo much as conſulting the then Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, either as to the fitneſs of the ſhips appointed for the expedition, or the nature of the navigation; but on the contrary, the deſign on which they were bound was rather induſtriouſly hid from them, as may appear by ſome letters to Sir Hovenden Walker, before he ſailed from Spithead, by which the ſecretary ſeemed to value himſelf very much, that a deſign of this nature was kept a ſecret from the admiralty, who, had they been conſulted, would not, I am apt to think, have adviſed the ſending ſhips of eighty and ſeventy guns to Quebec, ſince the navigation up the river of St. Laurence, was generally eſteemed to be very dangerous; nor were their lordſhips permitted to know any thing of this matter, at leaſt not in form, until advice received, that the French were equipping a conſiderable ſquadron at Breſt, which ſome of the miniſtry might be apprehenſive were deſigned to intercept Sir Hovenden Walker; but it was too late to take any proper meaſures for preventing it, if the enemy had really had any ſuch intention. Having thus given a brief account of what ſteps were taken to ſet forth this ſquadron, which, ere it returned, put the nation to a very conſiderable expence, it remains that we accompany them on the expedition, and I ſhall give as particular an account of their proceedings as the papers which I have before me, will enable me to do.

Sir Hovenden Walker was under ſail with the ſhips of war and tranſports off of Dunnoſe on the 29th of April, 1711; but coming off of the Start the 1ſt of the next month, a weſterly wind obliged him to put in at Plymouth; being the length of the

Dead Man the 4th, he met with the Kent, Eſſex, and Plymouth, which ſhips he took with him ſome leagues into the ſea, and then left them to their former ſervice of cruizing from the ſoundings. The 24th of June he arrived at Nantaſket, near Boſton in New England, having then with him five ſhips of the third rate, ſix of the fourth, one of the fifth, and two bomb-veſſels. But not meeting with that ready aſſiſtance which was expected from the government and people of that country, it was the 30th of July before he ſailed from thence, and then he was on his way to Quebec, with the Britiſh and New England forces. The 14th of Auguſt he got the length of the Bird Iſlands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Ann; and having ſent the Cheſter, Leopard, and Saphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, on the iſland oppoſite to Newfoundland, expected their joining him in his paſſage to Quebec; the former of which ſhips had taken and ſent into Boſton, before he ſailed thence, a ſhip of about one hundred and twenty tons, with ten guns, and had ſeventy men on board, whereof thirty were ſoldiers for the garriſon of Quebec.

The Leoſtoff, Feverſham's Enterprize, and Tryton's Prize, all ſmall veſſels, which were ſtationed at New York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off of Cape Breton, being impowered by her Majeſty's orders ſo to do, if he ſhould find it neceſſary, and this the rather becauſe they might be of good uſe to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation moſt of the people with whom he had ſpoken repreſented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the Humber and Devonſhire, which mounted eighty guns each, too big to be ventured thither; for which reaſon he ſent them home, and ſhifted his flag on board the Edgar, a ſhip of ſeventy guns, General Hill removing into the Windſor, which carried ten leſs; but ſince he had information that a ſhip of ſixty guns, and another of thirty, were expected from France very ſhortly; he ordered the aforeſaid ſhips Humber and Devonſhire, to cruize in the opening of the bay of St. Laurence, until the laſt of Auguſt, and then to purſue their voyage home.

He had very fair weather until he got into the aforeſaid bay, when it came changeable, ſometimes thick and foggy, and other while calm and little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of Auguſt, when he was off Gaſpe Bay, near the entrance of the river Canada, it blew freſh at north-weſt, and leſt the tranſports ſhould be ſeparated, and blown to leeward, he anchored in that bay; where, ſtaying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French ſhip which was a fiſhing, not being able to bring her off. The wind veering weſterly the 20th of Auguſt, he had hopes of gaining his paſſage; but the next day afternoon it proved foggy, and continued ſo all night and the day following, with very little wind till the afternoon, when there was an extreme thick fog and it began to blow hard at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, which rendering it impoſſible to ſteer any courſe with ſafety, having neither ſight of land or ſoundings, or anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both Engliſh and French, who were the beſt in the fleet, made the ſignal for the ſhips to bring to with their heads ſouthward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that poſture they ſhould not come near the north ſhore, but rather have driven with the ſtream in the mid-channel; but on the contrary, as they lay with their heads ſouthwards, and the wind eaſterly, in two hours time he found himſelf on the north ſhore among the rocks and iſlands, at leaſt fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been loſt; the men of war eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty, but eight tranſport ſhips were caſt away, and almoſt nine hundred officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen periſhed.

The French pilot, who, as it was ſaid, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command, informed him, that when it happens to be ſo foggy as to prevent the ſight of the land, it is impoſſible to judge of the currents, or to ſteer by any courſe; for he himſelf had loſt two ſhips, and been himſelf near the ſouth, inſomuch that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France to proceed on ſo dangerous a navigation, ſince almoſt every year they ſuffered ſhipwreck. Thus it appeared how things have been miſrepreſented in Great Britain, by thoſe who pretend to aver that fleets of ſhips might ſafely proceed up the river to Quebec; and it was demonſtrable that the people of Boſton knew not any thing of what they propoſed, when ſchemes were laid for ſuch an expedition. After this unhappy diſaſter, and when Sir Hovenden Walker had plied two days with very freſh gales, between the weſt and the ſouth, to ſave what men and other things he could, he called a council of war, and upon enquiring of the pilots (who had been forced on board the ſhips by the government of New England), and duly examining into every circumſtance, it was judged impracticable for a fleet to get up to Quebec, ſince there were ſo many apparent dangers, and no pilots qualified to take the charge; beſides it was the opinion of them all, both Engliſh and French, that had the ſquadron been higher up the river, with the hard gales they met with, all the ſhips would have been inevitably loſt. At this council of war there were beſides the Rear Admiral, Captain Joſeph Soames, Captain John Mitchel, Captain Robert Arris, Captain George Walton, Captain Henry Gore, Captain George Paddon, Captain John Cockburn, and Captain Auguſtine Rouſe. The conſultation being over, the Saphire was ſent to Boſton, with an account of the misfortune, and the Montague, to find out the Humber and Devonſhire, and to ſtop all ſhips bound up to Quebec; and the Leopard being left with ſome ſloops and brigantines, to take any men from the ſhore that might be ſaved, and to endeavour to weigh ſome anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spaniſh River, in the iſland of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the ſtate of the army and fleet, and to ſettle matters for their further proceedings.

But all the ſhips did not join till the 7th of September; the day following, by conſent of the General he called a council of war of ſea and land officers, where it was conſidered, whether under their preſent circumſtances it was practicable to attempt any thing againſt Placentia, which all of them very much inclined to; but upon examining into the ſtate of the proviſions on board the men of war and tranſports, it was found there was but ten weeks proviſion at ſhort allowance, in the former, and in the latter much leſs, ſo that it was unanimouſly agreed not any thing of that kind could be undertaken; but that it was neceſſary the ſquadron and tranſports ſhould proceed to Great Britain, ſince they had but barely proviſions ſufficient for the voyage, and that there was not any proſpect of a ſupply from New England, and the ſeaſon of the year being too far advanced for navigating ſafely in thoſe parts of the world. At this council of war there were, beſides the ſea officers of the laſt, General Hill, Colonel Charles Churchill, Colonel William Windreſſe, Colonel Campenfelt, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Kirk, together with Colonel Vetch, and Colonel Walton, who commanded the forces raiſed in New England.

It was in purſuance of this reſolution taken in Spaniſh River, that he ſailed on the 16th of September for England, where he arrived the 9th of October following, and not long after his return, the Edgar, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, on board of which he hoiſted his flag, took fire, and blew up at Spithead by ſome accident, the cauſe of which was never known; and thus ended an expedition every way unfortunate, and

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which brought nothing but diſcredit and blame upon thoſe who contrived, and thoſe who were concerned in the executing it, and particularly Sir Hovenden Walker, a very honeſt plain ſpoken man; who, if there was any dark ſecret in this buſineſs, was moſt certainly ignorant of it. His opinion always was, and he died in the full belief of it, that though the expedition might be juſtly ſtyled unfortunate, inaſmuch as it miſcarried, and the fleet never reached Quebec; yet it would have been much more ſo, if they had got up the river of St. Laurence, and had actually landed their men, as they were by their inſtructions directed to do; and the reaſons he gave for it are very well worth the hearing, eſpecially at this juncture, when an expedition of the ſame kind is ſaid to be under conſideration. The reaſons that he gave for it were theſe:—"That in caſe the French had retired from Quebec, they would have carried their proviſions with them, and have deſtroyed what they could not carry, ſo that the Engliſh would have had nothing but a wild, barren, uncultivated country before them, with the conqueſt of which they might pleaſe themſelves; but in which, nevertheleſs, they would find it impoſſible to ſubſiſt.

"For, continues he, our people's proviſions would have been reduced to eight or nine (perhaps to ſix) weeks, at ſhort allowance; no relief could poſſibly be hoped for in leſs than ten months, if ſo ſoon; the Feverſham, and three ſtore-ſhips, laden with the proviſions deſigned for their ſupply, being caſt away in their paſſage; ſo that if they had eſcaped ſhipwreck, which would have been a very great chance, between ten and twelve thouſand men muſt inevitably have periſhed with hunger and cold, and the ſhip have become a prey to the returning enemy. On the other hand, had the enemy held out till our people had ſpent all their proviſions, they muſt have laid down their arms, and have ſurrendered to the French at diſcretion, to avoid death in its moſt frighful ſhape, famine; or if they had taken the place, either by ſtorm or capitulation, the remaining proviſions of a ſmall garriſon would not have gone far towards ſubſiſting ſo large a number; nor could they at that ſeaſon of the year, have marched through the country in ſearch of more: and this would have been the caſe, had they afterwards attempted Placentia."

How far this gentleman might be in the right or in the wrong, I ſhall not at preſent deſire the reader to enquire; but, moſt certainly what he ſays has at the firſt ſight the appearance of ſincerity and truth, and therefore we ought to be very cautious of running any freſh hazards of this nature; but the driving the French from Canada is moſt certainly a thing very poſſible and very practicable, provided the ſcheme be laid by thoſe who are well acquainted with the ſtate and force of our colonies, the navigation of the river of St. Laurence, and the condition of the colony we propoſe to diſlodge; and if it be executed by ſeamen and officers of experience in their reſpective profeſſions, and who found the hopes of promoting their private intereſt on the ſolid baſis of exerting their utmoſt abilities in the public ſervice.

8. The French, during the whole courſe of the laſt war, were particularly attentive to the preſervation of their own colonies, and annoying of ours, in both which ſchemes they were but too ſucceſsful, which however was not owing ſo much either to the wiſdom of their councils or the vigour of their arms, as to the faults in our meaſures, and the miſcarriages of our ſea officers. I ſhall not pretend to enter into a ſtrict detail of theſe diſagreeable points, but ſhall content myſelf with a few general points, which I flatter myſelf will be ſufficient for my purpoſe. At the very beginning of the war, the gallant old Admiral Benbow was ſacrificed by ſome of his officers who had a pique to him. He was a man of great honour and ſtrict diſcipline, but had ſome of the roughneſs of a tar about him, which rendered him very diſagreeable

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to the fine gentlemen of the navy, amongſt whom were three of the captains that deſerted him; their conduct indeed had the look of cowardiſe, and of that they were found guilty by a court martial, and ſuffered death for it very deſervedly; but they only acted the cowards and were not ſo, for they had behaved gallantly upon other occaſions, and never man looked death in the face with more intrepidity than Captain Kirby did, which however was ſo far from extenuating, that in my opinion it heightened his offence.

The executing ſevere juſtice upon thoſe three gentlemen, which certainly was a very wiſe and right ſtep, and was taken by the mildeſt government this or perhaps any other nation ever ſaw, had a very good effect, and taught people to fear the juſtice of the nation, in caſe they ſacrificed the concerns of the public to their particular reſentments or private views; but that it did not entirely put an end to the evil is very certain, ſince ſomething of the ſame kind happened afterwards to Sir Charles Wager, and prevented his taking at leaſt another galleon. The admirals alſo, and great ſea officers, that were ſtationed at Jamaica, for the protection of the iſland and ſecurity of commerce, did not behave ſo well as they might have done, as appears from thoſe authentic regiſters, the votes of the Houſe of Commons, where the reader will find, that after long and ſtrict enquiries, in which the merchants were admitted to make particular charges, and allowed to ſupport them by evidence, cenſures were paſſed upon thoſe officers who appeared to be guilty; and both Houſes ſhewed a warm zeal for redreſſing thoſe miſchiefs occaſioned by the ill conduct of the navy, and thereby left ample teſtimony of their regard for the public, though it was not attended with that ſucceſs that might have been wiſhed.

In the meantime the French went on in quite a different way; and, when they found their fleets were able to do little againſt ours, they very wiſely declined waſting their naval force in combats at ſea, and applied it almoſt entirely to the protecting their own trade, and diſtreſſing ours. They undertook the eſcorting the Spaniſh plate fleets, and were, generally ſpeaking, but too ſucceſsful in that undertaking. Notwithſtanding our ſuperior force, they attempted a commerce with the Spaniſh ſettlements in the South Seas; and in this too they ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the dangerous navigation round Cape Horn, and from thence they reaped two great advantages, viz. maintaining and improving their manufactures, even in a time of war, and bringing vaſt ſums into France, without which ſhe could not poſſibly have continued the war.

Yet, in ſome reſpects, it manifeſtly appeared that her force was very inſufficient for ſupporting her views in the Weſt Indies, ſince, in an attempt they made upon Carolina in 1706, they were ſhamefully repulſed by the natural force of that colony, without any aſſiſtance from hence. And, on the other hand, our people ſucceeded in their attempt to drive the French out of what they poſſeſſed in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's; which plainly ſhewed what might have been done, in that war, towards deſtroying their ſugar colonies, if, as our intereſts moſt certainly led us, we had conſidered that point more attentively than we did ſome others, which did not concern us near ſo much. For, had we uſed the opportunity that was given us to have driven the French out of all or moſt of their iſlands, it muſt have turned ſo much to our advantage, in point of trade, that, in all human probability, we ſhould have had no reaſon to regret the vaſt expences of that long and conſuming war.

But, inſtead of doing this, our views were almoſt entirely confined to Europe, where our ſucceſs was indeed very honourable for our arms, but was very far from procuring us any advantages in reſpect to trade; which I do not ſay with any deſign of reflecting on the miniſters by whom that war was managed, who perhaps might mean us well,

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and did for us as much as was in their power; but to ſhew where the fault really lay, which was our entering into many engagements that were either uſeleſs or detrimental to our commercial intereſts.

Whereas the French, who had but very lately entertained any thoughts of trade, kept that continually in view, both in their operations during the war and in their negociations for bringing about a peace. In reſpect to the former, beſides what they did againſt us in the Weſt Indies, they attacked the Portugueſe in Brazil, ruined the commerce between the Dutch and Spaniards, and eſtabliſhed their own; and, beſides all this, when they had actually begun to treat with us, and our Court conſidered them in a manner as friends, they ſent a fleet to diſtreſs us in the Leeward Iſlands; which exceſſively provoked our miniſtry, though they were too far advanced in their pacific meaſures to retreat.

At the concluſion of the treaty, the French ſhewed the ſame care for, and the ſame ſteadineſs in, ſupporting their commerce. It was with difficulty that they were prevailed upon to reſtore what they had taken from our Hudſon's Bay company. Nova Scotia we had, and, becauſe they could not take it from us, they left it to us; but they plainly cheated us out of Cape Breton. And though they pretended to renounce all pretenſions on Newfoundland, yet they preſerved what they never had any title to, and what, with reſpect to that country, was all they ever wanted. By theſe arts they ſecured great advantages to themſelves, which were all at our expence; brought a heavy load of reproach on the miniſters who tranſacted with them, and left the treaty of Utrecht as a memorial to all ſucceeding miniſters of the danger of entering into any ſeparate negociations with France.

9. After the acceſſion of his late Majeſty King George I. to the Britiſh throne, there followed ſeveral diſturbances at home and abroad, which might very well hinder the miniſters from contriving any new ſchemes for the advantage of our colonies, or from perfecting thoſe which had been formerly laid for that purpoſe. The rebellion in Scotland firſt, and after that the quadruple alliance, and the meaſures which preceded and followed it, ſufficiently occupied their thoughts, and if they went on in the ordinary way, in protecting them, and providing for their ſecurity, they might very well be excuſed for poſtponing thoughts or projects of another nature to more favourable times.

But the French, always watchful for their own advantages, at the very time when they ſeemed moſt ſolicitous in cultivating the friendſhip of Britain, and were daily receiving benefits from it, projected the ſettlement of the iſland of St. Lucia, which had been always included in the commiſſion of the governor of Barbadoes; and for that purpoſe the French King thought fit, in the year 1719, to make a grant of that iſland to the Marſhal d'Etree, who immediately made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for eſtabliſhing a colony in that iſland, and ſent over people for that purpoſe. The governor of Barbadoes, as it was his duty, oppoſed this ſettlement vigorouſly, and declared roundly, That, if the French perſiſted in ſettling, he ſhould find himſelf under a neceſſity of driving them off that iſland, which belonged to the King his maſter, by force.

At the ſame time our miniſter at the court of Paris preſented a memorial, in which he ſet forth the title the Crown of Great Britain had to this iſland, and, conſequently, the great injuſtice of the French King's grant, which was very apparent from the following particulars in relation to the hiſtory of this iſland, in which both Engliſh and French writers agree. The Engliſh ſettled on the iſland of St. Lucia in 1639, and lived there near two years without any interruption or diſturbance; but in 1640 they were driven off

off from the ſaid iſland, and the governor and moſt of the inhabitants killed by the Caribbeans, and, as the Engliſh ſuſpected, by the inſtigation and encouragement of the French; which the French generals, Parquet and de Poincy, however, both diſowned. Nor did the French at that time, or any other time, make any ſort of pretenſion to the iſland. A tacit acknowledgement, undoubtedly, of the right of the Engliſh.

The civil wars in England breaking out, the Engliſh neglected this ſettlement; and Monſieur du Parquet ſent thirty or forty Frenchmen to take poſſeſſion of the iſland. The Sieur de Rouſſelan governed here till 1694, and was ſucceeded by De la Riviere, whom the Caribbeans killed with ſeveral of his men, and carried off his wife and two of his children. He was ſucceeded by Monſ. le Breton, he by Monſ. Agremont, who was alſo deſtroyed by the Caribbeans. After this the Engliſh made a treaty with the Caribbeans for the purchaſing the iſland from them; and in 1663, ſent fourteen or fifteen hundred men on board of five men of war, who, being joined by ſix hundred of the Caribbeans in ſeventeen canoes, came before the iſland in June 1664, which was delivered to them without reſiſtance, on condition that the French governor and garriſon in the fort, which amounted only to fourteen men, ſhould be tranſported to Martinico, with their cannon, arms and baggage. In 1666 the Engliſh governor, Mr. Robert Cook, by reaſon of the mortality of his people, want of neceſſaries, &c. abandoned the iſland, and ſet fire to the fort; yet, two days afterwards, a bark arrived from Lord Willoughby, governor and captain-general of Barbadoes, and the other Engliſh Caribbee iſlands, to windward of Guardaloupa, with proviſions, ammunition, and all neceſſaries for the colony. In this deſerted condition it remained thenceforward, but was always conſidered as a part of the Britiſh dominions. The interpoſition of our miniſter produced the deſired effect, and the French deſiſted at that time from their ſettlement.

10. This attempt, however, ſo much alarmed our court, that the Duke of Montague reſolved, at a vaſt expence, to ſettle that iſland and St. Vincent, which was ſo agreeable to the miniſtry and to his late Majeſty, that by letters patent, dated the 22d of June, 1722, both thoſe iſlands were granted to his Grace, that he might be encouraged to put ſo generous and public-ſpirited a deſign in execution; and for the further benefit and advantage of the new colonies which he was to ſettle, the Duke was alſo conſtituted captain-general of the iſlands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which till that time were included in the commiſſion, and remained under the government of the governors of Barbadoes. His Grace having appointed Captain Uring his deputy governor, and provided ſeven ſhips or veſſels to carry over the planters, with ſuch proviſions and neceſſaries as were requiſite to ſettle colonies in thoſe iſlands, obtained of his Majeſty the Winchelſea man of war, commanded by Captain Orme, to convoy, attend, and protect the planters.

Mr. Uring embarked on board the Winchelſea, on the 10th of September 1722, and ſailing to Ireland to take in proviſions, made it the 15th of December before he arrived at St. Lucia. Being come to an anchor in Pigeon Iſland Bay, a Barbadoes ſloop ſoon after arrived from Martinico, the maſter whereof communicated to Mr. Uring the copy of a mandate by the king of France, which he ſaid was publiſhed by order of the French general in all the churches of that iſland, and in all the towns by beat of drum; which contained in ſubſtance, That if the Engliſh did not leave the iſland in the ſpace of fifteen days, they were to be expelled by force of arms. The next morning Mr. Uring weighed from Pigeon Iſland Bay, and ſtood for the harbour of Petite Careenage, which they found to be a very good one, and in it ſeveral places fit for careening ſhips, ſheltered from every wind; in one of which, ſhips of ſixty guns and

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upwards may careen very conveniently: the land is very hilly all round the harbour, and in moſt places ſteep, aſcending from the water ſide. At two in the afternoon we landed fifty men to cut down the trees and buſhes on the point that lay fit for a battery of guns to command the entrance of the harbour. The ſame day he ſent Mr. Faulkner to Martinico, with letters from the Duke of Montague and the Admiralty, directed to Captain Charles Brown, commander of the Feverſham man of war, and Captain Brand, commander of the Hector; who were then at Martinico; and acquainted them, that the Duke had appointed him deputy governor of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, and being come to ſettle thoſe iſlands under the protection of the Winchelſea man of war, he deſired that in purſuance of the orders they had received from the admiralty for that purpoſe, they would join him as ſoon as poſſible, being apprehenſive the governor of Martinico deſigned to moleſt the colony. In the mean time he proceeded to land his people, guns, tools, planks, and ſtores, to fortify the harbour, and build a large houſe to ſhelter the workmen.

On the 22d of December Captain Brand and Captain Brown arrived from Martinico, with his Majeſty's ſhips, the Hector and Feverſham, and ſoon after a French ſloop, which brought a letter from the French general, to acquaint Mr. Uring that he had heard of his landing Engliſh forces in the iſland of St. Lucia, and deſired to know his intentions; and at the ſame time he received the following copy of the French king's mandate, viz. A mandate of the King to the Sieur Chevalier de Feuquire, governor and lieutenant-general of the Windward Iſlands in America. "His Majeſty having been informed that the King of England has given the iſlands of St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, to the Duke of Montague, has made his complaint of it to the court of England, and has alledged that neither the one nor the other of theſe iſlands belong to that crown. The firſt of them ought to remain to the Caribbees, according to conventions made with that people; and the ſecond does belong to France, who has been willing to ſuſpend the ſettlement of that iſland on the requeſt of the King of England; notwithſtanding thoſe reaſons, his Majeſty hath not been informed that there has not been any revocation of this grant; on the contrary, he underſtands that the Duke of Montague is repairing to ſend and take poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands, and to tranſport numbers of families thither. This undertaking being contrary to the rights of his Majeſty, his intention is, that in caſe the Engliſh ſhould take poſſeſſion of St. Lucia, and ſettle there, the Sieur Chevalier de Feuquire ſhall ſummon them to retire in fifteen days, in regard that iſland belongs to France; and if they do not depart, he ſhall compel them to it by force of arms. He ſhall take care to charge ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced of his officers with this expedition. His Majeſty deſires there ſhould be as little effuſion of blood as poſſible, nor will he have any pillage made; he only wiſhes the Engliſh would retire, and not poſſeſs themſelves of a country which belongs to him. Done at Verſailles the 21ſt of September 1722, ſigned, &c."

Upon reading the mandate, and the French governor's letter, in which it was incloſed, Mr. Uring ſent to Captain Brand, and Captain Brown, to know if he might depend upon their aſſiſtance if he was attacked by the French; but they would give him no poſitive anſwer, and ſoon after ſailed to Barbadoes; he alſo ſent a letter to the governor of Martinico, to acquaint him that he had orders from the Duke of Montague, the lord proprietor, under his Britiſh Majeſty's patent, to plant St. Lucia and defend it, but propoſed ſuſpending all acts of hoſtility, till they could hear from their reſpective courts of Great Britain and France. Mr. Uring alſo thought fit to write to the preſident of Barbadoes, that the governor of Martinico had threatened to drive the Engliſh

from the iſland, if they did not depart in fifteen days, and to deſire his aſſiſtance to ſupport this part of his Majeſty's dominions. To which the preſident anſwered, That he was ready to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power.

But the Captains Brown and Brand remained ſo long abſent from St. Lucia, that the French had an opportunity of ſending between two and three thouſand men from Martinico, and landing them on the iſland; the captains of the men of war alſo refuſed to give him aſſiſtance, towards fortifying and defending the colony by land, and a great many of the planters falling ſick, and other deſerting over to the French at the ſame time, Mr. Uring had not fourſcore left to bear arms, which compelled him at length to come to a treaty with the French general, the Marquis of Champigny; and the following articles were concluded between them: Firſt, That the Engliſh ſhould quit the iſland of St. Lucia within ſeven days, provided that the ſhips of the Engliſh nation ſhould at all times have liberty to come into the ports of the ſaid iſland, and wood and water there, and ſerve their other occaſions, as the French alſo might. Secondly, That the Engliſh colony ſhould be at liberty to reimbark all their cannon, ſtores, arms, baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without moleſtation. Thirdly, That all deſerters ſhould be given up. And Laſtly, That immediately after the Engliſh had evacuated the iſland, the French forces alſo ſhould evacuate it, and that the iſland ſhould remain in the ſame ſtate it was till the controverſies between the two crowns, relating to this iſland, were decided. In purſuance of which agreement Mr. Uring embarked with his people, and ſailed to Antigua, ſending the Winchelſea man of war, and Captain Braithwaite, in the Griffin ſloop, to take a view of the iſland of St. Vincent, and ſee if it was practicable to make a ſettlement there. In the meantime a conſiderable reinforcement arrived at Barbadoes, from the Duke of Montague, with ammunition and proviſion, and orders to attempt a ſettlement upon St. Vincent, if the planters were driven from St. Lucia.

11. In order to this he had inſtructions, and a commiſſion given him by Mr. Uring, which were perfectly well adjuſted to the deſign upon which he was ſent; and in the meantime Governor Uring remained at Antigua, where he had all the civilities paid him, and all the ſervices done him by the governor, and other perſons in authority, that he could either deſire or expect; which, in ſome meaſure mitigated his ſharp ſenſe of the misfortunes he had met with; for he was both a capable and an honeſt man; one who had the ſervice very much at heart, and who diſcharged his duty ſo punctually, even in this diſaſtrous undertaking, as to preſerve his reputation, and to merit a kind reception from his generous maſter the Duke of Montague, who was ſo wiſe as to expect no more from a man than was in his power, and ſo good as to commend and reward him who did that, though it was not attended with the happy conſequences that might have been expected from it. This gentleman did not remain long at Antigua before he was made ſenſible that there was as little, or rather leſs hopes of making a ſettlement at St. Vincent, than he by experience had found there was of fixing a colony on St. Lucia; for Captain John Braithwaite, returning from his unſucceſsful expedition, delivered to Governor Uring, in juſtification of his own conduct, and for the ſatisfaction of his grace the Duke of Montague, the following account of the meaſures he had taken for executing the commiſſion granted to him, in order to fix a ſettlement on his Majeſty's iſland of St. Vincent. This paper being equally curious and important, and alſo entirely hiſtorical, we ſhall give the reader an extract of it in that gentleman's own words.

The

The Report of Captain John Braithwaite to Nathaniel Uring, Eſq.

" In purſuance of a reſolution in council, and your order for ſo doing the day you ſailed with his Grace's colony for Antigua, I ſailed with the Griffin ſloop, in company with his Majeſty's ſhip the Winchelſea, to St. Vincent: we made the iſland that night, and the next morning run along the ſhore, and ſaw ſeveral Indian huts, but as yet no Indians came off to us, nor could we get aſhore to them, by reaſon there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening two Indians came on board, and told us we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor they would bring their general on board. Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for the ſloop. One whom they called general came on board with ſeveral others, to the number of twenty-two. I entertained them very handſomely, and made the chief ſome trifling preſents; but found him to be a perſon of no conſequence, and that they called him chief to get ſome preſent from me. Here two of the Indians were ſo drunk that they would not go aſhore, but ſtaid on board ſome days, and were well entertained. After this, little winds and great currents drove us off for ſeveral days, but at laſt we came to an anchor in a ſpacious bay to the leeward of all the iſland, the draught of which I ordered to be taken by our ſurveyor, for your better underſtanding the place, being the only one where a ſettlement could be made. The ſhip and ſloop were ſcarce come to an anchor before the ſtrand of the ſhore was covered with Indians, and amongſt them we could diſcover a white man, who proved to be a Frenchman. I took Capt. Watſon in the boat with me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went on ſhore. As ſoon as I came amongſt them, I aſked why they appeared all armed, for every man had a cutlaſs; ſome had muſkets, piſtols, bows, and arrows, &c. They with very little ceremony encloſed me, and carried me up the country for about a mile, over a little rivulet where I was told I was to ſee their general: I found him ſitting amidſt a guard of about an hundred Indians; thoſe neareſt his perſon had all muſkets, the reſt bows and arrows; and all obſerved a great ſilence: he ordered me a ſeat, and a Frenchman ſtood at his right hand, for an interpreter: he demanded of me, What brought me into his country; and of what nation? I told him, Engliſh; and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to ſay any thing elſe before the Frenchman; but told him, if he would be pleaſed to come on board our ſhips, I would leave Engliſhmen in hoſtage for for thoſe he ſhould be pleaſed to take along with him. But I could not prevail with him, either to come on board, or ſuffer me to have wood or water. He ſaid, he was informed we were come to force a ſettlement. And we had no way to remove that jealouſy but by getting under ſail. As ſoon as I found what influence the Frenchman's company had upon him I took my leave, after making ſuch replies as I thought proper, and returned to my boat under a guard; and when I came to the ſhore, I found the guard was increaſed by a number of negroes all armed with fuzees. I got into my boat without any injury, and went on board to Capt. Orme, and told him my ill ſucceſs. Immediately after I ſent aſhore the ſloop's boat with a mate, with rum, beef, bread, &c. with ſome cutlaſſes; and ordered a Frenchman who went with the mate, to deſire the guard to conduct them to their general, and to tell him, that though he denied me the common good of water, and a little uſeleſs wood, nevertheleſs I had ſent him ſuch refreſhments as our ſhips afforded. Our people found the Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian general ſeemed pleaſed, and received what was ſent him; and in return, ſent me bows and arrows. Our people had not been long returned, when the general ſent a canoe with ten chief Indians, who ſpoke very good

French, to thank me for my preſents, and to aſk pardon for his refuſing me wood and water, and aſſured me I might have what I pleaſed; and they had orders to tell me, if I pleaſed to go aſhore again they were to remain hoſtages for my civil treatment. I ſent them on board the men of war; and with Capt. Watſon went aſhore. I was well received, and conducted as before; but now I found the brother, the chief of the negroes, was arrived with five hundred negroes, moſt armed with fuzees. They told my interpreter, they were ſure we were come to force a ſettlement, or elſe they would not have denied me what they never before had denied any Engliſh, viz. wood and water; but, if I thought fit, I might take what I pleaſed under a guard. Finding them in ſo good a humour, I once more introduced the deſire I had to entertain them on board our ſhips, and with ſome difficulty I prevailed with them, by leaving Captain Watſon aſhore under their guard as a hoſtage. I carried them on board the king's ſhip, where they were well entertained by Captain Orme, who gave the Indian general a fine fuzee of his own, and to the chief of the negroes ſomething that pleaſed him. Captain Orme aſſured them of the friendſhip of the King of England, &c. The negro chief ſpoke excellent French, and made anſwers with all the French compliments. Afterwards I carried them on board the duke's ſloop; and after opening their hearts with wine, for they ſcorned to drink rum, I thought it a good time to tell them my commiſſion, and what brought me upon their coaſt. They told me it was well I had not mentioned it on ſhore, for their power could not have protected me; that it was impoſſible; the Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad to retire. They likewiſe told me, that two French ſloops had, the day before we came, been amongſt them, and gave them arms and ammunition, and aſſured them of the whole force of Martinico for their protection againſt us; they told them alſo, that they had driven us from St. Lucia; and that we were come now to endeavour a ſettlement there; and notwithſtanding all our ſpecious pretences, when we had power we ſhould enſlave them; but they declared that they would truſt no Europeans; that they owned themſelves under the protection of the French, but would as ſoon oppoſe their ſettling among them, or any act of force from them, as us. They had lately given an example, by killing ſeveral; and they further told me, it was by very large preſents the French ever got in their favour again, but they reſolved never to put it in their power, or of any Europeans, to hurt them: they adviſed me to think what they ſaid was an act of friendſhip. This being all I could get from them, I diſmiſſed them with ſuch preſents as his grace ordered for that ſervice, with a diſcharge of cannon; and received in return as regular vollies of ſmall ſhot as I ever heard. In the night the Winchelſea drove from her anchors, which as ſoon as I perceived, and had received Captain Watſon from the ſhore, I got under ſail and ſtood to the man of war. This is a faithful report of all I, John Braithwaite, can recollect."

12. Mr. Uring having read the above report of Captain Braithwaite, he judged there was like to be little good done at St. Vincent, and the ſecond ſcheme on St. Lucia being laid aſide, he determined to unload all the ſtores, and diſcharge the veſſels, and propoſed to Lieutenant General Matthews, to do it at Antigua, which he ſaid he thought could be done with more eaſe and ſecurity, and in much leſs time, and would ſave a great deal of charge and trouble, and leſs hazard than at St. Chriſtopher's; the lieutenant-general anſwered, that in his houſe at St. Chriſtopher's was room enough to hold all the duke's ſtores, and ſhould coſt his grace nothing; and, that as he had the government of that iſland, he had ſuch an influence over the people, that the duke's ſervants would be more ſecure there, and that he could better provide for the officers, than at Antigua; and further ſaid, that the ſervants could be kept together in Charles

Fort, where they might have an opportunity to diſcipline them againſt any new undertaking; and accordingly aſked leave of General Hart to diſcipline them, which was granted. Mr. Uring taking notice of the advantages that the lieutenant-general propoſed, and ſeeing him ſo very earneſt for the ſtores to be lodged at St. Chriſtopher's, agreed to it, and accordingly ordered them down thither, during their attending the Griffin's return from her errand to St. Vincent and Martinico.

Mr. Uring frequently viſited the tranſports, to ſee things were in good order; Lieutenant General Matthews went in the Charles and Freemaſon, to St. Chriſtopher's, with them; and as ſoon as they arrived at that iſland, he, in concert with Mr. Uring, cantoned the officers in ſeveral places, as there was conveniency, and they were ordered to their reſpective quarters. They had now four veſſels to unload at the ſame time, and at a conſiderable diſtance, and a difficult way to carry the ſtores to the ſtore-houſes. Mr. Uring ordered ſuch a number of ſervants aſhore from the veſſels, as he thought uſeful for carrying up the ſtores; and officers were appointed at different places in the avenues, to keep the people from running into the country; but notwithſtanding all the care they could take, great part of them were gone by night. He ordered more aſhore next day, and continued landing the ſtores, cannon, arms, ammunition, &c. and as the caſks very often came to pieces in getting up to the ſtore-houſes, Mr. Uring, for the moſt part, ſtood by till they were repaired, and was, at leaſt, thirty times a day from the landing-place to the ſtore-houſes, in order to prevent any embezzlement, and to haſten the work. The officers thinking the work too hard for them all day, though they generally ſtood in one place, Mr. Uring divided them, the one half to attend in the morning, and the other in the afternoon; though he was obliged to attend the whole day, in order to preſerve the ſtores, which he hoped was in a good meaſure done; the goods landing from ſo many veſſels at one and the ſame time, ſo many ſorts looſe, as well as in caſks, made it no eaſy matter to keep an exact account.

The whole care of every thing, as well as the ſtores, was upon Mr. Uring. However, the goods were landed and ſtored, and after the ſhips were unloaded, he ſearched every ſhip by warrant, to ſee if there remained any thing belonging to the Duke of Montague on board them, which the maſters ſaid there did not; ſeveral proviſions were found on board the Charles and Freemaſon, which were put aſhore. When every thing was landed out of the ſeveral ſhips, his next care was to put them in good order; many of the caſks being broken, they would not hold the weight in them, therefore they ſtarted them into other ſound caſks and cheſts, which were made for that uſe. He alſo cauſed all the proviſions to be turned out of the ſtore-houſes and looked over, and ſuch as were in caſks, or wanted pickle, were put into better, and new pickled; and he directed the worſt to be firſt uſed. He fitted up a ſmith's ſhop, kept the ſmiths and armourers at work, and cleaning the arms. The men were diſciplined, ſo that they could do their exerciſe very well, and made as regular fires as the king's troops.

Mr. Uring paid off ſeveral of the ſeamen belonging to the Griffin ſloop, to eaſe the charge, and ordered ſuch ſervants on board her as were ſeamen, and as many more as he dared truſt. By that time they had put things into tolerable order, the Hopewell arrived, with about ninety ſervants and ſeveral officers, a great quantity of proviſions, with cannon, ammunition, and warlike ſtores, which were alſo landed under the care of Mr. Uring, who had letters by this ſhip from the Duke of Montague; which informed him that his grace was in treaty for five hundred Engliſh families, and five hundred Iriſh, which he intended to tranſport to St. Lucia as ſoon as poſſible. The Hopewell brought from Barbadoes a number of live ſheep, which had been carried

thither

thither by the Leopard, which was arrived at that iſland, laden with boards, plank, and frames of houſes, for the uſe of the colony.

When Lieutenant General Matthews returned to Antigua, he left Mr. Uring his houſe to live in, where was room for moſt of the officers. He ſent then to acquaint them, that he had conveniency for them, and deſigned to keep a table for their entertainment, conſidering it would be much more convenient and leſs charge to his grace, for them to keep together, than be ſeparated. All the ſervants that were not lent to the planters were lodged in the out-houſes, and due care was taken both of the ſick and the well, to have their proviſions at proper times, and well ordered. Mr. Uring ſeldom went to dinner before he ſaw all the ſick provided, and well ſerved with freſh meat and broth, which was for the moſt part four times a week, and thoſe that were ſick, every day. The lame, though there were a great many of them, he dreſſed himſelf for ſeveral days, when he had no ſurgeon. The ſervants were all well ſupplied out of the duke's ſtores, with clothing and neceſſaries, though they often ſtrayed about the country and ſold them, and then complained to the planters that they were naked; for which they were puniſhed and again ſupplied. He frequently ſent out the ſerjeants with parties, to bring in the ſtragglers, and had no little trouble to keep them in a tolerable decorum; he alſo put up advertiſements at all the port towns, to warn the maſters of ſhips from entertaining or carrying any of them off the iſland; and in the beginning of May ſent Captain King in the Griffin ſloop to Barbadoes, to bring down the runaways from thence, and ſuch letters as were lodged there from the Duke of Montague for him; and after her return he ordered Captain Watſon to careen her, in doing of which ſhe ſunk.

Mr. Uring having notice thereof, went to ſee her condition, and hired two ſloops to weigh her, and the Griffin was made again fit for the ſea. Mr. Uring having been informed that many of his grace's ſervants had made their eſcape to St. Euſtatia, he wrote ſeveral letters to the governor of that iſland, by officers of the duke's, which were ſent for that purpoſe, to acquaint him therewith, and to deſire him to ſecure them, that they might be returned to St. Chriſtopher's, and accordingly two men were brought back from thence. He had ordered the Griffin ſloop to Antigua, to lie there during the hurricane months; when he had a letter from Lieutenant General Matthews, which adviſed him that the Duke of Montague had impowered him to have the ſole diſpoſal of all his affairs in the Weſt Indies, and ſent him a copy thereof. Mr. Uring then obſerved his direction, until his grace had wholly laid aſide the thoughts of any new ſettlement; and had given him orders to deliver up every thing belonging to him, into the hands of the Lieutenant General, to whom his grace had given direction to diſcharge all, and pay them their ſalaries to that time, with an allowance for their paſſages for England. After Mr. Uring had delivered up all ſtores, arms, cannon, &c. to the agent of Lieutenant General Matthews, he went up to Antigua, to finiſh his affairs with him, and from thence to Barbadoes, where he was received very kindly by Mr. Worſley. He ſtaid a week at that iſland, and then returned to Antigua, and from thence to St. Chriſtopher's, where he took a paſſage for England, and arrived at Dover the 28th of May 1724.

Thus we have given a large and circumſtantial account of this expedition, from the beginning to the end of it, from the authentic papers of the two gentlemen chiefly concerned in it, and very frequently in their own words. From whence it appears, that it was in all reſpects the greateſt and moſt expenſive ſcheme that was ever undertaken by a ſubject of this crown, or of any other; for beſides the ſhips, naval and military ſtores, cannon, ſmall arms, &c. he maintained four hundred and twenty-five ſervants for a year

year and a half, beſides eighty-five tradeſmen and artificers of ſeveral ſorts, who had from twenty to thirty pounds a-year wages; and upwards of fifty officers, with ſalaries from fifty to four hundred pounds a-year, all duly paid, and themſelves victualled in a very dear part of the world, during the greateſt part of the time. The computing, therefore, of the Duke of Montague's expence at forty thouſand pounds is rather under than over doing the buſineſs; and nothing can induce us to ſuſpect the largeneſs of the ſum but the very ſingular circumſtance that attends it, of its coming out of a private purſe for the public ſervice. This, indeed, and the time at which this expedition was undertaken, renders it almoſt incredible; but whoever conſiders that in ſeaſons of the greateſt corruption (as ſurely that of the South-Sea, and the bubbles that attended it, was here) Providence uſually raiſes up ſome extraordinary inſtances of a contrary ſpirit, ſuch as Phocion in the decline of the Athenian commonwealth, and the younger Cato when the Roman republic was on the point of ruin, will the more readily credit this, and admire it the more. I ſhould inſiſt farther upon this noble and memorable example but for two reaſons; the firſt is, that as the illuſtrious perſon to whom it relates is living, amongſt the many inſtances of freedom of ſpeech that may be met with in this work, I ſhould be aſhamed to mix any thing that might be ſuſpected of flattery. The ſecond reaſon is, that the virtues of the duke are ſo well known, and ſo univerſally confeſſed, that I could do no honour to any but myſelf, by endeavouring to celebrate them.

But though I am willing to decline a taſk to which I confeſs myſelf unequal, I ſhall not be afraid of obſerving that this is the only proper time of reviving our claim to thoſe iſlands, at leaſt to that of St. Lucia, to which our title is unqueſtionable. If we were not the firſt diſcoverers, we were at leaſt the firſt planters of that iſland, and beſides the title which this gives us, we have another, and perhaps a better, viz. that of purchaſe from the natives, and original inhabitants of it. The French, it is true, have alſo ſettled upon that iſland, but as intruders only, and as ſuch were obliged to quit it in the reign of King Charles II. ſince which our rights to that iſland have been confirmed by treaties. But their laſt quitting it, in 1719, is the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt proof of all. For had they not been ſenſible of their having no juſt pretenſions to St. Lucia, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that men who ſo vigorouſly exerted themſelves to prevent our eſtabliſhment, would ſo tamely have given up their own. What their motives might be to ſo ſtrange a conduct, in the compaſs of ſo ſhort a time, I ſhall not pretend to gueſs, but this I may ſafely and honeſtly ſay, that no change in their conduct could poſſibly create a change in their title or ours: if our right in 1719 was certain, it muſt have been as certain in 1722, and if certain then, it muſt be ſo ſtill; which gives us a fair demand to have this right of ours acknowledged by the next treaty of peace, that can never be concluded on good terms for this nation, if while we ſtruggle to make France do juſtice to others, we ſuffer her to perſiſt in acts of injuſtice to ourſelves. We ſee very clearly, that the general expreſſions contained in former treaties avails nothing againſt France in a time of full peace, and therefore common ſenſe teaches us, and a due concern for the good of our country requires, that we ſhould have juſtice done us on this head before the concluſion of the preſent war, becauſe unleſs it be done now, paſt experience ſhews us that we can never expect it for the future; that we may very rationally hope for it now, appears to every man of tolerable underſtanding, who reflects that France, in this reſpect, gives us nothing of which ſhe is in poſſeſſion, or to which, in her own opinion, ſhe has any juſt title; ſo that to refuſe it when ſhe pretends to be in a pacific temper, muſt be a plain proof that ſhe diſſembles, and then it would be madneſs to truſt her.

There is, however, one particular in relation to this affair that ought to be diſcuſſed before we leave it, which is, what proceedings have ſince happened between the two crowns in relation to this iſland, after the expedition before mentioned; and as to theſe, I have received two remarkable papers while this was printing, which I ſhall give the reader immediately. In the mean time it is requiſite to obſerve, that his preſent majeſty King George II. having conſtituted and appointed Henry Worſley, Eſq. governor and commander in chief of this iſland, as all his predeceſſors had been, who were governors of Barbadoes, he was graciouſly pleaſed to ſend him the following inſtruction, in reference to the diſputes that had happened about it.

" GEORGE R.

" Truſty and well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas the French for ſome years have claimed the iſland of St. Lucia, and do inſiſt that the right to the iſlands of St. Vincent and St. Dominico, under your government, is in the Caribbeeans, now inhabiting the ſame, although we have an undoubted right to all the ſaid iſlands; yet we have thought fit to agree with the French court, that until our right be determined the ſaid iſlands ſhall be entirely evacuated by both nations. It is therefore our will and pleaſure, and you are accordingly to, ſignify the ſame to ſuch of our ſubjects as ſhall be found inhabiting any of our ſaid iſlands, that they do forthwith quit the ſame until the right ſhall be determined, as aforeſaid; and that they do comply with this our order within thirty days from the publication hereof in each of the ſaid iſlands reſpectively, under pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure; and you are to uſe your beſt endeavours that no ſhips of our ſubjects, or of any other nation, do frequent the ſaid iſlands during the time aforeſaid, except coming for wood or water. But it is our will and pleaſure, that you do not execute this our order until the French governor of Martinico ſhall have received the like direction from the French court, and ſhall, jointly with you, put the ſame in execution without any exception. And you are hereby further ordered to tranſmit to us, by the firſt opportunity, a full account of your proceedings, as likewiſe of thoſe of the French in this behalf, taking care by all opportunities to inform yourſelf whether our ſubjects, and thoſe of the French king, do comply punctually with the true intent and meaning of this agreement, until ſuch time as the right to the ſaid iſlands ſhall be abſolutely determined as aforeſaid. And for your ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. And ſo we bid you farewell. Given at our court at St. James's, the 30th day of November, in the fourth year of our reign, by his majeſty's command.

" *Holles Newcaſtle.*"

It appears plainly from this inſtruction, and it will appear ſtill more clearly from the French king's letter upon this head, that the two courts had come to an agreement about this matter, that is, about the immediate ſettlement, not as to their rights; for our king declares fully and plainly, that he looked upon his to be wholly unimpeached by this diſpute; and ſo to be ſure it was, and is. But let us ſee the inſtructions from France, which are referred to in the foregoing paper, which were conceived in the words following:

The French king's letter or mandate, to the governor of Martinico, dated December 26, 1730.

" Monſieur De Champigny,

" The Engliſh have, for ſome time paſt, laid pretenſions to the iſland of St. Lucia, which belongs to me, and to which I have an inconteſtable right. The ſame pretenſions they have laid to the iſlands of St. Vincent and St. Dominico, ſaid to belong to

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the Caribbeeans, natives of the country, according to the treaty of the 31ſt of March 1660; and in the poſſeſſion of which it is my intention to ſupport them. I have, nevertheleſs, agreed with the court of England, that until theſe pretenſions ſhall be determined, the ſaid iſlands ſhall be evacuated by both nations. And this is to acquaint you, that it is my pleaſure, that you make it known, &c." As in the former.

Upon theſe papers I ſhall make but one remark, which is, that they clearly unravelled and expoſed the true intention and deſign, and, indeed, the whole workings and policy of the court of France. There were many who ſaw and ſaid this at the time, but thought it indecent and improper to publiſh ſo much, when our court had conſented to accept of this expedient. But now that reaſon is removed, and we are at full liberty to ſay whatever can be ſaid with truth upon this ſubject; I cannot avoid doing ſo, and ſhall diſpatch it in very few words. The French had not, in their own opinion, any title to the iſland of St. Lucia, but what aroſe from expediency. They ſaw it lay near them, and they very well knew the conſequences that would follow from its being ſettled by the Engliſh, and this, more than any advantages they expected from it, put them upon the attempt to ſettle it.

The reader may poſſibly imagine, that I only aſſert this, but the fact is otherwiſe; I can really prove it. The French writers on geography and trade, nay the French politicians, never dreamed of any ſuch thing, as appears from the books; and the famous Mr. Savary, in his Dictionary of Commerce, tells us plainly, that the French poſſeſs or claim ten of the Caribbee iſlands, eight entirely, and two in conjunction with the Dutch; all of which he names, but does not include St. Lucia; which ſhews that ſuch people in France, as muſt ſooneſt have heard of this claim, if they had any, knew nothing about it. When I ſay that this ſettlement was made to prevent our gaining the iſland, rather than from any great hopes of profit, I mean, that theſe were the motives of the French miniſtry, becauſe they had been long of opinion, that Hiſpaniola, or St. Domingo, ought to be the great object of their concern in thoſe parts of the world, for many reaſons, which will fall properly in another place. All, therefore, that they deſired, with reſpect to the iſlands, was to prevent our ſettling upon them, which, beſides an immediate loſs, might prejudice their future views; and therefore they were willing to take poſſeſſion of St. Lucia as an out-work. If they kept it, it was well, but if they kept it only from us it was better; and this was the true reaſon of their propoſing the expedient contained in the foregoing papers, which actually anſwered their ends better than if the iſland had been abſolutely yielded to them by us.

But if the ſituation of affairs in Europe fifteen years ago was ſuch, as made it reaſonable for us to ſuſpend our right, which I lay down as a ſuppoſition, but am far from aſſerting as a fact; the face of affairs is ſince changed, and gives us now the faireſt opportunity to eſtabliſh that right; if the war continues we may, and we ought to do it by force; and whenever there comes a peace, the French can aſſign no colour or pretence whatever, againſt the confirming that right, by renouncing their unjuſt and ill-founded claim, to the preventing our ſettling on it. If they took advantage of a paſt conjuncture, when it was not convenient for us to break with them, it is our buſineſs, as I hinted before, to take the benefit of the preſent conjuncture; when, without queſtion, it is the intereſt, and will be conſequently the buſineſs, of France to deny us nothing of this kind, if we inſiſt upon it, that is to ſay, if we ſhew we have it at heart; and that we are determined to exert our naval power, and to employ our negociations for the ſervice of our own country, for the promoting our trade, ſecuring our navigation, and extending our intereſt in the Weſt Indies.

But the queſtion may be aſked, what is the real value and importance of the thing for which you would have us contend? What is this St. Lucia worth? What can be made of it? Why ſhould we trouble ourſelves about it. In anſwer to this, I can only ſay in few words, that it has been computed, that the product and commerce of this iſland might, in a few years, be brought to yield Great Britain an annual rent of two hundred thouſand pounds; but to ſhew the poſſibility or rather the probability, if not the certainty of this calculation, I ſhall give the reader Captain Uring's deſcription of this iſland, who went thither on purpoſe to ſettle it; who was a man of great underſtanding in matters of this nature, and whoſe honeſty was as little queſtioned as his capacity; ſo that I cannot diſcern any objection that can be reaſonably made to his account, which is alſo remarkably plain and ſuccinct, and with which, as to this ſubject, I ſhall conclude.

"St. Lucia is about twenty-two miles in length, and eleven broad; the greateſt part of it very good land, and in many places hilly, and many very rich valleys very well watered with fine rivers all through the iſland, which makes it exceedingly pleaſant and delightful, and it muſt be very healthful by its being ſo narrow; and the hills being not ſo high to intercept the continual trade-winds, that always fan it from the eaſtward, whereby the heat of the climate is mitigated, and made rather agreeable than troubleſome. The variety of ſituations that it affords by the hills and vales, makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the pleaſantneſs of the proſpects; and it is full of all trees, amongſt which are great quantities of good timber, fit for buildiug houſes and windmills; from whence both Barbadoes and Martinico have been furniſhed with very great quantities, and are ſtill; the cacao or chocolate nuts grows here very well, and there grows alſo a great deal of fuſtic, and there is abundance of wild fowl. It lies weſt-north-weſt from the iſland of Barbadoes, about twenty-four leagues; ſouth from Martinico about ſeven leagues; and the ſame diſtance north by eaſt from St. Vincent; and hath ſeveral good bays, and excellent harbours for ſhips to anchor in; one of which is the Petite Careenage, where we deſigned the firſt ſettlement. This harbour is on the north-weſt part of the iſland, and is much the fineſt and moſt convenient in all the Caribbee Iſlands; great numbers of ſhips may be there ſafe in all kinds of weather, and it is very commodious for careening ſhips of war and other veſſels. If this iſland had been ſettled, as was intended by his grace the Duke of Montague, proper forts built, and garriſons placed therein, for the protection and defence thereof, it would have been of the greateſt importance for the ſecuring the Leeward Iſlands, and even Barbadoes, from being invaded by France in time of war for no armament can be made, nor any expedition carried on by the French at Martinico, againſt any of thoſe colonies, but muſt be known at St. Lucia, almoſt as ſoon as the deſign is formed, by the nearneſs of its neighbourhood to that iſland; from whence, likewiſe Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands might have notice to provide for their better defence. If St. Lucia were well inhabited by the Engliſh, the people of Martinico would know their intereſt better than to enter upon any expedition againſt Barbadoes or the Leeward Iſlands, when they had an enemy ſo near them; for they muſt needs conſider, if their men were ſent off that iſland to invade the Leeward Iſlands, the Barbadians would join the people of St. Lucia, and fall upon Martinico in the abſence of their men; which would endanger the loſs of that iſland, or at leaſt the plunder or ſpoiling of it; and would be more damage to them than any benefit they can propoſe to themſelves, by invading the Leeward Iſlands, and ſo the ſame if their deſign is againſt Barbadoes; the Leeward Iſlands people joining theſe of St. Lucia, Martinico will be in the ſame danger, and by that means our plantations in thoſe parts will be entirely ſecured by the poſſeſſion of St. Lucia, and it will alſo be in the

power of the Engliſh to diſturb the French, and not in the power of the French to hurt the Engliſh. But if both nations ſhould ſit ſtill without hurting each other, yet St. Lucia will be of the greateſt advantage to Great Britain, if it were appointed the place of rendezvous for his Majeſty's ſhips of war; from whence they might continually relieve each other, if need were, and keep always cruizing on the French, that they could not be able to have a veſſel go in or out of their harbour, but what might be intercepted by the king's ſhips, and ſo the trade of our plantations would thereby become ſecured, and the Martinicans would have no reaſon to boaſt as they did in the late war, that they maintained their iſlands chiefly by privateering on the Engliſh, which is too well known to the merchants that have been traders to thoſe parts. But in caſe St. Lucia was ſettled, and proper meaſures purſued, it would entirely prevent ſuch miſchiefs for the future, and the Engliſh would ſoon grow too powerful for the French, who at preſent have greatly the advantage of the Engliſh; and the Leeward Iſlands are in the greateſt danger, in caſe of a war with France, of being invaded, which the Engliſh planters are moſt ſenſible of, and it is what the wiſeſt of them apprehend every day."

13. The remarks that have been already made in the courſe of this ſection, upon the ſeveral ſubjects to which it relates, make it unneceſſary for me to detain the reader very long with obſervations at the cloſe. But, however, ſome things are both fit and requiſite to be ſaid here, for the information of my readers in general; and for reminding thoſe in particular who have it in their power to be uſeful to the colonies. It is certain, that from the very time Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our Engliſh colonies, and his aſſociates firſt projected thoſe eſtabliſhments, there have been many who have either found an intereſt, or took a pleaſure, in miſrepreſenting or leſſening the value of them. When the intention of improving theſe diſtant countries, and the advantages that were hoped for from it, were firſt ſet forth, there were ſome who treated them not only as chimerical, but as dangerous; they ſaid that it was very uncertain whether we might meet with ſucceſs, and if we did, it might diſpeople the nation. Theſe, and many other objections, flowing partly from a narrowneſs of underſtanding, but I am afraid chiefly from a narrowneſs of heart, have been diſproved by experience, which has ſhewn that what was then propoſed was practicable in itſelf, profitable in its conſequences, and attended with none of thoſe miſchiefs that theſe timorous or ill intentioned people either apprehended or ſeemed to apprehend.

The difficulties which attended, and which will always attend ſettlements at the beginning, proved a new cauſe of clamour; and many ſpiteful things were ſaid about the ſacrificing ſo many Engliſhmen, to the obſtinate deſire of fixing colonies in countries, which at that time did not produce any great advantages. But by degrees, as theſe difficulties were overcome thoſe complaints likewiſe ceaſed, and we heard no more of theſe pretended hardſhips; which, in reality, were no other than the ſending ſuch, as from the perverſeneſs of their own diſpoſitions were capable only of doing miſchief here; ſuch as the ſeverity of their creditors would have deſtined to perpetual impriſonment; and ſuch as, either from lazineſs or indigence, would have periſhed in our ſtreets, to be uſeful to themſelves and to the community in the colonies.

But when theſe complaints ceaſed, others roſe in their ſtead; and when it could be no longer ſaid that the colonies were uſeleſs, it was alledged that they were not uſeful enough to their mother country; that while we were loaded with taxes, they were abſolutely free, and that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of Great Britain laboured hard for a tolerable ſubſiſtence. This produced cuſtoms and impoſitions upon all plantation commodities, which if they are grievous to the inhabitants of the

plantations, muſt turn to our diſadvantage as well as theirs, and conſequently become a great prejudice to both. At preſent there is a vaſt change in the face of affairs in theſe parts of the world, which has conſequently produced a change in the notions and ſentiments of thoſe who are ſettled there, and ought likewiſe to produce a change in our conduct. The principal point in this change is, the ſurprizing growth of the French power in America, from whence we have had many warnings given us, which certainly were not received with ſo much attention as they ought to have been. If we had conſidered, that in the reign of king Charles II. when France had very little trade, and her colonies were of no great conſequence, ſhe was almoſt a match for all Europe beſide, and that too when the maritime powers were in their moſt flouriſhing condition; we might have eaſily foreſeen to what a height her power would increaſe with the help of colonies and commerce; but either we did not foreſee it, or we ſuffered ourſelves to be ſo much taken up with nearer objects, that we did not ſufficiently provide againſt an evil, which of all others we ought moſt to apprehend.

The very thing that has hitherto hindered us from conceiving as we ought to do of our danger in this reſpect, would have convinced us moſt fully, if we had viewed it on the right ſide, and reaſoned upon it as became us. If we find that in conjunction with the greateſt powers upon the continent, we have not been able for fifty years paſt, to ſet any bounds to the ambition of France in Europe, what limits are we like to ſet to her power America, when it comes to bear any proportion there, to what ſhe has attained here, and towards which, as we ſee ſhe has already made large ſtrides?

It may be anſwered, that at preſent ſhe is very far from being equal to us in ſtrength in that part of the world; that the colonies are very apt to think themſelves in danger, long before they are ſo; and that if their fears were really ſo great as they would ſometimes repreſent them, as they have a force ſufficient, it is ſcarce to be doubted that they would at length find a will to help and relieve themſelves. We may anſwer to this, that if the French had a power in America, in any degree approaching ours, our care might probably come too late, eſpecially conſidering the great change that has happened there, where, inſtead of having all the world for allies, we have hardly ſo much as a friend in appearance, the Spaniards being become friends to France, and the Dutch having neither force, nor perhaps inclination to aſſiſt us. The nature of their government alſo, though it makes their ſubjects leſs happy, makes their colonies more formidable, and enables the prince to protect them more effectually, and to grant them from time to time greater encouragements; ſo that we need not wonder they have overcome ſo many difficulties, or that the trade of the French iſlands ſhould be ſo much more conſiderable now than it was at the peace of Utrecht. We may be likewiſe ſure of this, that the more their trade increaſes, the more it will be encouraged; becauſe the French miniſtry pay a particular regard thereto; and as we have already ſhewn in our hiſtory of the Eaſt India Company, they are never wanting to ſuch as are not wanting to themſelves; but from the great principle of promoting the grandeur of France, yield all the aſſiſtance they can to what they viſibly perceive will increaſe the wealth and augment the naval power of the kingdom.

As to the apprehenſions of the colonies, time has ſhewn they are but too well founded; our ſettlements upon the continent are in a manner ſurrounded by them; the correſpondence between Canada and Louviſiana is in ſome meaſure ſettled; and, though a great length of time may be neceſſary to perfect the deſigns they may have formed on that ſide, yet if we do not interpoſe, as indeed we might eaſily do, they will be ſome time or other perfected, and then we ſhall find our circumſtances very uneaſy. This to every man who will but turn his thoughts upon the ſubject, muſt appear very plain and very

very certain; we ſhould not therefore wonder that thoſe who both ſee and feel it, expreſs themſelves with ſome warmth upon this topic: and at the worſt, our colonies had better alarm us too ſoon than ſlumber themſelves, and ſuffer us to ſlumber till it is too late. The French have already a great power in the iſlands, and if ever they ſhould become entirely maſters of Hiſpaniola, which we know not how ſoon they may, the effects would be fatal to us. We have, at preſent, no idea of the importance of that iſland, or at leaſt no adequate idea of it; becauſe the Spaniards, who are poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of it, either from their lazineſs or their weakneſs, make no uſe of it; but we ſhould find it quite otherwiſe if the whole was in the French hands; and therefore amongſt all our guarantees, it would be very right to have a general guarantee for the Spaniſh dominions in the Weſt Indies.

As to our colonies helping themſelves, there is no doubt they do ſo, or their ſituation would be very bad. We hear daily of great things done by their privateers, but our ſquadrons perform very little; and whoever compares the exploits done by the Buccaneers, who were but Weſt Indian privateers, with what has been done by regular naval force, would ſcarce believe they were of the ſame nation: men of war in their ports, and commodores and captains on ſhore, do our colonies very little ſervice; for they neither protect our own trade, nor diſtreſs that of the enemy; ſo that whatever expence this may create to us we ought not to charge it upon them. If any expedition is concerted here, we find the people in Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, ready enough to expend both their treaſure and their blood in the execution of it; and in caſe of miſcarriages, we have ſeldom had reaſon to lay the blame at their doors. As to the northern colonies, we have known them do ſome, and attempt many great things; ſo that it is barbarous to accuſe them of being wanting to themſelves.

The truth is, we want a proper military force in America; and I have often wondered that ſome way was not contrived to ſend our half-pay officers thither; I do not mean to ſend them thither upon half-pay; but to take ſuch meaſures as that they ſhould have whole-pay, one half from home, and the other raiſed there. We might likewiſe make it worth the attention of our invalids, both ſoldiers and ſeamen, who, if they have common ſenſe, would like a comfortable eſtabliſhment in New York, Penſylvania, or Virginia, with their wives and families, full as well as an apartment in any college, or being cooped up in our garriſons, or in the Scilly Iſlands. If by theſe, or by any other methods, we could eſtabliſh a regular military force, and even in time of peace keep the men ſome way or other in action and diſcipline, our colonies would be a match or overmatch for the French, as experience ſhews from the colony of Georgia, where we have been always a match, and once an over-match for the Spaniards, by mere dint of military diſcipline, though we had but a very handful of people.

Theſe are things that demand immediate and general conſideration. Our colonies were always of great conſequence, but they are now of the greateſt conſequence to the nation; for at leaſt one half of our commerce depends upon them, as the whole of our ſtrength and happineſs depends upon it: our wealth produces liberty, and our wealth was produced by trade, whatever leſſens that will therefore effect theſe, and if ever it ſhould be taken away, we muſt certainly feel what we felt before, poverty and arbitrary power. The wiſeſt uſe therefore that we can make of wealth while we have it is to ſecure its ſources, by employing our fleet in that part of the world where their ſucceſs muſt be attended with certain and immediate advantages: for diſtreſſing the trade of the French muſt benefit ours. In King William's war we had Spain for an ally, and therefore we could not then take any advantage from her weakneſs. In the next general war we were neither her friend nor foe; we did her ſome hurt, and our-

ſelves no good. But the French have been gainers by both wars; they had plundered the Spaniards in the firſt as open enemies; they ſtripped them of their money in the laſt by being pretended friends. In the preſent war we have done pretty well, and the French have perhaps been no great gainers by their friendſhip with Spain. This ought to teach us the wiſdom of living with that nation always either upon the beſt terms or the worſt; as cordial allies or as open enemies; for whenever we are between both of theſe we are ſure to be the ſufferers, and the French and Dutch run away with all.

It is our buſineſs therefore to continue always armed in this part of the world, where we have a ſuperior force, and where we ſhould be ever ready to exert it, not againſt innocent and inoffenſive neighbours, but againſt falſe friends and treacherous allies. If our legal trade with the Spaniſh Weſt Indies were reſtored we ought to make it our buſineſs to ſee that it be a legal trade; for it is certain that the nation neither gets nor loſes, while the ſame quantity of goods are diſpoſed of by different hands; we ought therefore to convince the crown of Spain, that we can treat, and mean to treat them well; and at the ſame time, we ſhould ſhew them, that as it is not their intereſt to treat us ill, ſo it is not our nature to bear it; illicit trade and conventions may do well enough for a feeble republic, but are beneath a powerful kingdom; that, as it owes its power to, ought to be always able and willing to protect its trade. Such are the ſentiments which ought to inſpire the breaſts of Britiſh ſtateſmen. The reſt of the world are convinced that we have not the talents of negociation; we ought therefore to convince them, that we do not ſtand in need of ſuch talents; but that we can do our buſineſs without them. The Dutch, whatever language they may uſe in Europe, have have always talked in this tone in the Eaſt Indies, and we ought to uſe it in the Weſt; while our power is great there, we ſhould exert and increaſe it; when once it begins to decline, advice will come too late, and therefore no man can be blamed for giving it in time, whether it be followed or not. It is the privilege of every freeman to ſpeak and write for the ſervice of his country, and the privilege only of a few to act; but if the former excite, and the latter will perform, nothing is clearer, than that our country muſt be ſerved; which in this world is the worthieſt end of men, and therefore what we ſhould all purſue.

CHAP.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE COLONY OF GEORGIA;

### WITH THE ATTEMPT MADE UPON IT BY THE SPANIARDS, AND THEIR TOTAL DEFEAT.

#### INTERSPERSED WITH ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1. *An introductory Account of the Motives which gave Riſe to this Deſign of ſettling to the South of Carolina, and the Nature of the Colony propoſed.*—2. *A large Extract of the Charter granted by his preſent Majeſty, for incorporating the Truſtees, and enabling them to carry their Deſign into Execution.*—3. *The Reſolution taken by the Truſtees when incorporated, for ſecuring Eſtates in Lands to the original Planters and their Heirs Male, and for the perpetual Excluſion of Negroes.*—4. *The firſt Colony ſent over under the Direction of James Oglethorpe, Eſq. the Town of Savannah laid out, and the firſt Treaty with the Creek Indians.*—5. *The Return of Mr. Oglethorpe to England in* 1734, *and his bringing with him Tomochichi and other Indians; the Acts prepared by the Truſtees for the Government of Georgia, approved by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and ratified by his Majeſty.*—6. *The great Embarkation in the Year* 1735, *on the extraordinary Grant of Twenty-five thouſand Pounds by Parliament, grounded upon a Memorial from South Carolina; with a Copy of that Memorial.*—7. *The Hiſtory of the Colony farther continued, together with an Account of the Improvement made therein, and Indulgencies granted to the Planters by the Truſtees.*—8. *The ſame Subject purſued to the Year* 1740, *and a View of the Number of People ſent over by the Truſtees, from the Time their Charter was granted to the Cloſe of that Year.*—9. *A Proſpect of the Country of Georgia as it is now ſettled, the Number, Situation, and Importance of the Towns, Forts, &c. erected there; with various other Particulars.*—10. *The Condition of the People in this Colony on the breaking out of the War with Spain, and the Reſolution taken of acting in Conjunction with the Carolinians, offenſively, againſt the Spaniards.*—11. *A ſuccinct Account of the Expedition againſt Fort St. Auguſtin, and the Conſequences of that Expedition.*—12. *The Grand Invaſion on that Colony by the whole Force of New Spain, and the true End of this extraordinary Armament.*—13. *The total and wonderful Defeat of that great Force by his Majeſty's Forces, under the Command of General Oglethorpe.*—14. *The Congratulations on the News of this important and deciſive Action, from the Governors of our ſeveral Colonies, to General Oglethorpe; which ſhew their Senſe of the Conſequences of this happy Repulſe.*—15. *The preſent State of the Colony of Georgia conſidered, and its Importance demonſtrated, as a Frontier againſt the French and Spaniards, as an Aſylum for diſtreſſed Engliſhmen, and foreign Proteſtants; as a neceſſary Means for maintaining a good Correſpondence with all the Indian Nations, as an excellent Support to the Iſlands of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and as a Colony from whence we may reaſonably expect Silk, Wine, Pot-aſhes, &c.*

THE laſt of the Britiſh colonies in point of ſettlement, and of which hitherto we have had no accurate or juſt account, much leſs a clear and authentic tory, is Georgia; of which I intend to treat with as much perſpicuity as poſſible, that the

the reader may apprehend the nature of the country, the importance of its ſituation, the motives upon which it was ſettled, the progreſs of that deſign, the attempts and diſappointments of the Spaniards, the preſent ſituation of things there, and the hopes that we may rationally entertain as to its fate and ſucceſs. This is certainly a very extenſive plan; but at the ſame time it is the only plan upon which we can proceed, in order to give the inquiſitive and public-ſpirited reader, a true notion of the nature and importance of this new ſettlement; which is undoubtedly of far greater conſequence to this nation than hitherto it has been generally conceived to be; and therefore ſuch a hiſtory as we propoſe will be equally neceſſary and entertaining; neceſſary, as it effectually compleats the hiſtory of the Britiſh America, of which this is not only the laſt colony in point of time, but the laſt alſo in reſpect to ſituation, inaſmuch as it extends as far ſouthward as we claim any right to, and fills up entirely the diſcoveries of the Cabots, which have been ſo often mentioned; entertaining, as it conſiſts almoſt wholly of new matter, and as it ſhews that even in this age, when luxury and all its attendants, ſeem to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in Europe, a ſcheme has been formed for erecting in the pleaſanteſt and moſt fruitful part of North America, a Britiſh ſettlement, upon the trueſt principles of virtue, induſtry, and freedom, which cannot fail of ſtriking firm and deep root, and of flouriſhing in ſuch a manner as to do honour to thoſe worthy, diſintereſted, and public-ſpirited perſons who were firſt concerned in laying the foundation of this deſign, and by whoſe hearty and vigorous endeavours it has been ſo far as it is carried into execution.

In order to proceed regularly, it is requiſite to obſerve, that about fourteen years ago, when this nation enjoyed a profound peace, and when there appeared no juſt cauſe to apprehend its being ſpeedily interrupted, ſome perſons of great diſtinction, from principles of true patriotiſm, and love to mankind, obſerving what great numbers of people there were in theſe kingdoms, who from a variety of misfortunes and untoward accidents, found themſelves in no condition of ſubſiſting, at leaſt of ſubſiſting in ſuch a way as to be uſeful to themſelves and the community, which is the ſole means whereby a number of people become a bleſſing, generouſly turned their thoughts towards the means of employing ſuch multitudes of diſtreſſed and indigent perſons for their own and the public good. Theſe ſpeculations produced at firſt ſome thoughts of improving the moſt northern parts of our plantations on the Continent of America; but upon more mature reflection, and for very good reaſons, they changed their purpoſes, and turned their thoughts to the ſouth, particularly to that part of America which makes properly our frontier towards the Spaniards and the French, and which, though within the bounds of the province of Carolina, as deſcribed in its charter, was in reality no part of it, as not being at all ſettled; and for that reaſon rather a burden than an advantage to the province to which it belonged. Upon confining their thoughts to this country, they very quickly perceived, that though it had been ſo long neglected, it was nevertheleſs the moſt valuable part of our poſſeſſions in North America, and the moſt capable of being made a fruitful, populous, and uſeful country, though at that time lying entirely waſte, overgrown with vaſt woods, which gave ſhelter to a few Indians, runaway negroes, and other banditti; affording great advantages to the Spaniards in time of war, and upon the extremities of which great incroachments might be made before this nation could have proper intelligence of them. They ſaw that as to climate and ſituation no country could claim a better, that it extended ſeventy miles from north to ſouth, and that it was three hundred miles from the midſt of the coaſt to the Apalachian mountains, the country widening all the way; they were convinced that when a little open and cleared, there could not be a pleaſanter or healthier country

country upon the face of the globe; that the ſoil would prove fruitful and eaſy to be cultivated; that therefore people might ſubſiſt there upon very moderate labour; which circumſtances induced them to think, there could be no place more proper found for the habitation of the unhappy people before mentioned.

But beſides theſe ſentiments of private pity, they were influenced likewiſe by motives of public utility. They foreſaw that if this project could be brought to bear, it would turn vaſtly to the advantage of North and South Carolina, then lately purchaſed by the crown, by providing an effectual frontier againſt the Spaniards and the French, which they had hitherto wanted, and of the want of which they had loudly complained: they judged by this means, that new alliances might be contracted with the Indians; or in caſe that could not be effected, the new colony muſt certainly keep them in awe, and prevent their being ſo terrible as within a few years before they had been to the people of Carolina: And they ſaw juſt reaſons to believe that this new colony, when eſtabliſhed, might cultivate many rich and valuable commodities for the ſervice of Great Britain. Theſe, and many other reaſons of like nature, engaged them to think ſeriouſly of bringing ſo compaſſionate, ſo practicable, and ſo uſeful a project to bear; in order to which they found it neceſſary to apply themſelves to the crown for ſufficient powers, to enable them to ſet this undertaking on foot. They did ſo, and received all the countenance and encouragement they could deſire or expect, as will appear by the following extract from the inſtrument by which they were incorporated, and ſo put into a condition of legally executing what they had ſo charitably projected.

2. "His Majeſty King George II. by his letters patent, bearing date the 9th day of June 1732, reciting, amongſt other things, that many of his poor ſubjects were, through misfortunes, and want of employment, reduced to great neceſſities, and would be glad to be ſettled in any of his Majeſty's provinces in America; where, by cultivating the lands waſte and deſolate, they may not only gain a comfortable ſubſiſtence, but alſo ſtrengthen his Majeſty's colonies, and increaſe the trade, navigation, and wealth of his Majeſty's realms; and that the provinces in North America had been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more eſpecially that of South Carolina, whoſe ſouthern frontier continued unſettled, and lay open to the neighbouring ſavages; and that to relieve the wants of the ſaid poor people, and to protect the ſubjects of South Carolina, a regular colony of the ſaid poor people ſhould be ſettled and eſtabliſhed in the ſouthern frontiers of Carolina; and for the conſiderations aforeſaid, conſtitute a corporation by the name of the 'Truſtees, for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia in America,' with capacity to purchaſe and take lands; to ſue and to be ſued; to have a common ſeal, and to chuſe members in the ſaid corporation on the third Thurſday in March yearly; with reſtraining clauſes, that no member of the ſaid corporation ſhould have any ſalary, fee, perquiſite, benefit, or profit whatſoever, for acting therein; or ſhould have any office, place, or employment of profit under the ſaid corporation; with a direction to the ſaid corporation, every year to lay an account in writing before the Lord Chancellor, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, Maſter of the Rolls, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or any two of them, of all money or effects by them received or expended, for carrying on the good purpoſes aforeſaid; with a power to make bye-laws, conſtitutions, orders, and ordinances; and granted, amongſt other things, to the ſaid corporation, and their ſucceſſors, under the reſervations therein mentioned, ſeven undivided parts, (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided), of all theſe lands, countries, and territories, ſituate, lying, and being, in that part of South Carolina in America, which lies from the moſt northernmoſt ſtream of a river there, called the Savannah, along the ſea coaſt to the ſouthward, unto the moſt ſouthern

ſtream of a certain other great water or river, called the Alatamaha, and weſtward from the head of the ſaid rivers, reſpectively in direct lines to the South Seas. To have and to hold the ſame to them, the ſaid corporation, and their ſucceſſors for ever; for the better ſupport of the ſaid colony, under the yearly rent of four ſhillings proclamation money of South Carolina, for every hundred acres of the ſaid lands, for every of which the ſaid corporation ſhould grant, demiſe, plant, or ſettle, but not to commence until ten years after ſuch grant, demiſe, planting or ſettling; and erected and created the ſaid lands, countries, and territories, into one independant and ſeparate province, by the name of Georgia; and made the inhabitants who ſhould reſide therein free, and not ſubject to any of the laws, orders, ſtatutes, or conſtitutions of South Carolina, except the commander in chief of the militia; and authorized the ſaid corporation, for the term of twenty-one years, from the date of the ſaid letters patent, to form and prepare laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances, for the government of the ſaid colony, not repugnant to the laws and ſtatutes of England; to be preſented under their common ſeal to his Majeſty in council, for his approbation or diſallowance; and that the ſaid laws ſo approved of, ſhould be in full force and virtue, within the ſaid province; and impowered the ſaid council for the time being of the ſaid corporation, or the major part of them, to diſpoſe of, expend, and apply all the money and effects belonging to the ſaid corporation, and to make contracts for carrying on and effecting the good purpoſes therein intended; and that they ſhould from time to time appoint a treaſurer, ſecretary, and ſuch other officers, miniſters, and ſervants of the ſaid corporation, as they ſhould ſee proper for the good management of their affairs, and at their pleaſure to remove them, and appoint others in their ſtead; and that they ſhould appoint reaſonable ſalaries, perquiſites, and other rewards for their labour or ſervices; and that ſuch officers ſhould be ſworn before they act, for the faithful and due execution of their reſpective offices and places; and declared that the treaſurer and ſecretary for the time being, ſhould be incapable of being members of the ſaid corporation; and granted to the ſaid corporation, that it ſhould be lawful for them, their officers and agents, to tranſport and convey, into the ſaid province, ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and foreigners, as were willing to go and inhabit, and reſide there; and declared all perſons born within the ſaid province, and their children, and their poſterity, to be free denizens, as if they had been born within any of his Majeſty's dominions; and impowered the ſaid common council, in the name of the corporation, and under their common ſeal, to diſtribute, aſſign, transfer, and ſet over ſuch particular portions of the ſaid lands, tenements, and hereditaments, unto ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects and others, willing to live in the ſaid colony, upon ſuch terms, and for ſuch eſtates, and upon ſuch rents, reſervations, and conditions, as the ſame might lawfully be granted; and as to the ſaid common council, or the major part of them, ſhould ſeem fit and proper, provided no grant ſhould be made of any part of the ſaid lands, unto, or in truſt for, or for the benefit of, any member of the ſaid corporation; and that no greater quantity of the ſaid lands be granted, either entirely or in parcels, to, or to the uſe of, or in truſt for, any one perſon, than five hundred acres; and declared that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, ſhall be abſolutely null and void. And granted, that the ſaid corporation, for the term of twenty-one years, from the date of the ſaid letters patent, ſhould have power to erect and conſtitute judicatures, and courts of record, or other courts to be held in his Majeſty's name, for the hearing and determining all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, proceſſes, plaints, actions, matters, cauſes, and things whatſoever ariſing or happening within the ſaid province, or between perſons inhabiting or reſiding there; and for awarding and making out executions thereupon, and directing the ſaid corporation

ration to regiſter, or cauſe to be regiſtered, all leaſes, grants, plantings, conveyances, ſettlements and improvements whatſoever, as ſhould at any time be made of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the ſaid province; and yearly to tranſmit authentic accounts thereof, unto the auditor of the plantations, or his deputy, and to the ſurveyor of SouthCarolina, to inſpect and ſurvey the ſame, to aſcertain the quit-rents, which ſhould become due according to the reſervation before mentioned. But not to have or take any gratuity, fee, or reward, for ſuch ſurvey or inſpection, on forfeiture of their office; with a proviſo that all leaſes, grants, and conveyances, to be made of any lands within the ſaid province, or a memorial containing the ſubſtance thereof, ſhould be regiſtered with the auditors of the plantations, within one year from the date thereof; otherwiſe that the ſame ſhould be void. And directed, that all rents, iſſues, or profits, which ſhould come to the ſaid corporation, iſſuing or ariſing out of or from the ſaid province, ſhould be laid out and applied in ſuch manner, as would moſt improve and enlarge the ſaid colony, and beſt anſwer the good purpoſes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other charges about the ſame. And directed the ſaid corporation, from time to time, to give in to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and to the commiſſioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progreſs of the ſaid colony. And directed that the ſaid common council ſhould, from time to time, for the ſaid term of twenty-one years, from the date of the ſaid letters patent, have power to appoint all ſuch governors, judges, magiſtrates, miniſters, and officers, civil and military, both by ſea and land, within the ſaid diſtrict, as they ſhould think fit and needful for the government of the ſaid colony, (except ſuch officers as ſhould be appointed for managing, collecting, and receiving ſuch of his Majeſty's revenues as ſhould ariſe within the ſaid province), with a proviſo that every governor ſo appointed, ſhould be approved by his Majeſty, and qualify himſelf as other governors in America are by law required to do, and give ſecurity for obſerving the acts of parliament relating to trade and navigation, and obeying all inſtructions from his Majeſty, or any acting under his authority, purſuant to the ſaid acts. And granted, that the ſaid corporation, for the ſaid term of twenty-one years, from the date of the ſaid letters patent, ſhould have power by any commander, or other officer, for that purpoſe appointed, to train, intruſt, exerciſe, and govern a militia for the ſpecial defence and ſafety of the ſaid colony, to aſſemble in martial array; and put in warlike poſture the inhabitants of the ſaid colony; and in time of actual war, invaſion, or rebellion, to uſe and exerciſe the law martial, and alſo to erect forts, and fortify any place within the ſaid colony; and the ſame to furniſh with all neceſſary ammunition, proviſion, and ſtores of war, for offence and defence, and from time to time to commit the cuſtody and government of them to ſuch perſon or perſons as to them ſhould ſeem meet; declaring that the Governor or Commander in Chief of South Carolina, ſhould have the chief command of the militia of Georgia, and that they ſhould obſerve his orders. And granted, that the ſaid corporation ſhould have power to import and export their goods, at and from any fort or ports that ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, within the ſaid province, for that purpoſe, without being obliged to touch at any other port in South Carolina. And declared, that after the end of the ſaid twenty-one years, ſuch form of government, and making of laws and ſtatutes, and ordinances, for the government of the ſaid province, and its inhabitants, ſhould be eſtabliſhed and obſerved within the ſame, as his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhould ordain and appoint, and ſhould be agreeable to law; and that after the end of the ſaid twenty-one years, the governor, and all officers, civil and military, within the ſaid province, ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors."

3. As ſoon as they had obtained this gracious and extenſive charter, the following noble and honourable perſons undertook, in quality of truſtees, to engage vigorouſly in the execution of this deſign, viz. Anthony Earl of Shafteſbury, John Lord Viſcount Percival, ſince created Earl of Egmont, John Lord Viſcount Tyrconnel, James Lord Viſcount Lymerick, George Lord Carpenter, Edward Digby, Eſq. James Oglethorpe, Eſq. George Heathcote, Eſq. Thomas Tower, Eſq. Robert More, Eſq. Robert Hucks, Eſq. William Sloper, Eſq. Francis Eyles, Eſq. John Laroche, Eſq. James Vernon, Eſq. Stephen Hales, A. M. Richard Chandler, Eſq. Thomas Frederick, Eſq. Henry L'Apoſtre, Eſq. William Heathcoate, Eſq. John White, Eſq. Robert Kendal, Eſq. Richard Bundy, D. D. Their firſt care was to obtain a fund ſufficient for the ſending over a conſiderable number of people, and providing them with all kinds of neceſſaries, towards which they ſubſcribed liberally themſelves; obtained conſiderable ſums by way of collection from well-diſpoſed people, and had beſides a grant from the parliament of 10,000l.

They next turned their thoughts, as to the moſt proper method of ſettling theſe people, when ſent over to Georgia, ſo as that they might be enabled to live comfortably themſelves, and at the ſame time anſwer all the ends for which they were ſent thither; it being judged highly reaſonable, that thoſe who were thus provided for, at the public expence, ſhould be made in every reſpect, as uſeful to the public as poſſible. They reſolved therefore to conſider each inhabitant in a double capacity, as a planter, and as a ſoldier, who were conſequently to be provided with arms for their defence, as well as tools for the cultivation of their land, and taught the exerciſe of both. They alſo reſolved, that upon the firſt ſettling of this colony, towns ſhould be laid out, and lands allotted to each of them for their maintenance, as near thoſe towns as poſſible; that the former might ſerve for their defence, and the latter for their ſubſiſtence. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, it was agreed that every lot or portion of land, ſhould conſiſt of fifty acres; and that it ſhould be granted them in tail male, as the propereſt tenure for the colony in its infancy, and the fitteſt to preſerve it from thoſe inconveniences to which it was moſt obnoxious; and with reſpect to any hardſhips that might ariſe from this tenure, they determined to remedy them occaſionally, till ſuch time as the condition of the colony ſhould render an alteration neceſſary.

They likewiſe determined to prohibit negroes, the uſe of them ſeeming abſolutely inconſiſtent with the deſign of this colony, and beſides this, in many reſpects inconvenient and dangerous. Inconvenient, as the firſt coſt of a negro is about thirty pounds; a ſum, that it was not to be ſuppoſed many of the people ſent to Georgia could lay out for themſelves; nor was it fit that the truſtees ſhould do it for them, ſince this would pay the paſſage, provide tools, and defray the expence of a white man's ſubſiſtence for a year, who would then become a ſecurity to the province. It was foreſeen, that if a white man kept a negro, he would be leſs willing and leſs able to labour himſelf. If ſuch as were in circumſtances to go over at their own expence, were allowed to make uſe of negroes, it was judged that this would diſpirit the poor planters, would incline ſuch as were poſſeſſed of negroes to abſent themſelves, as in other provinces; might enable them, if ſucceſsful, to eat up and oppreſs their poorer neighbours; or tempt them, if unſucceſsful, to mortgage or ſell their lands to the negro merchants. Theſe were apparent and great inconveniences, but the dangers were ſtill more numerous and more certain. In the firſt place, it was evident that as the planters in Georgia were to be ſent over with their families, if negroes were allowed, whenever the men were abſent from their plantations upon any duty, their wives and children would be at the mercy

of theſe negroes; and thus, beſides the caſe of ſecuring themſelves againſt foreign invaſions, they would be likewiſe under a neceſſity of providing for their domeſtic ſafety. In the next place, it was foreſeen that the Spaniards at St. Auguſtin would be continually inticing away the negroes, or inciting them to inſurrections; the former of which would have been very eaſy, as they had only a ſmall river or two to ſwim over, which they might do ſingly as well as in parties; the latter was ſo much the more to be dreaded, as an attempt or two of this kind muſt have greatly diſcouraged, if not totally ſubverted, the Engliſh colony; and the certainty of theſe evils was the greater, becauſe in a time of profound peace, the Spaniards had practiſed both in regard to the colony of South Carolina, though at a greater diſtance, from whence negroes had often fled in little boats to the Spaniards, and been protected; and they have likewiſe been invited to riſe in large bodies, to the great terror of the inhabitants, and to the no ſmall hazard of the loſs of that province; beſides, the allowing negroes in Georgia, would have facilitated the deſertion of the Carolina negroes, through this new province; and conſequently the colony, inſtead of proving, as it was intended, a frontier, and thereby adding ſtrength to the province of South Carolina, would have proved a means of drawing away their ſlaves, to the great prejudice of the planters; and which was much worſe, would add thereby to the ſtrength of their enemies at St. Auguſtin. So that taking theſe conſiderations together, viz. that wine, ſilk, pot-aſh, and other produces, which were expected from the new colony, did not at all require negroes; as the introduction of them ſo near to a garriſon of the Spaniards, would weaken, rather than ſtrengthen, the barrier; and as they would introduce with them a greater propenſity to idleneſs among the planters, and too great an inequality among the people; it was thought proper to make the prohibition of them a fundamental article of the conſtitution.

When the truſtees had made theſe diſpoſitions, and were enabled, by benefactions from the public, and ſeveral private perſons, on the 3d of October 1732, it was reſolved to ſend over one hundred and fourteen perſons, men, women, and children, being ſuch as were decayed circumſtances, and thereby diſabled from following any buſineſs in England, and who, if in debt, had leave from their creditors to go; and ſuch as were recommended by the miniſter and church-wardens, and overſeers of their reſpective pariſhes; and James Oglethorpe, Eſq. one of the truſtees went with them at his own expence, to ſee them. On the 24th of the ſame month the people were all examined, whether any of them had any objections to the terms and conditions propoſed to them, which they all declared they had not, but that they were fully ſatisfied with them; and executed articles under their hands and ſeals, teſtifying their conſents thereto, which are now in the public office belonging to the truſtees. But four of them deſiring their daughters might inherit as well as their ſons, and that their widow's dower might be conſidered, the truſtees immediately reſolved, that every perſon who ſhould deſire the ſame, ſhould have the privilege of naming a ſucceſſor to the lands granted to him; who, in caſe the poſſeſſor ſhould die without iſſue male, ſhould hold the ſame to them and their heirs male for ever; and that the widows ſhould have their thirds, as in England; with which reſolution the people being all acquainted, were very well ſatisfied.

The truſtees prepared forms of government, agreeable to the powers given them by the charter; they eſtabliſhed under their ſeal a court of judicature, for trying cauſes, as well criminal as civil, in the town of Savannah, (the name which was given to the firſt town to be raiſed) by the name and ſtile of the Town Court. They alſo appointed magiſtrates there, three bailiffs and a recorder, and inferior officers, viz. two conſtables

ſtables and two tything men. They choſe for magiſtrates, ſuch as appeared to them the moſt prudent and diſcreet; but amongſt a number of people, who were all upon a level at the firſt ſetting out, it was impoſſible to make any choice or diſtinction, which would not create ſome future uneaſineſs among them. As I have no relation to, or connection with, the truſtees of Georgia, I ſhall take the liberty of making ſome remarks upon their proceedings, which otherwiſe I ſhould not have thought becoming either them or me. The ſcheme of their incorporation is entirely new, as was the project of Mr. Oglethorpe's going over at his own expence, and purely to ſee the people put into a way of living without him, whom he had extricated out of ſo many difficulties, and who, but for this condeſcention in him, muſt have fallen back into thoſe difficulties again. The attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh, for ſettling of Virginia, were of this nature with reſpect to him; that is to ſay, what he did was from a motive of public ſpirit; but what the Virginia company did, was from a principle of gain; where's this whole deſign roſe from the charitable and beneficent diſpoſition of a few worthy and good men, and has been hitherto conducted according to the ſame diſpoſition, for the benefit of the [illegible] and of the public; and from no other view [illegible] in reſt in the truſtees, but the making themſelves [illegible] from the conſciouſneſs of [illegible] doing; which at the ſame time, that it reflects [illegible] upon them, does the higher honour to this age and country in which the [illegible] have to have ſome ſmall ſhare, [illegible] produced the pains taken in this [illegible], which I flatter myſelf will, like its ſubject, prove of great utility to the public.

4. On the 1[illegible]th of November Mr. Oglethorpe ſet out for Graveſend, from whence he ſoon ſailed for Carolina, where they arrived on the 15th of January following, and were received at Charles Town by the Governor, with great kindneſs and civility; who ordered Mr. Middleton, the King's pilot, to carry the ſhip into Port Royal, and ſmall craft to convey the colony from thence to the river Savannah. In ten hours they proceeded to Fort Royal. On the 18th Mr. Oglethorpe went aſhore upon Bench's Iſland, and left a guard upon Johns, being a point of that iſland, which commands the channel, and is about half way between Beaufort and the river Savannah. [illegible] orders to prepare huts, for the reception of the people in their paſſage from the ſhips Mr. Oglethorpe went to Beaufort Town, and was ſaluted with a diſcharge of the artillery, and had a new Barrack fitted up, where the colony landed on the 20th, and were chearfully aſſiſted by Lieutenant Watts and Enſign Farrington, and the other officers of the independent company; as alſo by Mr. Ledebar, and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood; from thence he went to view the Savannah river, and pitched upon a convenient ſpot of ground, ten miles up the river, on which he deſigned to build a town. The reader will obſerve that this was exactly agreeable to the reſolutions taken by the truſtees at home; and as there was no time loſt in fixing upon the place, ſo on the 9th of February the town was marked out, and the firſt houſe begun.

The chief reaſons that determined Mr. Oglethorpe in the choice of this place were, health, pleaſure, and conveniency. Before his arrival in the country it had the name of an Indian nation, viz. Yammacraw, who inhabited here, under the command of the chief, Tomochichi, and who readily gave them place, and entered in a cloſe friendſhip with him; ſo much the more agreeable to both parties, as there is no other Indian nation within fifty miles. But Mr. Oglethorpe called the town by the name of the River Savannah. It lies, according to Captain Gaſcoign's obſervations, in the latitude of 31 degrees 58 minutes, which he took of Tybee, an iſland that at the mouth of the Savannah River. It is diſtant from Charles Town ſouth-weſt according to the courſe and windings of the rivers and creeks, about one hundred and forty miles, but

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by a direct courſe ſeventy-ſeven, allowing Sullivan's Iſland to be in the latitude of 32 degrees 47 minutes; from Auguſtin north-eaſt and by eaſt one hundred and forty miles; and by the courſe of the rivers is diſtant from Fort Moore three hundred miles; but upon a direct line but one hundred and fifteen miles north-weſt and by weſt; this bluff is diſtant ten miles from the mouth of the river on the ſouth ſide; and Parryſburgh is twenty-four miles above it, on the north, and is ſo ſituated as to have a beautiful proſpect, both up and down the river. It is very ſandy and barren, and conſequently a wholeſome place for a town or city, if Savannah ſhould ever grow up and rival Philadelphia.

After putting things into order here, and aſſigning every man his proper ſtation and employment, Mr. Oglethorpe, in company with Colonel Bull, who came from Charles Town to pay him a viſit, and teſtified great ſatisfaction at the progreſs they made, ſet out for Charles Town to ſolicit ſuccours for his colony. Before we take notice of the ſucceſs he met with on that occaſion, it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a paragraph from the South Carolina Gazette, dated Charles Town, March 22d, 1732, in which there is an account given of the journey to Georgia, which will ſhew the ſentiments of the people of that colony, at a time when they were freed from all prejudices, apprehenſions, and prepoſſeſſions. After deſcribing the town in the manner we have done, they ſay, "When they, that is the new colony, arrived, there was ſtanding on it, viz. the place where the town now ſtands, a great quantity of the beſt ſorts of pines, moſt of which are already cut down on the ſpot where the town is laid out to build. The land is barren about a mile back, when you come into very rich ground; and on both ſides, within a quarter of a mile of the town, is choice good planting land. Colonel Bull told me that he had been ſeven miles back, and found it extraordinary good. Mr. Oglethorpe is indefatigable, takes a vaſt deal of pains; his fare is but indifferent, having little elſe at preſent but ſalt proviſions: he is extremely well beloved by all his people. The general title they give him is Father. If any of them are ſick, he immediately viſits them, and takes a great deal of care of them. If any differences ariſe, he is the perſon that decides them: two happened while I was there, and in my preſence, and all the parties went away, to outward appearance, ſatisfied and contented with his determination. He keeps a ſtrict diſcipline; I never ſaw one of his people drunk nor heard one ſwear, all the time I was there. He does not allow them rum, but in lieu gives them Engliſh beer. It is ſurpriſing to ſee how chearfully the men go to work, conſidering they have not been bred to it. There are no idlers there, even the boys and girls do their parts. There are four houſes already up, but none finiſhed; and he hopes when he has got more ſawyers, which I ſuppoſe he will have in a ſhort time, to finiſh two houſes in a week. He has plowed up ſome land, part of which he ſowed with wheat, which is come up, and looks promiſing. He has two or three gardens, which he has ſowed with divers ſorts of ſeeds; and planted thyme, with other ſorts of pot-herbs, ſage, leeks, ſcallions, celery, liquorice, &c. and ſeveral ſorts of fruit trees. He was palliſading the town, and incloſing ſome part of the common, which I do ſuppoſe may be finiſhed in a fortnight's time. In ſhort, he has done a vaſt deal of work for the time; and I think his name ought to be immortalized."

This ſufficiently ſhews how well pleaſed the people at Carolina were, as indeed they had reaſon to be, with this new ſettlement; as a further teſtimony of which, not only the aſſembly, but the people in general, contributed largely to the aſſiſtance of the new comers; five hundred pounds of which money Mr. Oglethorpe laid out immediately in cattle, and having given other directions for providing at Charles Town what his people might have occaſion for, he very ſpeedily ſet out on his return from Savannah, and on his

his way lay at Colonel Bull's houſe on Aſhly River. There the Reverend Mr. Guy, Rector of St. John's Pariſh, waited on him, and told him his pariſhioners had raiſed a handſome contribution. Being arrived at Savannah, he found that Mr. Wiggan, the interpreter, with the chief men of the Lower Creek nation, had been to treat of an alliance with the new colony. The Lower Creeks are a nation of Indians, who formerly conſiſted of ten, but now are reduced to eight, tribes, who have each their different government, but are allied together, and ſpeak the ſame language. They claim from the Savannah River as far as St. Auguſtin and up Flint River, which falls into the bay of Mexico. Tomochichi, Mico, and the Indians of Yammacraw were of the Creek nation and language.

Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians in one of the new houſes. They were as follows: From the tribe of Coweeta, Yahan Lakee, their King or Mico, Eſſaboo, their warrior, the ſon of Old Brim, lately dead; whom the Spaniards called Emperor of the Creeks, with eight men and two women attendants. From the tribe of Cuſſetas, Cuſſeta, their Mico, Tatchiquatchi, their head warrior, with four attendants. From the tribe of Owſeecheys, Ogeeſe, the Mico or War King; Neathlouthko and Ougachi two chief men, with three attendants. From the tribe of Cheechaws, Outhleteboa, their Mico, Thlautho-thlukee, Figeer, Sootamilla, War Captains, with three attendants. From the tribe of Echetas, Chutabeeche and Robin, two War Captains, (the latter was bred among the Engliſh), with four attendants. From the tribe of Polachucolas, Gillattee, their Head Warrior, and five attendants. From the tribe of Oconas, Oueekachumpa, called by the Engliſh Long King, Koowoo, a Warrior. From the tribe of Eufaule, Tomaumi, Head Warrior, and three attendants.

The Indians being all ſeated, Oueekachumpa, a very tall old man, ſtood, and made a ſpeech, which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and Mr. Muſgrove, and was to the following purpoſe: He firſt claimed all the lands to the ſouthward of the River Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. They then ſaid, though they were but poor and ignorant, he that had given the Engliſh breath had given them breath alſo. That he that had made both had given more wiſdom to the white men. That they were perſuaded that the great power which dwelt in heaven, and all around, (and then he ſpread out his hands and lengthened the ſound of his words), and which hath given breath to all men, had ſent the Engliſh thither for the inſtruction of them, their wives and children: That, therefore, they gave them up freely their right to all the land they did not uſe themſelves. That this was not only his opinion, but the opinion of the eight towns of the Creeks, each of whom having conſulted together, had ſent ſome of their chief men with ſkins, which is their wealth.

Then the chief men brought a bundle of buck ſkins, and laid eight from the eight towns before Mr. Oglethorpe. He ſaid theſe were the beſt things they had, and that they gave them with a good heart. He concluded with thanking him for his kindneſs to Tomochichi, Mico, and his Indians, to whom he ſaid he was related, and though Tomochichi was baniſhed from his nation, that he was a good man and had been a great warrior; and it was for his wiſdom and juſtice that the baniſhed men had choſe him king. He alſo ſaid, that he had heard that the Cherokees had killed ſome Engliſhmen, and that if Mr. Oglethorpe would command them, they would enter their whole force into the Cherokee country, deſtroy their harveſt, kill the people, and revenge the Engliſh. When he had done ſpeaking, Tomochichi came in with the Yammacraw Indians, and making a low obeiſance, ſaid, I was a baniſhed man, and I came here poor and helpleſs to look for good land near the tombs of my anceſtors, and when the Engliſh came to this place, I feared you would drive us away; for we were weak and wanted corn.

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But you confirmed our land to us, and gave us food. Then the chiefs of the other nation made ſpeeches to the ſame purpoſe as Oueekachumpa's.

After which they agreed with Mr. Oglethorpe on a treaty of alliance and commerce, which was ſigned by him and them. A laced coat, a laced hat, and a ſhirt, were given to each king, and to each of the warriors a gun, a mantle of duffils, and to all their attendants coarſe cloth for cloathing, and other things. The articles of agreement were, I. The truſtees agreed to let their people carry into the Indian towns all ſorts of goods fitting to trade at rates and prices ſettled by the treaty. II. Reſtitution and reparation to be made for injuries on both ſides, and criminals to be tried and puniſhed according to the Engliſh law. III. Trade to be withdrawn from any Indian town offending againſt treaty. IV. The Engliſh to poſſeſs all lands not uſed by the Indians, provided, that upon ſettling of every new town the Engliſh ſhould ſet out for the uſe of their nation, ſuch lands as ſhould be agreed on between the Engliſh beloved men, and the head men of their nation. V. To reſtore all runaway negroes, and carry them either to Charles Town, the Savannah, or Petachuchula garriſon, upon being paid for every ſuch negro four blankets, or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods, if taken on the other ſide Ocorivy River; and one blanket if the negro is killed in taking or endeavouring to make his eſcape. VI. Laſtly, They promiſe, with ſtrait hearts and love to their brother Engliſh, to give no encouragement to any other white people to ſettle there, and to all this they ſet the marks of their families. This treaty being concluded, Mr. Oglethorpe thought fit to return into England, as well to report the ſituation things were in, in that country, as to procure the neceſſary ſupplies for promoting the new colony.

5. In the month of June 1734 Mr. Oglethorpe arrived ſafely in England, bringing with him Tomochichi, mico or king of the Yammacraws; Senawki, his conſort, and Toonakowi, the prince his nephew, as alſo Hilliſpilli, a war captain, and Apakowtſki, Stimalechi, Sintouchi, Hinguithi, and Umphychi, five other Indian chiefs, with their interpreter. They were lodged at the Georgia-Office, Old Palace-Yard, where they were handſomely entertained; and, being ſuitably dreſſed, were introduced to the court, then at Kenſington. Tomochichi preſented to the king ſeveral eagles feathers; which, according to their cuſtom, is the moſt reſpectful gift he could offer, and made the following ſpeech to his majeſty: "This day I ſee the majeſty of your face, and greatneſs of your houſe, and the number of your people; I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they had long ago with the Engliſh. I am come over in my old days; though I cannot live to ſee any advantage to myſelf. I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, that they may be inſtructed in the knowledge of the Engliſh. Theſe are the feathers of the eagle, which is the ſwifteſt of birds, and who flieth all round our nations. Theſe feathers are a ſign of peace in our land; and we have brought them over to leave them with you, O! great king, as a ſign of everlaſting peace. O! great king, whatſoever words you ſhall ſay unto me I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations." To which his Majeſty made a gracious anſwer, aſſuring thoſe nations of his protection and regard.

Theſe Indians, but more eſpecially their mico or prince, gave evident marks, during their ſtay in England, of good ſenſe, and of a ſincere inclination to carry on a friendly correſpondence between their own nation and ours; and therefore they deſired of the truſtees, that the meaſures, prices, and qualities of goods to be purchaſed by them, with their deer-ſkins, might be ſettled, as likewiſe the weights; that nobody might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia, without a licence from the truſtees, in

order, that if they were in any reſpect injured, or defrauded by the traders, they might know where to complain. And they further deſired, that there might be but one ſtore-houſe in each Indian town, for ſupplying them with the goods they might want to purchaſe, from whence the traders ſhould be obliged to ſupply them at their fixed prices. The reaſon which the Indians gave for this application was, becauſe the traders with them had often, in an arbitrary manner, raiſed the price of goods, and defrauded them in the weights and meaſures; and, by their impoſitions, had often created animoſities between the Engliſh and Indians, which had frequently ended in wars between them, prejudicial to both.

In compliance with this requeſt of theirs, the truſtees prepared a law, intitled, "An act for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia;" which contained the ſame regulations and proviſions that were made in an act paſſed by the council and aſſembly in South Carolina, in the year 1731, which act would have reached the country now called Georgia, if it had not been erected into a ſeparate province. They likewiſe prepared another law, calculated for the ſame ſalutary purpoſe, I mean the preventing any dangers from the Indians, by the pernicious effects of ſpirituous liquors, as well as the health of the people already ſettled, and that might be ſettled, in their new colony, which was intitled, "An act to prevent the importation and uſe of rum and brandies in the province of Georgia, or any kind of ſpirits, or ſtrong waters whatſoever." They likewiſe prepared a third law, upon a very mature deliberation, and for the reaſons before-mentioned, intitled, "An act for rendering the colony of Georgia more defenſible, by prohibiting the importation of black ſlaves, or negroes, in the ſame." Theſe three acts were laid before the King in council, in the month of January following; and after a report from the board of trade, that they were proper to receive his Majeſty's approbation, they were accordingly ratified. Two embarkations were made this year, whoſe numbers are hereafter mentioned, which conſiſted chiefly of Saltſburghers, who with the Saltſburghers that went before, were ſettled in a town called by them Ebenezer, upon the river Savannah, at ſome diſtance above the town; and by the ſobriety and induſtry of the people, they prove a very thriving ſettlement.

6. In the ſucceeding year 1735, the truſtees were encouraged by an extraordinary ſupply of twenty-ſix thouſand pounds, granted by parliament, and very conſiderable benefactions, as well in Carolina as in England, to think of making very conſiderable embarkations for ſtrengthening the ſouthern part of Georgia; and to obviate any objection that might be made, as in undertakings of this nature objections will never be wanting, at their ſending uſeful poor from hence, it was reſolved that theſe embarkations ſhould conſiſt moſtly of people from the north of Scotland, and perſecuted German proteſtants. The reader will obſerve, that by the care taken in this reſpect, the nation gained a very conſiderable advantage, ſince by this means the overflowings of all the northern countries of Europe, which are known to breed robuſt, hardy and induſtrious people, were ſecured for our ſervice, and carried over and ſettled in that part of his Majeſty's dominions where ſuch people were wanted moſt; where, from their circumſtances, they were obliged to fulfil (as indeed they have always done), the ends for which they were ſent thither; and ſo became an acceſſion of ſtrength of great conſequence and advantage, at a very ſmall and inconſiderable expence. But that the reader may be fully apprized of, and perfectly comprehend the true reaſons which induced the parliament to grant ſo much money, for the ſettlement and improvement of the colony this year, and may likewiſe be enabled to judge of the weight and importance of theſe reaſons, it is requiſite to inform him, that the colony of South Carolina

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drew up a memorial, dated the 9th of April 1734, ſigned by Robert Johnſon, Eſq. their Governor; Thomas Broughton, Preſident of the Council; and Paul Jenys, Speaker of the Commons; containing a repreſentation of the ſtate and condition of that province, and therein ſo full, ſo clear, and ſo authentic an account of facts, equally curious and important, that it is impoſſible to ſet them down either in fewer or better words than are uſed in that memorial; part of which, therefore, we ſhall give here, and ſhould very willingly have given the whole, if the nature of our work would have allowed us room.

"Your Majeſty's ſubjects of this province, having often felt, with hearts full of gratitude, the many ſignal inſtances of your moſt ſacred Majeſty's peculiar favour and protection to theſe diſtant parts of your dominions, and eſpecially thoſe late proofs of your Majeſty's moſt gracious and benign care, ſo wiſely calculated for the protection of this your Majeſty's frontier province on the Continent of America, by your royal charter to the truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia; and your great goodneſs ſo rightly and timely applied in protecting the ſettlement of the Swiſs at Purryſburg. Encouraged by ſuch juſt views of your Majeſty's wiſe and paternal care, extended to your remoteſt ſubjects; and excited by the duty which we owe to your moſt ſacred Majeſty, to be always watchful for the ſupport and ſecurity of your Majeſty's intereſt, eſpecially at this very critical juncture, when the flame of a war breaking out in Europe, may very ſpeedily be lighted here, in this your Majeſty's frontier province, which by its ſituation is known to be of the utmoſt importance to the general trade and traffic of America; We therefore, your Majeſty's moſt faithful governor, council, and commons, convened in your Maieſty's province of South Carolina, crave leave with great humility to repreſent to your Majeſty the preſent ſtate and condition of this your province, and how greatly it ſtands in need of your Majeſty's gracious and timely ſuccour in caſe of a war, to aſſiſt our defence againſt the French and Spaniards, or any other enemies to your Majeſty's dominions, as well as againſt the many nations of ſavages, which ſo nearly threaten the ſafety of your Majeſty's ſubjects.

"The province of Carolina, and the new colony of Georgia, are the ſouthern frontiers of all your Majeſty's dominions on the Continent of America; to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of which is ſituate the ſtrong caſtle of St. Auguſtin, garriſoned by four hundred Spaniards, who have ſeveral nations of Indians living under their ſubjection, beſides ſeveral other ſmall ſettlements and garriſons near the Appellaches, ſome of which are not eighty miles diſtant from the colony of Georgia. To the ſouth-weſt and weſt of us, the French have already erected a conſiderable town near Fort Thouloufe on the Moville river, and ſeveral other forts and garriſons, ſome not above three hundred miles diſtant from our ſettlements; and at New Orleans on the Miſſiſſippi river, ſince her late Majeſty Queen Anne's war, they have exceedingly encreaſed their ſtrength and traffic, and have now many forts and garriſons on both ſides of that large river, for ſeveral hundred miles up the ſame. And ſince his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has taken out of the Miſſiſſippi Company the government of that country into his own hands, the French natives of Canada come daily down in ſhoals, to ſettle all along that river, where many regular forces have been ſent over by the King, to ſtrengthen the garriſons of thoſe places; and according to our beſt and lateſt advices, they have five hundred men in pay conſtantly employed as wood-rangers, to keep the neighbouring Indians in ſubjection, and to prevent the diſtant ones from diſturbing their ſettlements; which management of the French has ſo well ſucceeded, that we are very well aſſured they have wholly now in their poſſeſſion, and under their influence, the ſeveral numerous nations of Indians that are ſituate near the Miſſiſſippi River; one of which, called

the Choctaws, by eſtimation, conſiſting of about five thouſand fighting men, and who were always deemed a very warlike nation, lies on this ſide the river, not above four hundred miles diſtant from our out-ſettlements. Among whom, and ſeveral other nations of Indians, many French Europeans have been ſent to ſettle, whom the prieſts and miſſionaries among them encourage to take Indian wives, and uſe divers other alluring methods to attach the Indians the better to the French alliance; by which means the French are become thoroughly acquainted with the Indian way of warring and living in the woods, and have now a great number of white men among them, able to perform a long march, with an army of Indians, upon any expedition.

" We further beg leave to inform your Majeſty, that if the meaſures of France ſhould provoke your Majeſty to a ſtate of hoſtility againſt it in Europe, we have great reaſons to expect an invaſion will be here made upon your Majeſty's ſubjects, by the French and the Indians, from theſe Miſſiſſippi ſettlements; they have already paved a way for a deſign of that nature, by erecting a fort called the Albama Fort, alias Fort Louis, in the middle of the Upper Creek Indians, upon a navigable river leading to Moville, which they have kept well garriſoned, and mounted with fourteen pieces of cannon; and have already been prevented from erecting a ſecond nearer to us in that quarter. The Creeks are a nation very bold, active, and daring, conſiſting of about thirteen hundred fighting men (and not above one hundred and fifty miles diſtant from the Choctaws), whom though we heretofore have traded with, claimed, and held in our alliance, yet the French, on account of that fort, and a ſuperior ability to make them liberal preſents, have been for ſome time ſtriving to gain them over to their intereſt, and have ſucceeded with ſome of the towns of the Creeks, which if they can be ſecured in your Majeſty's intereſt, are the only nation which your Majeſty's ſubjects here can depend upon, as their beſt barrier againſt any attempts either of the French or their confederate Indians.

" We moſt humbly pray leave further to inform your Majeſty, that the French at Moville, perceiving that they could not gain the Indians to their intereſt without buying their deer ſkins, which is the only commodity the Indians have to purchaſe neceſſaries with, and the French not being able to diſpoſe of thoſe ſkins, by reaſon of their having no vent for them in Old France, have found means to encourage veſſels from hence, New York, and other places which are not prohibited by the acts of trade, to truck thoſe ſkins with them for Indian trading goods, eſpecially the Britiſh woollen manufactures, which the French diſpoſe of to the Creeks and Choctaws, and other Indians; by which means the Indians are much more alienated from our intereſt; and, on every occaſion, object to us, that the French can ſupply them with ſhrouds and blankets as well as the Engliſh; which would have the contrary effect, if they were wholly furniſhed with thoſe commodities by your Majeſty's ſubjects trading among them. If a ſtop were therefore put to that pernicious trade with the French, the Creek Indians chief dependence would be on this government, and that of Georgia, to ſupply them with goods; by which means great part of the Choctaws living next the Creeks, would ſee the advantage the Creek Indians enjoyed, by having Britiſh woollen manufactures wholly from your Majeſty's ſubjects, and thereby be invited, in a ſhort time, to enter into a treaty of commerce with us, which they have lately made ſome offers for, and which, if effected, will ſoon leſſen the intereſt of the French with theſe Indians, and by degrees attach them to that of your Majeſty.

" The only expedient we can propoſe to recover and confirm that nation to your Majeſty's intereſt, is by ſpeedily making them preſents, to withdraw them from the French alliance, and by building ſome forts among them. Your Majeſty may be put

into ſuch a ſituation, that on the firſt notice of hoſtilities with the French, your Majeſty may be able to reduce at once the Albama Fort, and we may then ſtand againſt the French and their Indians; which if not timely prepared for, before a war breaks out, we have too much reaſon to fear we may be ſoon over-run by the united ſtrength of the French, and the Creeks and Choctaws, with many other nations of their Indian allies; for ſhould the Creeks become wholly our enemies, who are well acquainted with all our ſettlements, we probably ſhould alſo ſoon be deſerted by the Cherokees, and a few other ſmall tribes of Indians; who for the ſake of our booty, would readily join to make us a prey to the French and ſavages. Ever ſince the late Indian war, the offences then given us by the Creeks, have made that nation jealous of your Majeſty's ſubjects of this province. We have therefore concerted meaſures with the honourable James Oglethorpe, Eſq. who being at the head of a new colony, will, we hope, be ſucceſsful for your Majeſty's intereſt among that people. He has already, by preſents, attached the Lower Creeks to the ſervice of your Majeſty, and has laudably undertaken to endeavour the fixing a garriſon among the Upper Creeks; the expence of which is already in part provided for, in this ſeſſion of the general aſſembly of this province. We hope therefore to prevent the French from incroaching farther on your Majeſty's territories, until your Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed further to ſtrengthen and ſecure the ſame.

"We find the Cherokee nation has lately become very inſolent to your Majeſty's ſubjects trading among them, notwithſtanding the many favours which the chiefs of that nation received from your Majeſty in Great Britain; beſides a conſiderable expence which your Majeſty's ſubjects have been at, in making them preſents, which inclines us to believe that the French, by their Indians, have been tampering with them. We therefore beg leave to inform your Majeſty, that the building and mounting ſome forts alſo among the Cherokees, and making them preſents, will be highly neceſſary to keep them ſteady in their duty to your Majeſty, leſt the French may prevail in ſeducing that nation; which they may the more readily be inclined to, from the proſpect of getting conſiderable plunder in ſlaves, cattle, and commodities, which they very well know they have among us. Several other forts will be indiſpenſibly neceſſary, to be a cover to your Majeſty's ſubjects ſettled backwards in this province, as alſo to thoſe of the colony of Georgia, both which in length are very extenſive. For though the truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, by a particular ſcheme of good management, faithfully conducted by the gentlemen engaged here in that charitable enterprize, have put that ſmall part of the colony which he has yet been able to eſtabliſh, in a tenable condition againſt the Spaniards of Florida, which lie to the ſouthward; yet the back expoſition of thoſe colonies to the vaſt number of French and Indians, which border on the weſtward, muſt, in caſe of a war, cry greatly aloud for your Majeſty's gracious and timely ſuccour. The expence of our ſafety on ſuch an occaſion, we muſt in all humility, acquaint your Majeſty, either for men or money, can never be effected by your Majeſty's ſubjects of this province, who, in conjunction with Georgia, do not, in the whole, amount to more than three thouſand five hundred men that compoſe the militia, and wholly conſiſt of planters, traders, and other men in buſineſs."

There are ſome other paragraphs in this memorial which are ſtill more worthy of notice, and which therefore we ſhall give the reader in the words thereof. "We muſt further beg leave to inform your Majeſty, that amidſt our other perilous circumſtances, we are ſubject to many inteſtine dangers, from the great number of negroes that that are now among us, who amount, at leaſt, to twenty-two thouſand perſons, and are three to one of all your Majeſty's white ſubjects in this province. Inſurrections againſt

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us have been often attempted, and would at any time prove very fatal, if the French ſhould inſtigate them by artfully giving them an expectation of freedom. In ſuch a ſituation we moſt humbly crave leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that even the preſent ordinary expences, neceſſary for the care and ſupport of this your Majeſty's province and government, cannot be provided for by your Majeſty's ſubjects of this province, without your Majeſty's gracious pleaſure to continue thoſe laws, for eſtabliſhing the tax on negroes, and other duties, for ſeven years, and for appropriating the laws which now lie before your Majeſty, for your royal aſſent and approbation; and the further expences that will be requiſite for the erecting ſome forts, and eſtabliſhing garriſons in the ſeveral neceſſary places, ſo as to form a barrier for the ſecurity of this your Majeſty's province, we moſt humbly ſubmit to your majeſty.

" Your Majeſty's ſubjects of this province, with fulneſs of zeal, duty, and affection, to your moſt gracious and ſacred Majeſty, are ſo highly ſenſible of the great importance of this province to the French, that we muſt conceive it more than probable, if a war ſhould happen, they will uſe all endeavours to bring this country under their ſubjection. They would thereby be able to ſupply their ſugar iſlands with all ſorts of proviſions and lumber, by an eaſy navigation trade, which, to our great advantage, is now not ſo practicable from the preſent French colonies: beſides the facility of gaining then to their intereſt moſt of the Indian trade on the northern continent, they might alſo eaſily unite the Canadees and Choctaws with the many other nations of Indians which are now in their intereſt. And the ſeveral ports and harbours of Carolina and Georgia, which now enable your Majeſty to be abſolutely maſter of the paſſage through the Gulph of Florida, and to impede, at your pleaſure, the tranſportation home of the Spaniſh treaſure, would then prove ſo many convenient harbours for your Majeſty's enemies, by their privateers or ſhips of war, to annoy a great part of the Britiſh trade to America, as well as that which is carried on through the gulph from Jamaica, beſides the loſs which Great Britain muſt feel in ſo conſiderable a part of its navigation, as well as the exports of maſts, pitch, tar, and turpentine, which, without any dependance on the northern powers of Europe, are from hence plentifully ſupplied for the uſe of the Britiſh ſhipping.

" This is the preſent ſtate and condition of your Majeſty's province of South Carolina, utterly incapable of finding funds ſufficient for the defence of this wide frontier, and ſo deſtitute of white men, that even money itſelf cannot here raiſe a ſufficient body of them." The great length of this memorial prevents our making many remarks thereon; ſome few, however, are abſolutely requiſite.

The reader will, from hence, ſee how well-timed and how well contrived, the new ſettlement of Georgia was, in the opinion of thoſe who were the beſt judges; how juſt and how prudent the precaution of the truſtees in prohibiting negroes; and how wiſely and happily for the public ſervice they contrived to ſend over, both from our own country, and other parts of Europe, white people, and Proteſtants, by which they effectually provided for the ſecurity of all the northern colonies behind it; which, whenever this country comes to be thoroughly peopled, as it may be in a very few years time in days of peace, if due attention be had thereto, will be ſuch a barrier, as neither Spaniards nor French can ever break through, and conſequently will for ever put an end to thoſe terrors and apprehenſions, that are ſo ſtrongly and ſo emphatically expreſſed in the foregoing paper. But to proceed in our hiſtory.

In the month of January, 1735, the Highlanders arrived in Georgia (and with them ſeveral of the ſame country, as ſervants to private grantees). They were ſettled on the Alatamaha river, about ſixteen miles diſtant by water from the iſland of St. Simon,

which is at the mouth of the river. They ſoon raiſed convenient huts till their houſes could be built; and the town, at their own deſire, was called Darien, which name that diſtrict ſtill retains; but the town which they afterwards built they thought fit to call New Inverneſs.

On the 6th of February following the great embarkation, under the direction of Mr. Oglethorpe, arrived, and the people were ſettled upon the iſland of St. Simon. The Creek Indians, who came down upon this occaſion, in conſequence of their claiming a right to the country, were treated with, and agreed that the Engliſh ſhould poſſeſs that, and all the iſlands adjacent, which neceſſary ſtep being taken, the town of Frederica was ſoon laid out, and the people ſet to work in building houſes. When I call this the great embarkation, it ſeems but reaſonable that I ſhould expreſs the number of perſons ſent over, which were four hundred and ſeventy; and it is likewiſe fit to ſay ſomething of the iſland upon which they were ſettled. In point of ſituation, a better could hardly be wiſhed for in that part of the world, lying, as it does, at the mouth of a very fine river; the ſize of it too was very convenient, being about forty-five miles in extent, the ſoil rich and fruitful, full of oak and hickery trees, intermixed with meadows and old Indian fields.

As ſoon as this ſettlement was made, care was taken for its ſecurity, and for the fortifications of the ſouthern barrier, with which view a regular fortreſs, ſtrengthened by four baſtions and a ſpur-work, towards the river, was erected at Frederica, and ſeveral pieces of cannon mounted thereon; a ſtrong battery was alſo raiſed for the protection of Iekyll Sound, where ten or twelve forty-gun ſhips may ſafely ride. Another fort was built on the South-weſt part of Cumberland Iſland, where are ſeveral pieces of cannon pointed towards the river, ſo as to command all ſloops and ſmall craft navigating that paſſage; within the palliſade which ſurrounds the fort there are fine ſprings of water, and likewiſe a well framed timber-houſe, with large and convenient magazines under it for ammunition and proviſions. But while ſo much care was taken of the ſouth frontier, agreeable, as it was conceived, to the deſign of the parliament's grant, and the prayer of the before-mentioned memorial, the northern part of the colony was not neglected, ſince orders were given for erecting a fort at Auguſta, a place ſituated on the river Savannah, which is now become a very thriving place; where the traders with the Indians, from South Carolina and Georgia, reſort, on account of its conveniency for that purpoſe; and where there are large warehouſes furniſhed with ſuch goods as the Indians want, the deer ſkins taken in exchange being ſent two hundred and thirty miles down the river, to the town of Savannah, in boats, which carry each about nine thouſand weight. It may be eaſily conceived from hence, how neceſſary a thing it was to have a good fort here, which was both erected and garriſoned at the expence of the truſtees for ſome time; and a horſe-road was made from thence to the town of Savannah one way, and to the dwellings of the Cherokee Indians, who live above the town of Auguſta, the other. By theſe precautions the trade of both colonies, with theſe Indians, was facilitated, and the country on that ſide ſecured againſt any ſudden attempts of an enemy, which was all that could be expected in ſo ſhort a time, and in a tract of land, in compariſon of the colony, of ſo large an extent.

7. The preſence of Mr. Oglethorpe contributed greatly to the ſettling and preſervation of the colony; which was already become conſiderable enough, not only to draw the attention, but to excite the jealouſy of the Spaniards; who, without all queſtion, would have been glad to have overpowered, and driven out, theſe new-come neighbours, if it had been a thing in their power; and if they had not been apprehenſive of the ill conſequences that muſt have attended the breaking out of a war between the

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two nations, on account of the diſputes between theſe frontier provinces; which circumſtances were ſo well improved by Mr. Oglethorpe, and the Indians who had entered into friendſhip with the new ſettlement were ſo ſtrongly attached to the Engliſh intereſt, that the governor of St. Auguſtin, upon mature deliberation, found it more expedient to enter into a negociation, and to endeavour to conclude an amicable agreement with the Engliſh colony; which Mr. Oglethorpe alſo knowing to be very convenient for the ſecurity of Georgia, he negociated, and concluded a treaty, upon very juſt and reaſonable, as well as ſafe and advantageous terms; as will appear from the following copy of the treaty itſelf, and the powers by him given for concluding and ſigning it.

" To Charles Dempſey, Eſq.

" I have impowered you, by procuration, dated the 23d of June, 1736, to treat and conclude, concerning certain matters of importance, relating to theſe provinces, with his Excellency Don Franciſco del Moral Sanches, captain general of Florida, and governor of St. Auguſtin, and the council of war of the ſaid garriſon; and having, ſince the dates of theſe letters, received advice from the governor of St. Auguſtin, as alſo a meſſage from his Excellency Don Juan Franciſco Geumes de Horcaſitas, major general in his Catholic Majeſty's ſervice, captain general of the iſland above, and governor of Havanna, by Don Antonio de Arredondo, they both impowering him to treat concerning the ſaid matters, I do hereby impower, conſtitute, and appoint you, to treat, conclude, and ſign the following articles; and deliver the ſame unto the governor and council of St. Auguſtin, they ſigning, ſealing, and interchanging the ſaid articles.

" Firſt, That his excellency the governor of St. Auguſtin, ſhall reſtrain his Indians, ſubjects to the king of Spain, from committing any hoſtilities upon the ſubjects of the King of Great Britain. I will reſtrain the Indian ſubjects to the King of Great Britain in this province, from any hoſtilities upon the ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty.

" Secondly, That in reſpect to the nations of free Indians called Creeks, I will uſe my utmoſt amicable endeavours, upon any reaſonable ſatisfaction given them, to prevail with them to abſtain from any hoſtilities whatſoever, with the ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty.

" Thirdly, That with reſpect to the fort built on the iſland of St. George, I will draw off that garriſon, together with the artillery, and all other things by me poſted there; provided that none of his Catholic Majeſty's ſubjects, nor any other perſon, ſhall inhabit, people, or fortify the ſaid iſland; provided alſo, that no prejudice ſhall ariſe to the right of the king my Maſter, to the ſaid iſland, nor to any other dominions or claim that his Britannic Majeſty hath upon this continent. But that his right ſhall remain to the ſaid iſland, and to all other places whatſoever; as if the ſaid garriſon had never been withdrawn; and the ſaid garriſon ſhall withdraw within fourteen days after the ratification of theſe articles.

" Fourthly, I will agree with his excellency the governor of St. Auguſtin, and the council of war, That his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, under my command, ſhall not moleſt, in any manner whatſoever, any of his Catholic Majeſty's ſubjects, provided that his Catholic Majeſty's ſubjects do not moleſt any of his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, nor his allies.

" Fifthly, That concerning any differences that have or ſhall ariſe, concerning the limits of the reſpective government and dominions of the two crowns, ſuch differences ſhall remain undecided, till the determination of the reſpective courts; and that the ſubjects of each crown here, ſhall remain in profound peace, and not in any manner moleſt each other, until the determination of the reſpective courts on this ſubject.

" Laſtly,

" Laſtly, That no perſon ſhall be received from any garriſon in either government, without a paſſport from the governor to whom ſuch perſons belong.

" Given under my hand and ſeal, at Frederica in Georgia, the 27th day of September, 1736.

" By the power to me given, by His Excellency James Oglethorpe, Eſq. governor and director-general of the new colony of Georgia, by his excellency's procuration, bearing date the 27th day of October, in the tenth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord George the Second, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord 1736: I do hereby confirm and ratify the above articles, with his excellency Don Franciſco del Moral Sanches Villegas, captain-general and governor of St. Auguſtin of Florida, and with the council of war of the ſaid garriſon of St. Auguſtin; as witneſs my hand and ſeal, this 26th day of October, 1736."

The counter-part of this treaty, executed by the governor of St. Auguſtin, by the advice, and with the conſent, of a council of war, was certified by Bartholomew Niotto, notary-public, and I have it before me; but as it contains only a repetition of the foregoing articles, it ſeems unneceſſary to inſert it here, ſince what we have already given the reader very ſufficiently explains the nature of this treaty: but it ſeems the governor of St. Auguſtin was not in the ſecret of the court; for the Spaniſh miniſtry at home were very far from being deſirous that a fair correſpondence ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two colonies. On the contrary, they aimed at obliging us to deſiſt from our deſign of ſettling the colony of Georgia; and with this view Sir Thomas Geraldino, on the 1ſt of September, preſented a memorial to his grace the duke of Newcaſtle, in which, among other things, he was pleaſed to ſay, It is indiſputable, that the colony of Georgia was ſettled upon his maſter's dominions; ſo that a plainer proof cannot be had, that the Spaniards were determined, if poſſible, to oblige the crown of Great Britain to give up this ſettlement.

But as it was not very probable, that we ſhould be induced to do this by Sir Thomas Geraldino's memorials, the Spaniſh miniſtry were contriving to do it by force, and by tranſporting troops into the Spaniſh Florida, from the adjacent iſland of Cuba, and other parts of their dominions. It is true, that theſe orders were moſtly given before they had any intelligence of the proviſional treaty concluded between the governor of St. Auguſtin and Mr. Oglethorpe; but when they did know of it, they were ſo far from laying aſide their former deſign, or even from ſuſpending it, that they highly diſapproved of the governor's behaviour in that particular, the rather, perhaps, becauſe it was altogether inconſiſtent with their own projects and pretenſions. It is alſo very probable, that as the Spaniſh councils were at that time wholly guided by thoſe of France, this might contribute not a little to their forming views of expelling us from Georgia, which the French, without doubt, conſider as equally dangerous to them and their ſchemes, or rather more ſo, than to the Spaniards, who, on their ſide, have much more reaſon to be offended with the French ſettlements on the river Miſſiſſippi, than at our new colony of Georgia. But be this as it will, the preparations they made were in their nature ſo open and extraordinary, that it was not long they could be concealed from our governors, and other officers in the Weſt Indies, whoſe duty it was to obſerve, and tranſmit intelligence hither of things of that nature.

The lieutenant-governor of South Carolina, having heretofore acquainted the truſtees by a letter, dated from the council-chamber in Charles Town, the 7th of February, 1636-7, That he had received advice from Commodore Dent, of preparations made by the Spaniards at St. Auguſtin and the Havanna, in order to make an attack on the

colony of Georgia; and the truſtees having, in a memorial to his Majeſty, ſet forth the inability of the colony to protect themſelves againſt ſuch a force as was preparing at the Havanna and St. Auguſtin; his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to order a regiment of ſix hundred effective men to be raiſed, and ſent to Georgia, for the defence and protection of it.

As an encouragement for the ſoldiers good behaviour, the truſtees reſolved to give each of them a property in the colony; and therefore made a grant in truſt, for an allotment of five acres of land to each ſoldier of the regiment, to cultivate for his own uſe and benefit, and to hold the ſame during his continuance in his Majeſty's ſervice. And for a further encouragement, they reſolved, that each ſoldier who at the end of ſeven years ſervice, from the time of his enliſting in the regiment, ſhould be deſirous of quitting his Majeſty's ſervice, and ſhould have his regular diſcharge, and would ſettle in the colony, ſhould, on his commanding officer's certificate of his good behaviour, be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land.

The parliament having taken into conſideration the great expences which the truſtees had been at in making roads through the province, and the ſeveral fortifications in it, and the preſents made to the Indians to engage them firmer in the Britiſh intereſt, and likewiſe the preparations that were making by the Spaniards in order to take or diſtreſs the colony; granted thereupon for this year the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds, for the further ſettling and ſecuring the colony, the truſtees made another embarkation, which conſiſted chiefly of perſecuted German Proteſtants.

In conſequence of ſo conſiderable an augmentation of people, all the towns laid out in Georgia began to be improved, and to receive conſiderable ſupplies; and ſo mindful they were of their ſecurity, that even at Savannah, which was leaſt expoſed to danger, they traced out, and began to build, a conſiderable fort; and in all the frontier places, the utmoſt care was taken to put the fortifications into the beſt poſture of defence that the circumſtances of the province would allow. On the arrival of the regiment, of which Mr. Oglethorpe was appointed colonel, he diſtributed them in the propereſt manner for the ſervice of the colony; but notwithſtanding this was of great eaſe to the truſtees, and a vaſt ſecurity to the inhabitants, yet Colonel Oglethorpe ſtill kept up the ſame diſcipline, and took as much care to form and regulate the inhabitants with reſpect to military affairs as ever. He provided, likewiſe, different corps for different ſervices; ſome for ranging the woods; others, light-armed, for ſudden expeditions; and he likewiſe provided veſſels for ſcouring the ſea-coaſts, and for gaining intelligence. In all which ſervices he gave at the ſame time his orders and his example; there being nothing he did not, which he directed others to do; ſo that if he was the firſt man in the colony, his pre-eminence was founded upon old Homer's maxims: he was the moſt fatigued, and the firſt in danger, diſtinguiſhed by his cares and his labours, not by any exterior marks of grandeur, more eaſily diſpenſed with, ſince they were certainly needleſs.

The ſtrict attention ſhewn by the truſtees for their infant ſettlement was ſo remarkable, and their punctuality in ſupplying what was neceſſary, ſo generally known throughout America, that it was not long before it created ſome inconvenience from the addreſs of ſuch as were deſirous of turning ſuch inſtances of public ſpirit to their private advantage; for ſeveral merchants, and captains of ſhips, had, for their own intereſt, carried into the colony from New York and other places, large cargoes of proviſions, &c. great part of which (to ſave merchants from loſſes) were taken at the ſtore, without proper authority from the truſtees, and an expence created thereby, which the truſtees could not eſtimate, nor have ability to diſcharge, and for which, certified accounts

accounts were returned to them; and therefore the truſtees publiſhed an advertiſement in the London Gazette, and ordered it to be publiſhed in the South Carolina Gazette, and to be affixed on the doors of the ſtore-houſes at Savannah and Frederica, that out of a due regard to public credit they had reſolved, That all expences which they had ordered, or ſhould order, to be made in America, for the uſe of the colony, ſhould be defrayed and paid for in Georgia, in Sola bills of exchange only, under their ſeal; and they gave notice, that no perſon whatſoever had any authority from them, or in their name, or on their account, to purchaſe or receive any cargo of proviſions, ſtores, or neceſſaries, without paying for them in the ſaid Sola bills.

Yet they were as ready as ever in expending money, where it was neceſſary and ſerviceable to the colony; for upon a petition of one Abraham de Lyon, a freeholder of Savannah in Georgia, That he had expended a great ſum in the cultivation of vines, which he had carried from Portugal, and had brought to great perfection; and ſeveral certificates being produced of his great improvements, and of the goodneſs of his grapes, and their thriving in the moſt barren lands in the province, the truſtees aſſiſted him to proceed in his improvements. But, to be the more able to ſupply theſe expences, they took care to be frugal, where it was practicable. And the ſecurity of the colony being provided for by the regiment ſent over by his Majeſty, the parliament gave eight thouſand pounds for the further ſettling the colony; therefore the truſtees ſent over an eſtimate of all the expences which they allowed to be made in the province; by which ſeveral military expences which they had been engaged in for the defence of the colony, and which were very great, were reduced.

In the year 1738 the truſtees ſent over the Reverend Mr. Norris to Frederica, with a ſalary of 50 l. a-year, and orders that a houſe ſhould be built for him, and another provided for the performance of public worſhip, till ſuch time as a church could be erected. But while their cares were thus employed, they met with ſome interruption from unforeſeen accidents, both without and within the province: in reſpect to the former, the aſſembly of South Carolina, having the laſt year paſſed an ordinance for raiſing a ſum to indemnify their traders, in oppoſition to the act, which was approved of by his Majeſty in council, for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia; upon a memorial from the truſtees, complaining of the ſaid ordinance; and upon the petition of the council and aſſembly of South Carolina, againſt the ſaid act, there was a ſolemn hearing before the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations; and afterwards before a committee of the lords of his Majeſty's privy council: whereupon his Majeſty was pleaſed to order, that the ſaid ordinance of aſſembly of South Carolina ſhould be repealed, and declared void; and was pleaſed to ſend an inſtruction to the truſtees, to prepare a proper act, or ordinance, for ſettling the trade, carried on by the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia with the Indians, on ſuch a footing, as might be for the mutual benefit and ſatisfaction of both provinces. And his Majeſty, at the ſame time, was graciouſly pleaſed to give an inſtruction to Samuel Horſey, Eſq. governor, and lieutenant-general of South Carolina, to recommend to the council and aſſembly there, to paſs a law for that purpoſe, in that province. But Samuel Horſey, Eſq. dying ſoon after, and no other governor having ſince gone to South Carolina, that affair remained unſettled. The truſtees immediately ſent to Colonel Oglethorpe a copy of his Majeſty's inſtructions, and deſired that he would conſult with Lieutenant-Governor Bull in South Carolina; that plans of proper acts might be prepared, and ſent over to the truſtees, for their conſideration, in order to anſwer the purpoſes of his Majeſty's inſtructions; and that, in the mean time, the commiſſioners of South Carolina, and

the commiſſioners of Georgia, might proceed in their reſpective provinces, in concert with each other, to carry on a mutual trade to the Indians in both provinces.

In reference to the other ſources of diſturbance and domeſtic diſquiets, they were of different kinds; but the greateſt was owing to a number of perſons enjoying the benevolence due to the colony, without any real merit in themſelves, or juſt title thereto; for which, however, a remedy was ſpeedily provided. The truſtees, both by their letters and inſtructions to the magiſtrates, had conſtantly exhorted and encouraged the people to a cultivation of their lands, on which they were to depend for their ſupport; and as they found that many (as well of thoſe whom they had ſent over as objects of charity, as of others, who at different times had gone into the country from other colonies, for their temporary maintenance) ſtill continued in their idleneſs, and were a burden upon the truſtees; they gave orders for ſtriking off the ſtore, all ſuch as having had time to cultivate their lands had neglected it. This carried from the colony many of thoſe who had gone thither, or joined it from other parts of America, to gain a ſubſiſtence for a year or two, and of others who had not conſidered the hardſhips attending the firſt ſettlement of a country, and were weary of their labour. The truſtees receiving an account, dated February 12, 1738, from their ſecretary of the province, of an uneaſineſs among ſeveral perſons, upon the tenor of their lots being confined to heirs male; and they, conſidering that the colony had been ſome time eſtabliſhed, the people grew more numerous, and a regiment being ſtationed in it, for its defence, whereby the former tenures became leſs neceſſary; did, on the 15th of March following, at their anniverſary meeting, reſolve, that in default of iſſue male, the legal poſſeſſor of land might, by a deed in writing, or by his laſt will and teſtament, appoint his daughter as his ſucceſſor, or any other female relation; with a proviſo that the ſucceſſor ſhould, in the proper court in Georgia, perſonally claim the lot granted and deviſed within eighteen months after the death of the grantor or deviſor. This was ſoon after extended to every legal poſſeſſor being impowered to appoint any other perſon as his ſucceſſor.

The mildeſt governments are often but too ſubject to diſcontents; and though the whole ſtudy of the truſtees was to make their people as eaſy in their private capacities, as their duty to, and concern for, the public, would permit; yet this did not hinder ignorant and malicious perſons, who either could not, or would not, comprehend the true intereſts of the colony, from endeavouring to raiſe freſh diſturbances, for the ſake of obtaining what they thought might be of ſervice to them; and which, if they had judged rationally, they muſt have perceived would have turned to their ruin. In ſhort, part of the people ſettled in Georgia, ſent over a memorial to the truſtees, complaining of the want of a fee-ſimple in their lands, and of not being permitted the uſe of negroes. But thoſe who were ſettled on the frontier, and conſequently moſt expoſed to the Spaniards and others, who, by their own induſtry, had improved their plantations, ſo as to draw from them a comfortable ſubſiſtence, ſent over a contrary memorial; in which they repreſented the diſadvantages and dangers that would ariſe from the permiſſion of negroes.

It likewiſe fell out, that at the very time ſome of the people of Savannah were ſo clamorous for negroes (for ſeventy-five land and freeholders, of whom fifty-two were freeholders, did not apply for them), the province of South Carolina was under frequent alarms, upon account of the negroes there. They had intelligence that a conſpiracy was formed by the negroes in South Carolina to riſe, and forcibly make their way out of the province, to put themſelves under the protection of the Spaniards; who

had proclaimed freedom to all that ſhould run to them from their owners. This conſpiracy was diſcovered at Winyaw, the moſt northern part of that province, from whence as the negroes muſt bend their courſe, it argued, that the other parts of the province muſt be privy to it, and that the riſing was to be univerſal; whereupon the whole province were upon their guard; the number of negroes in South Carolina being computed to be about forty thouſand, and the number of white men, at moſt, not above five thouſand. As ſeveral negroes, who were employed in Perryauguas, and other like craft (which they carried off with them) had taken the benefit of the Spaniards proclamation, and gone to St. Auguſtin, the government of South Carolina ſent a ſolemn deputation to demand their ſlaves. This deputation conſiſted of Mr. Braithwaite, a member of the council; Mr. Rudlidge, one of the aſſembly; and Mr. Binian, clerk of the aſſembly. But the governor of St. Auguſtin, though in time of profound peace, peremptorily refuſed to deliver them up; and declared he had orders to receive all ſuch as ſhould come thither, and protect them. Upon this, and the petitions which were ſent from the Highlanders at Darien, and the Saltzburgers at Ebenezer, repreſenting the danger and the inconvenience of the introduction of negroes; the truſtees ſent, under their ſeal, an anſwer to the repreſentation from ſome of the inhabitants of Savannah.

In this anſwer, which is dated June the 20th, 1739, the truſtees ſay, "That they ſhould deem themſelves very unfit for the truſt repoſed in them by their Majeſty on their behalf, if they could be prevailed on by any ſuch irrational attempt, to give up a conſtitution framed with the greateſt caution, for the preſervation of liberty and property; and of which the laws againſt the uſe of ſlaves, and for the entail of lands, are the ſureſt foundations; and the truſtees are the more confirmed in their opinions of the unreaſonableneſs of this demand, and that they have received notions from Darien, and the other parts of the province, repreſenting the inconvenience and danger which muſt ariſe to the good people of the province, from the introduction of negroes; and as the truſtees themſelves are fully convinced, that beſides the hazards attending of that introduction, it would deſtroy all induſtry among the white inhabitants, and that, by giving them a power to alien their lands, the colony would ſoon be too like its neighbours, void of white inhabitants, filled with blacks, and reduced to be the precarious property of a few, equally expoſed to domeſtic treachery, and foreign invaſion; and therefore the truſtees cannot be ſuppoſed to be in any diſpoſition of granting this requeſt; and if they have not before this, ſignified their diſlike of it, their delay is to be imputed to no other motives but the hopes they had conceived, that time and experience would bring the complainants to a better mind. And the truſtees readily join iſſue with them, in their appeal to poſterity, who ſhall judge between them, who were their beſt friends, thoſe who endeavoured to preſerve for them a property in their lands, by tying up the hands of their unthrifty progenitors, or they who wanted a power to mortgage or alien them? Who were the beſt friends to the colony, thoſe who, with great labour and coſt, had endeavoured to form a colony of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and perſecuted Proteſtants from other parts of Europe; had placed them on a fruitful ſoil, and ſtrove to ſecure them in their poſſeſſions by thoſe arts, which naturally tend to keep the colony full of uſeful and induſtrious people, capable both to cultivate and defend it; or thoſe, who to gratify the greedy and ambitious views of a few negro-merchants, would put it into their power to become ſole owners of the province, by introducing their baneful commodity; which it is well known, by ſad experience, has brought our neighbour colonies to the brink of ruin, by driving out their white inhabitants, who were their glory

and

and ſtrength, to make room for black; who are now become the terror of their unadviſed maſters."

The truſtees had great reaſon for proceeding as they did in this reſpect; ſince among the perſons to whom grants were made, in order to their ſettling at their own expence in the colony, ſome never went over to take them up, or to ſettle at all; others were gentlemen of Carolina, who neglected the proſecution of their grants, and never ſo much as deſired to have their lands laid out; and of the reſt, ſeveral had quitted their plantations, and the laborious life of planters, to go and reſide more at their eaſe at Savannah; where, by the exerciſe of their ſeveral trades and profeſſions, they brought many of their people in debt; and beſides all this, horſe-races and other diverſions were ſet on foot, and ſuch a ſpirit of idleneſs began to prevail, as very eaſily accounted for their eagerneſs in deſiring to have negroes granted them; and plainly ſhewed with what fatal conſequences it muſt have been attended, if the truſtees had not remained firm to their firſt reſolutions, and had not given ſuch an anſwer as ſhewed they were reſolved to preſerve that ſpirit in the colony upon which it was ſettled, and which could alone render it worth that care, which had been hitherto taken of it by the public. However, to make the people as eaſy and contented as they could, they publiſhed an advertiſement in the London Gazette, the 8th of September, 1739, and other papers, which were continued for ſeveral days, and ordered it to be publiſhed in the South Carolina Gazette; that they had reſolved to enlarge their grants on failure of iſſue male, and to make a certain proviſion for the widows of the grantees, in the following manner, viz. that the lands already granted, and ſuch as ſhould hereafter be granted, ſhould, on failure of iſſue male, deſcend to the daughters of ſuch grantees; and in caſe there ſhould be no iſſue male or female, that the grantees might deviſe ſuch lands; and for want of ſuch deviſe, that ſuch lands ſhould deſcend to their heirs at law, with a proviſo that the poſſeſſion of the perſon who ſhould enjoy ſuch deviſe, ſhould not be increaſed to more than five hundred acres; and that the widows of the grantees ſhould hold and enjoy the dwelling houſe, garden, and one moiety of the lands their huſband ſhould die poſſeſſed of, for, and during the term of their lives. The truſtees directed in the advertiſement, that thoſe who intended to have the benefit given them, ſhould enter their reſpective claims, in order that proper grants and conveyances in the law might be forthwith prepared and executed for that purpoſe; and that no fee or reward was to be taken for the entering any ſuch claim, directly or indirectly, by any perſon or perſons whatſoever. It appears clearly from theſe conceſſions, how very deſirous the truſtees were of giving the people, ſettled in Georgia, all imaginable ſatisfaction, conſiſtent with the ſcheme they had formed of ſecuring theſe lands to the actual planters, and thereby prevent thoſe inconveniencies, to which others, particularly the ſouthern colonies were liable, and which would have been ſo much the more fatal in a colony, the chief inducement to eſtabliſh which, was the making a ſtrong frontier.

9. The French, who by degrees grew more and more uneaſy at the ſettlement of Georgia, and our intercourſe with the Indians, began to make uſe of every method they could deviſe, in order to create differences and jealouſies between us and the Creeks, which was no ſooner known, than it greatly alarmed, not only the people ſettled in Georgia, but the whole province of Carolina, from a juſt ſenſe of the danger they ſhould be in, if the French, either by their artifices or preſents, ſhould draw over the Creek Indians to their party, as appears by their applications both to Colonel Oglethorpe, and to the government at home. Upon this Mr. Oglethorpe thought it neceſſary

neceſſary to enter into a cloſe alliance with this nation; and therefore reſolved upon a journey to the Coweta town, though at the diſtance of no leſs than five hundred miles from Frederica, where he then was, and through a country very little known to, and very difficult for Europeans to travel. He provided him, however, with horſes and preſents fit for the purpoſe; ſet out for that place, and after a painful and fatiguing journey, reached it in ſafety, where he was received by the Indians with all imaginable marks of friendſhip and reſpect; and where he had an opportunity of conferring, not only with the chiefs of all the tribes of this nation, but alſo with the deputies of the Choctaws and Chickeſaws, who lie between the Engliſh and French ſettlements, and who had ſent their deputies thither with that view. The conſequence of this meeting was, the making a new, more full, and explicit treaty with the lower Creeks than the former; which was of ſo great conſequence that Colonel Bull, lieutenant-governor of Carolina, declared that if the Creeks could be ſecured, they ſhould be under no apprehenſions from the intrigues of the French with the other nations; and, that this was effectually done, the reader will perceive from the peruſal of the treaty then concluded with that nation; of which the following is a copy from an inſtrument, containing the exemplification of the ſaid treaty, under the ſeal of the province of Georgia, with all the neceſſary certificates from the magiſtrates indorſed thereupon; and which ought therefore to be conſidered as the moſt authentic evidence of that gentleman's diligence, zeal and ſucceſs, in the ſervice of his country, and of the Britiſh colonies in America.

Proceedings of the aſſembled Eſtates of all the Lower Creek Nations, held on Saturday, the 11th day of Auguſt, Anno Domini 1739.

"By powers from His Moſt Sacred Majeſty George the Second, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. General James Oglethorpe being appointed commiſſioner, was preſent in the behalf of his Majeſty, and opened the aſſembly by a ſpeech. There were alſo preſent at the ſaid aſſembly of eſtates, the mico, or king of the Coweta town; Chickley Ninia, mico of the ſaid town; Malachio, mico, ſon of Brim, late emperor of the Creek nation, and the chief men and warriors of the Coweta towns; the mico or chief king of the Cuſſitas; and Sciſkeligo, mico, next to the king of the Cuſſitas; Iſkeigo, third chief man of the Cuſſitas, and the other chief men and warriors of the ſaid town; and alſo Ocakchapakho, and the chief men of the town of Polachuchulas; Kolatto, chief war-captain, and other chief men and warriors; being deputies, ſent with full powers to conclude all things neceſſary for the ſaid town. Tawmawme, mico of the Uſawles, with ſeveral other chief men and warriors; being deputies ſent with full powers to conclude all things neceſſary for the ſaid town. Metalcheko, war-captain of the Echetees, with ſeveral other chief men and warriors; being deputies ſent with full powers to conclude all things for the ſaid town. Neathacklo, chief man of Oſcachees, with ſeveral other chief men and warriors, ſent with full powers to conclude all things for the ſaid town. Occullaveche, chief man of the Checaws, with ſeveral other chief men and warriors; being deputies ſent with full powers to conclude all things for the ſaid town. Howanawge Thalacko, chief man of the Oxmulges, with ſeveral other chief men and warriors; being deputies ſent with powers to conclude all things for the ſaid town. The mico, or chief king of the Occouys, with ſeveral chief men and warriors, having full powers to conclude all things for the ſaid town. Nealhoclo, a ſecond chief man of the Swales, with ſeveral other chief men and warriors; being deputies ſent with full powers to conclude all things for the

ſaid town. The ſaid eſtates being ſolemnly held, and opened at the great ſquare in the town of Coweta, and adjourned from thence to the town Cuſſitas; and the deputies having drank black drink together, according to the ancient cuſtom of their nation (being a religious form tranſmitted down by their anceſtors), the whole eſtates declared, by a general conſent without one negative, that they adhered in their ancient love to the king of Great Britain, and to their agreements made in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-three, with the truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia in America; a counter-part of which agreement was then delivered to each town; and the deputies of the ſeveral towns produced the ſame; and farther declared, that all the dominions, territories and lands, from the river Savannah, to the river St. John's, and all the iſlands between the ſaid rivers; and from the river St. John's to the bay Appallache, within which are all the Appallache old fields; and from the ſaid bay of Appallache to the mountains; doth by ancient right belong to the Creek nation, and they have maintained poſſeſſion of the ſaid right, againſt all oppoſers by war; and can ſhew the heaps of bones of their enemies ſlain by them in defence of the ſaid lands. And the ſaid eſtates further declare, that the Creek nation hath for ages, had the protection of the kings and queens of England, and that the Spaniards, nor no other nation, have any right to any of the ſaid lands, and that they will not ſuffer them, or any other perſon, except the truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia in America, to ſettle on the ſaid lands. And they do acknowledge, by the grant they have already made to the truſtees for eſtabliſhing a colony of Georgia in America, all the lands upon the Savannah river, as far as the river Ogeeche; and all the lands along the ſea coaſt, as far the river St. John's, and as high as the tide flows, and all the iſlands as far as the ſaid river, particularly the iſlands of Frederica, Cumberland, and Amelia, to which they have given the names of his Majeſty's family, out of gratitude to him. But they declare, that they did and do reſerve to the Creek nation, all the land from Pipemakes Bluff, to Havannah and the iſlands of St. Catharina, Oſſebaw, and Sappalo. And they further declare, that the ſaid lands are held by the Creek nation as tenants in common. And the ſaid commiſſioner doth declare, that the Engliſh ſhall not enlarge, or take up any other lands except theſe granted as above by the Creek Indian nation to the truſtees; and doth promiſe and covenant, that he will puniſh any perſon that ſhall intrude upon the ſaid lands which the Creek nation hath reſerved as above. Given under my hand and ſeal this 21ſt day of Auguſt, at the Coweta town, 1739. "JAMES OGLETHORPE."

At this diſtance, it is a very difficult if not impracticable thing, to give the reader a clear and diſtinct intelligence of the difficulties ſurmounted, and the advantages acquired by Mr. Oglethorpe's journey, and his ſucceſs in concluding this alliance; we will, however, endeavour to repreſent them as clearly and as fully as we can. In the firſt place, his making ſuch a journey as this, gained him a great reputation with the Indians; impreſſed upon them ſentiments of deep reſpect for the Engliſh nation, and of particular affection for the colony of Georgia. At the ſame time it ſtruck the French with amazement; ſome of their governors of Canada had indeed made conſiderable journeys from Quebec in order to confer with the Indians, and to conclude treaties with them; but then they always thought it requiſite to be well attended, and never made theſe excurſions but at the head of a conſiderable body of regular troops. Whereas General Oglethorpe had no ſuch attendants, but relied entirely on the good faith of the Indians, and of his own behaviour towards them. He knew the conſequence of their living in ſincere amity with the Engliſh; and he was willing to run any perſonal hazard

hazard neceſſary to eſtabliſh it. In ſhort, he found it requiſite for the welfare of the colony which he had ſettled, that they ſhould be able to place an intire confidence in the Indians, and the Indians in them; which reciprocal confidence he actually procured, by repoſing himſelf entirely on their faith; and by the treaty that he concluded with them.

His coming to the Coweta town diſſipated all their fears, and extinguiſhed all their jealouſies; they told him ſo fairly in their firſt conferences. They ſaid it had been inſinuated to them, that he was come into that country to deprive them of their land; and that they had been aſſured, he was actually preparing to invade them; but they were now convinced that theſe were all falſhoods and calumnies; that he really meant them all the good they could expect; and that inſtead of injuring them by the ſettlement he was making, it would prove a new ſecurity to them, as well as to the Engliſh; and put it out of the power of their common enemies to hurt either. For which reaſon they were on their parts, ready to do all that he could expect from them, and were perfectly ſatisfied that he would perform his engagements towards them, with the like punctuality. There is no wonder therefore, if the French were exceſſively alarmed on the news of this conference, and of the alliance which General Oglethorpe had concluded; ſince they could conſider it in no other light than as the firſt ſtep to a general confederacy with all the Indian nations that had met at, or ſent deputies to the Coweta town; from whence they foreſaw many and great inconveniences to themſelves; for, in the firſt place, this new treaty with the Creeks, defeated all the meaſures they had been taking, unravelled all their deſigns, and connected that nation more cloſely than ever with the Engliſh, which in itſelf was a very great and unlooked for diſappointment.

But that was not all, they clearly comprehended that by this means we ſhould not only keep our old friends, but draw off alſo ſome of theirs. Of all the nations that bordered upon them, they are moſt afraid of the Chickeſaws, whom they look upon as the fierceſt and braveſt race of Indians in America, with whom they have never been upon good terms, more eſpecially ſince the year 1731, when they diſcovered, or pretended to diſcover a deſign they had formed, to ſurpriſe and deſtroy all their advanced ſettlements. They were alſo in a very great fear of the Choctaws, or as the French call them Tchoctas, both becauſe they are a very numerous nation, and are ſo ſituated as to be able at any time, to diſturb and diſquiet their ſettlements. But it ſoon appeared by experience, that the new treaty operated ſucceſsfully, ſince the governor of New York, having given information to Colonel Bull, of Carolina, of the march of a body of French troops, and Indians from Quebec, with intent to attack the Indians in friendſhip with England; but though this put the people of Carolina and Georgia upon their guard, there followed nothing from it; for the French found the Indians well prepared and diſpoſed to receive them, and therefore deſiſted from their deſign, for fear it ſhould produce a general war, that might prove fatal to the colonies on the Miſſiſſippi river; the people of which were exceſſively apprehenſive of what might happen from the general confederacy of the neighbouring Indians againſt them.

The truſtees proceeded as vigorouſly as it was poſſible in the execution of every part of their ſcheme; and having, with ſuch unwearied diligence, provided for the ſettlement of a new colony, and for the ſecurity of its frontiers, they began next to employ their ſkill and pains to promote all kinds of improvements; and were eſpecially ſolicitous to obtain from thence ſome ſpecimens of the poſſibility of raiſing, in that country, the commodities that were expected from it. They very well knew that this required hard labour, and that nothing had accrued to Great Britain worth ſpeaking of, from

any of the colonies in America, in many years longer than this ſettlement of Georgia had been made. But on the other hand, they alſo knew that the Engliſh nation was naturally impatient; that great ſums of money had been iſſued for the ſervice of this colony; that great expectations were had of it; and that, if nothing ſoon appeared, however certain in themſelves, and juſt in their nature, no excuſes would prevail. They therefore recommended it to their ſervants in Georgia, to uſe their utmoſt ſkill and diligence in promoting the culture of mulberry trees and ſilk, ſo that it might be, at leaſt, demonſtrated, that they were not deceived in their expectations; but that in due time, and with reaſonable encouragement, the nation might hope to ſee a full return in that commodity, for the expence ſhe had been, and muſt be, at, in bringing the colony of Georgia to perfection. For they perſuaded themſelves, that from the methods they had uſed in ſending over proper perſons for the management of that buſineſs, their demands, with a due degree of care and diligence in their ſervants, might be anſwered, which would afford them an anſwer to all objections.

A parcel of raw ſilk was accordingly brought this year from Georgia, by Mr. Samuel Augſpourguer, who made an affidavit before a maſter in chancery, that he received it from the hands of Mr. Thomas Jones, the truſtees ſtore-keeper at Savannah, who told him it was the produce of Georgia; and the ſaid Samuel Augſpourguer, who reſided in the ſouthern part of the province, ſaid, that when at Savannah, he ſaw the Italian family there winding off ſilk from the coquons. The ſilk was ſhewed at the truſtees office, to Mr. John Zacary, an eminent raw-ſilk merchant, and Mr. Booth, one of the greateſt ſilk-weavers in England, who declared it was as fine as any Italian ſilk; and that it was worth, at leaſt, twenty ſhillings a pound. This Mr. Samuel Augſpourguer, who joined the colony in the beginning of the year 1736, left it in July 1739, with two men ſervants and their children, on his plantation, and came over to obtain a grant of five hundred acres of land, and to get ſome of his countrymen from the canton of Bern in Switzerland, to go with him as ſervants, on his return to Georgia, in order to proceed more effectually in the cultivation of his lands.

The truſtees, this year, alſo took further methods for the ſatisfaction of the people in the province. They extended the tenures, by which the daughter of a grantee, or any other perſon, was made capable of enjoying, by deviſe, or inheritance, any quantity of lands which did not increaſe her or his poſſeſſion, to more than two thouſand acres. A licence was alſo granted for all the preſent poſſeſſors of land in Georgia, to make leaſes of any part of their lots, for any term not exceeding three years, to any perſon reſiding in Georgia, and who ſhould reſide there, during the term of ſuch leaſe. A general releaſe was likewiſe paſſed, by which no advantage was to be taken againſt any of the preſent poſſeſſors of land in Georgia, for any forfeiture incurred at any time before Chriſtmas 1740, to the tenure or cultivation of land; and the poſſeſſors of fifty acres were not obliged to cultivate more than five acres thereof, in ten years from their grants; and thoſe of under fifty acres in proportion; and the poſſeſſors of five hundred acres of land were not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty acres thereof, in twenty years from their grants; and thoſe of under five hundred acres, and above fifty acres, in proportion, to prevent any forfeiture for want of cultivating the quantities required. Under theſe circumſtances it is preſumed that no complaint can now, with reaſon, be made againſt the tenure, by which the inhabitants at this time hold their lands, ſince they have more power than is generally given by marriage ſettlements, in which the grantees are only tenants for life, incapable of mortgaging, or alienating, or making any diſpoſition by their laſt will; whereas the freeholders in Georgia are now become tenants in tail-general, and may, with the licence of the com-

mon council of the truſtees, upon application made to them for that purpoſe, mortgage, or alien, and further, without application, have it abſolutely in their power, on failure of iſſue in tail, to diſpoſe thereof by their laſt will. At leaſt this was all the truſtees thought themſelves at liberty to do, conſidering the obligation they were under to the public, as well as to the ſettlement; and that they were as much bound to provide, that the nation had a juſt ſatisfaction for what ſhe diſburſed in favour of the colony, as that the inhabitants of Georgia ſhould be made eaſy in their ſettlements, and meet with ſufficient encouragement to proceed with induſtry in all their undertakings; and with this double view, to the ſervice of the public, and the welfare of the ſettlement, all their applications at home, and all their directions abroad, are to be referred.

9. We have now run through the hiſtory of this province for above ſeven years, that is, from the time of projecting ſuch a ſettlement as this on the ſouth frontier of Carolina, to the carrying that deſign into execution, and bringing the new province into ſome tolerable degree of order; and, in the courſe of our hiſtory, we have had occaſion to obſerve, from time to time, what care and circumſpection has been uſed, to render it uſeful to thoſe ends for which it was intended. We have taken notice of the ſenſe which the whole province of Carolina had of the neceſſity, as well as expedience, of ſuch a ſettlement. We have ſhewn, that thoſe who were ſent over were diſciplined in ſuch a manner, as to be able to defend, as well as acquire, property. We have ſet down the reaſons why negroes were prohibited; and thoſe reaſons very clearly prove, that the colony could not have anſwered any of thoſe ends for which it was eſtabliſhed, if negroes had been permitted. We have given ſome account, and, if the bounds of of this chapter would have permitted, we ſhould have given a further account, of the jealouſies entertained by the Spaniards and the French on account of this ſettlement, which we conceive to be ſo many demonſtrative proofs of its utility. We have given the reader a large extract from the memorial of the aſſembly of South Carolina, ſetting forth, in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt terms, the wants of that province, and the points in which they ſtood in need of aſſiſtance. We have ſhewn, by a plain narrative of facts, how agreeable the conduct of General Oglethorpe was to the demands of that memorial; and how far, by the happy ſucceſs attending thoſe endeavours, they have been anſwered, more eſpecially by his laſt treaty with the Creek Indians, which, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, has effectually anſwered his ends and theirs, ſo as not only to come up to, but even to exceed and go beyond, their expectations. We have likewiſe, from time to time, exhibited the alterations that in compliance with the people's deſires, the truſtees have thought fit to make in their conſtitution, for the eaſe and encouragement of the planters. And we have likewiſe given an inſtance, that they have not been diſappointed in their views as to the produce of this new colony; but that it is both poſſible and practicable to make therein as good ſilk as we can purchaſe with money (which is, generally ſpeaking, the caſe at preſent), from any part of the world.

It remains, according to the plan that we have laid down, to give a deſcription of this new province in the manner it is now ſettled, that the reader may ſee what the fruits have been of the care and expence of the legiſlature, the prudence and attention of the truſtees, and the vigilance and activity of thoſe intruſted by them in the management of their affairs in this part of the world. And though, as yet, they have not received ſo copious and ſo exact a deſcription of their new colony as they expect; yet, from what we are enabled to ſay upon this ſubject, it will inconteſtibly appear, that much has been done, that many towns have been ſettled, great improvements made in the neighbourhood of each of them, ſeveral fortreſſes erected, due care taken of the

frontiers, and, in a word, as much performed as could be rationally expected in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and all circumſtances conſidered.

The town of Savannah is about ten miles up the river Savannah. There are, beſides warehouſes and huts, at leaſt one hundred and thirty houſes in the town. As theſe, for the ſake of air, and to prevent the ſpreading of any fire, are built at ſome diſtance from each other, they make ſeveral ſpacious ſquares and wide ſtreets. There is a regular magiſtracy ſettled in the town, which the truſtees are obliged to be at the expence of ſupporting, till the colony arrives at ſufficient ſtrength to do it. There are, in the town a court-houſe, a ſtore-houſe, a gaol, a houſe for the truſtees ſervants, a wharf, a guard-houſe, and ſome other public buildings. A church is at preſent building, and a clergyman is ſettled there. The town is excellently ſituated for trade, the navigation of the river being very ſecure, and ſhips of three hundred tons can lie within ſix yards of the town, and the worm does not eat into them. About four miles from Savannah, inland from the river, are the two villages, Highgate and Hamſtead, which lie at about a mile diſtance from each other; the people ſettled there apply themſelves chiefly to gardening, and ſupply the town of Savannah with quantities of greens, and garden-ſtuff; there are twenty plantations within twenty miles round Savannah, which have each of them from five to thirty acres of land, ſhared.

About fifteen miles from Savannah is a village called Abercorn; about twenty miles farther up the river is the town of Ebenezer, where the Saltſburgers are ſettled with two miniſters; one of whom computed, that the number of his congregation, in July 1738, conſiſted of one hundred and forty-ſix; therefore, as the infants could not be reckoned in the computation, and as ſeven more have ſince been ſent and ſettled with them, it is believed the numbers have increaſed, eſpecially ſince the town is ſo healthly, that by a letter ſent to the ſociety for promoting Chriſtian knowledge, by the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, one of the miniſters at Ebenezer, dated the 26th of June 1740, he declared, that in a year's time one perſon only had died, which was a child fourteen years old. The people are induſtrious and ſober, they raiſe not only a ſufficient quantity of corn and other produce for their own ſubſiſtence; but they ſell great quantities to thoſe at Savannah, who have not been ſo careful of their plantations. They have great herds of cattle, and are in ſo thriving a condition that not one perſon has abandoned his ſettlement, or ſent over the leaſt complaint about the tenures, or the want of negroes; on the contrary, they in a body petitioned againſt the uſe of negroes; and their miniſters have declared, that their ſigning that petition was a voluntary act; and at their deſire another embarkation of their countrymen, who are willing to go from Germany and join them, is deſigned to be ſent with all convenient ſpeed.

About ten miles from hence, upon a river running into Savannah, is a place called Old Ebenezer, where is a cow-pen, and a great number of cattle for the uſe of the public, and for breeding. At a conſiderable diſtance from hence is the town of Auguſta, before deſcribed, which, from the great reſort of traders and Indians, is in a thriving condition, and is, and will be, a great protection to both the provinces of Carolina and Georgia againſt any deſigns of the French. In the ſouthern part of the province is the town of New Inverneſs, upon the River Altamaha, where the Highlanders are ſettled. And about twenty miles from hence, on the iſland of St. Simon, near the ſea, is the town of Frederica, with a regular magiſtracy as at Savannah, ſupported at the expence of the truſtees; ſtrong fortifications round the town are almoſt finiſhed. And at the ſouth-eaſt point of the iſland, are barracks for three hundred and thirty men. There are ſettlements on the iſlands of Iekyl and Cumberland, which lie a ſmall

a ſmall diſtance from each other to the ſouthward of Frederica; and on the laſt two forts are built, one of which was deſcribed before, and the other was finiſhed in April 1740.

Upon the ſouth end of the iſland it commands the inlet of Amelia Sound, is ſtrongly palliſaded with ſtankets, and is defended by eight pieces of cannon; barracks are built upon this iſland for two hundred and twenty men, with ſtore-houſes, which were finiſhed in October 1738. There are ſix forts in the province, and a battery of cannon erected to ſecure the harbour at St. Simon's, under which ſhips may ſafely lie. The Indians, from the preſents which they have annually received from the truſtees, and from the juſtice and humanity with which they have been treated, are ſecured, in the Britiſh intereſt, notwithſtanding the arts both of the French and Spaniards to ſeduce them. By this, South Carolina has been free from wars, in which (as the preamble to his Majeſty's charter ſet forth) they had frequently ſuffered, and ſo late as the year 1715 had been laid almoſt waſte with fire and ſword; and by the ſecurity which South Carolina received by ſuch a frontier as Georgia is to it, very large tracts of land have been cultivated in the ſouthern part of that province, which no perſon would venture to ſettle on before; and a great quantity of rice raiſed thereon.

This is a clear proof of the injuſtice of ſuppoſing that the nation hath hitherto received no advantage from this colony; ſince whatever has been gained by Carolina, in virtue of the protection ſhe enjoys by the ſettlement of this new province, ought to be looked upon and conſidered as the produce of Georgia; and though even this may not be any great matter hitherto, yet as it is an inſtance of the benefits to be expected from this colony it ought to be kindly accepted, as an earneſt of better things. As to the number of people ſent over to, and ſettled in, Georgia, within the ſpace of eight years, they amounted to upwards of two thouſand, taking in thoſe that went at their own expence, which, if compared with the ſmall number of people that were in Carolina, after it had been ſettled forty years, will enable us to diſtinguiſh between the conſequences of attention to private profit, and concern for the public good: to ſay the truth; of all the methods that have been hitherto tried, in fixing colonies in diſtant parts of the world, this may very truly and on good grounds be pronounced the beſt; becauſe by it due proviſion is made, that the people ſent over ſhall all be carefully ſettled and well taken care of, and ſupported from time to time with proper ſupplies; that this care ſhould not ceaſe immediately, on their having plantations, but be continued till the people are in a condition to ſupport themſelves.

By this method towns are formed, not at random and by chance, but in proper ſituations, and for good reaſons; not purely for the ſake of immediate advantage, but with views to the general good, and future benefit of the colony. By this means, every ſtep made by the riſing plantation may be directed to public uſe, and every meaſure be calculated for the ſervice of the mother-country; which cannot be expected where grants are made to the uſe, and for the ſervice, of particular people, where numbers of men tranſport themſelves for the ſake of a better livelihood, at their own expence, or where people are tranſported againſt their will; ſince in all theſe caſes it is to be preſumed, that men will follow the bias of their inclinations or intereſts; but as in this caſe, where the public is at the expence, and where the management is intruſted with perſons of diſtinction for the benefit of the public, nothing of this kind can happen; they will be ſure to diſcharge their duty, and in proportion as the colony increaſes and anſwers the ends of thoſe who compoſe it, it will be likewiſe ſure to anſwer thoſe ends for which it was ſettled. Beſides all this, the form of government, the enacting proper laws, and

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the ſpirit originally infuſed into the people, will render ſuch a colony more dutiful and obſervant to her mother-country, than any that want theſe advantages.

Laſtly, we may be ſure that in ſuch a colony, the produce will be managed moſt to the advantage of the country from whence it is ſettled; as for inſtance in this of which we are ſpeaking, due care will be certainly taken that they do not run into the cultivation of ſuch commodities as are already produced in the neighbouring colonies, but bend their endeavours to the promoting of ſuch as have not been yet raiſed to any great advantage in thoſe colonies, though perhaps their ſoil and climate were ſufficiently fit for them. Flax, which as we have before ſhewn, may be cultivated here to the greateſt advantage, will be certainly attended to; and ſo alſo potaſhes and ſilk, which above all things claim our care, of which we had formerly great hopes from Virginia; and with a view of obtaining of which Carolina was actually ſettled; but in both we were diſappointed for want of ſome proper authority to direct a continued application in the planters ſettled there for that purpoſe, without which nothing that does not turn to large profit immediately can be brought to perfection; but in colonies ſettled by truſtees, their recommendation will go far, their authority farther enforce what they deſire, and premiums enable them with certainty to procure ſucceſs; as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter.

Our aim at preſent is to prove the excellency of this method of ſettling, which far ſurpaſſes that of eſtabliſhing excluſive companies, as will be evident if we conſider that they regard their own profit ſolely, and as ſoon as they have fallen into ways of promoting it effectually, they forget the obligation received from the public, as is but too evident in many caſes, and has juſtly occaſioned almoſt a general outcry againſt ſuch companies; whereas a board of truſtees conſtituted for a limited time, inſpect the concerns, and promote the welfare, of a riſing colony, and by their commiſſion ceaſe to have power over it when their care is no longer neceſſary; but as for companies, they keep all who belong to them continually in leading-ſtrings, and never conſider how trading may be made beneficial to a nation in general; but how it may be ordered ſo as to become moſt beneficial to themſelves. But it is time to quit theſe reflections, in order to reſume the thread of our hiſtory, and to ſhew how, after a few years peace, this colony became ſtrong enough, not only to hold up her head and preſerve her being, but to repulſe her enemies, and prove a ſecurity to all her neighbours in time of war; a thing wonderful in all reſpects, and of which poſterity will ſpeak with admiration, though from an unaccountable negligence, and want of attention, in the preſent age, we are ſcarce ſo well acquainted with that tranſaction as it deſerves.

11. The government in Great Britain having, after many repeated inſults and provocations, found themſelves under a neceſſity of obtaining ſatisfaction from Spain by force, a ſquadron for that purpoſe was ſent to the Weſt Indies, and orders iſſued to the governors of our reſpective colonies, and others his Majeſty's officers in America, to annoy the Spaniards by all methods poſſible. Theſe orders were received by Mr. Oglethorpe, in quality of general commander in chief, in the latter end of the month of September 1739. Whereupon he immediately conſidered of ways and means for putting them in execution; in order to which he put his own regiment, and all the forces he could raiſe in Georgia, into the beſt condition poſſible. He ſent to inform the Cherokees, and other Indian allies, of the ſituation that affairs were in, and to impower them to enter into the Spaniſh territories. He alſo ſent up to Charles Town to acquaint the governor and aſſembly with the preſent poſture of things; and to acquaint them with his readineſs to undertake an expedition againſt St. Auguſtin; for the joint ſervice of Carolina and Georgia. The plain reaſon that he was deſirous

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of beginning to act offenſively againſt the Spaniards was, to raiſe the ſpirits of his own people, to divert the Spaniards from the deſigns which they were forming to our prejudice, and to keep the war at the greateſt diſtance poſſible.

It is very clear, that from the ſituation of things in Georgia, it was altogether impoſſible for him to obtain a force ſufficient for the execution of theſe deſigns, without the aſſiſtance of the province of Carolina; and as it was of equal importance to that province, that thoſe deſigns ſhould be carried into execution, it was but reaſonable for him to expect, that all the aſſiſtance poſſible ſhould be given him. Governor Bull, upon the General's application, acquainted the aſſembly of Carolina with what had been propoſed; and as they were very ſenſible of the importance of the undertaking, of the views the Spaniards had to their prejudice, and of the preparations they were making to annoy both provinces, they ſhewed a diſpoſition to give him what aſſiſtance was in their power.

But at the ſame time that they had theſe inclinations, they could not help conſidering the ſituation of the province, which under its circumſtances at that time, was very far from being in a condition to enter into a large expence, unleſs there was a great probability of ſucceſs; by which it ſeems they underſtood the reducing the fortreſs of St. Auguſtin, with the ſtrength of which, as it was a regular fortification, had always in it a good garriſon, and was highly conſidered by the Spaniards, they were very well acquainted; and they knew, beſides, that ſeveral former attempts upon that place had been diſappointed. That they might act therefore in ſuch a manner as might equally ſhew their zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, and their regard for the welfare of their conſtituents, the aſſembly directed, that General Oglethorpe ſhould be deſired to explain himſelf fully, as to the nature of the aſſiſtance he expected, and the ends he conceived it might anſwer, in caſe they ſhould agree to grant him the aſſiſtance he required.

Upon which the General, by the following letter, dated at Frederica, December the 29th, 1739, laboured to give them all the ſatisfaction that was poſſible, as well in regard to the matters under their conſideration, as with reſpect to his own conduct, in reference to the deſigns he had in view, and the aſſiſtance he expected. This letter was conceived in the following terms, viz. "I ſend up with this an officer to concert meaſures for the ſiege of St. Auguſtin; it will be neceſſary to have twelve cannons of eighteen pounders each, with two hundred ſhot for each gun, and powder proportionable; one mortar-piece, and bombs, with powder ſufficient; eight hundred pioneers, negroes or white men, with tools ſufficient for that number of men; ſuch as ſpades, hoes, axes, and hatchets, to dig trenches, make gabelines, and facines. If they are negroes, there muſt be white men ſufficient to guard them, and overſee them; veſſels and boats ſufficient to carry the artillery-men, proviſions, &c. We ſhall have one thouſand Indians; ſix thouſand buſhels of corn will be neceſſary to feed them, or rice proportionable; alſo as many horſemen as can be had, who may paſs over the river Savannah, and paſſing the Oakmulgy, and Orony, and from thence to the ferry, on the river Alata, where they may paſs over into the Spaniſh Florida. Captain M'Pherſon, or Mr. Jones of Ponpon, can ſhew them the path; for I ſhould think the people of Carolina would do very well to raiſe a troop of rangers, under the command of Captain M'Pherſon, who is a very good officer. Captain Warren aſſured me that he would be very willing to aſſiſt in convoying the veſſels, and in carrying cannon, &c. The Cherokee Indians have promiſed me to be down in March; I have not heard from the Creek nation lately, but I expect them down about the ſame time, and have had a party of them with me for ſome months. I can march four hundred men of the regiment, and leave ſufficient for the garriſons behind me. I have ordered three troops of

twenty

twenty men each to be raiſed, but I have been diſappointed of horſes by Captain Cuthbert's death, ſo I have got yet only twelve. If the Carolina people will pay them, I believe they may raiſe fifty very good men at Purriſburg. I ſhould deſire four months proviſions for four hundred men of the regiment, of rice and meat, with boats for carrying it to St. Auguſtin, at the rate of one pound of each per diem for each man. I have thirty-ſix cohorns, and about eighteen hundred ſhells: of the people of the province of Georgia I cannot draft many, becauſe I muſt not leave the country naked; and, as they are poor, if they neglect their planting ſeaſon, it will be difficult for them to ſubſiſt; therefore I would only raiſe two hundred, which is equal to the number of ſoldiers I ſhall leave behind, and this I cannot do unleſs I can pay them. I believe they will be content with 9l. Carolina currency per month, and ſix pounds of meat, and ſix pounds of rice, each per week, beſides which there muſt be pay to the officers. Therefore, if the aſſembly ſhould grant me a ſum ſufficient to pay them, and the proviſions, I would raiſe the men. This is my opinion with relation to the preparations for diſlodging the Spaniards at St. Auguſtin, without which we certainly cannot do it. The legiſlative power of Carolina will be the beſt judges of the ſervice it will be to them. For my own part, I think that if we do not take this happy opportunity of attacking St. Auguſtin whilſt it is weak, the Havanna being blocked up by our men of war, which renders them incapable of receiving ſuccours from Cuba, all North America, as well as Carolina and this province, will feel it ſeverely. As ſoon as the ſea is free, they will ſend a large body of troops from Cuba. You remember the account you ſent to England, of the preparations ſome time ſince made at Havanna; every thing is there ſtill, and if they ſhould come up and land in Florida, we muſt then make a defenſive war, and they may then chuſe who they will attack ſeparately. They may moleſt all North America with their privateers, and if they can by any means get the ſtart of the men of war, they can run into ſhoal-water, where they cannot follow them. I am willing myſelf to do all I poſſibly can for annoying the enemy as his Majeſty has ordered, and ſhall ſpare no perſonal labour or danger towards freeing Carolina of a place from whence their negroes are encouraged to maſſacre their maſters, and are openly harboured after ſuch attempts. The Spaniards attacked the iſland of Amelia, and murdered two men there; I, to return their civility, landed in Florida; the Spaniſh horſe with a party of negroes and Indians advanced as if they intended to attack us; but before they were within two miles of us went very faſt off. Our Indians purſued them to their forts, and killed one of the negroes who had run away from Carolina, within a few miles of St. Auguſtin. I hope you will excuſe this long letter, and believe me to be, &c."

It is very clear from this letter, that the general meant to make the aſſembly of Carolina perfectly acquainted with his intentions, and with every thing relating to the execution of them; and that this might be more fully and effectually done, he went himſelf to Charles Town, where, after many conferences and much deliberation on both ſides, a ſcheme of action was agreed upon, and an act of aſſembly was paſſed April the 5th 1740, for carrying the ſame into execution; the Carolina regiment for this ſervice was raiſed, and put under the command of Colonel Vanderduſſen, and Mr. Oglethorpe, as general and commander in chief, publiſhed a proclamation, ſettling the terms of the expedition, and amongſt other things declared that he would give whatever ſhare of plunder came to him as commander in chief, towards the relief of ſuch men as might happen to be maimed or wounded, towards the aſſiſtance of the widows and children of ſuch as might be killed, and towards rewarding thoſe that might diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice. All things being prepared for entering upon this expedition,

pedition, with the troops of both provinces; the rendezvous for all the forces was appointed at the mouth of St. John's river, where, accordingly, moſt of them arrived the 9th of May. But ſome time before this the general had attacked and taken St. Francis de Pupa, a little Spaniſh fort, wherein were a ſerjeant and twelve ſoldiers, about ſeventeen miles from St. Auguſtin.

From the mouth of St. John's River the army marched on the 10th of May to attack Fort Diego, about twenty miles diſtant; which fort had nine ſwivels, two carriage guns of two pound ſhot, and fifty men; and having ſurrounded it, on the 12th they ſent in a Spaniſh priſoner with a drum, to ſummon the garriſon, who immediately capitulated on the following conditions: 1ſt. The garriſon to ſurrender priſoners of war, and deliver up the fort, with the guns and ſtores, to the king of Great Britain. 2dly, That they ſhould have liberty to keep their baggage, and not be plundered. 3dly, That Seignior Diego Spinoſa, to whom the fort belonged, being built at his expence, and on his lands, ſhould hold his lands, ſlaves, and ſuch other effects as were not already plundered in the field. 4thly, That no deſerters or runaways from Carolina, ſhould have the benefit of this capitulation, but be ſurrendered at diſcretion. This fort was garriſoned by ſixty of the general's forces; and from thence they returned to the place of rendezvous, where they were joined by Colonel Vanderduſſen, with the reſt of the Carolina regiment, on the 19th of May, whence they marched again to Diego the 31ſt; and from thence, in two days, to Fort Mooſa, in view of, and near two miles diſtant from St. Auguſtin, and twenty-three from Diego. The Spaniards having deſerted Mooſa, the general ordered the gates to be burnt, and three breaches to be made in the walls, which was plainly with a deſign to prevent any of his own people from taking poſt within the place.

They then proceeded with the whole army to reconnoitre the town and caſtle, after which they returned back to Diego; from thence the general ordered Colonel Vanderduſſen to march with his regiment, and take poſſeſſion of Point Quartell, lying to the north of the bar, and ſeparated from Port Mooſa by a creek; while the general, with about two hundred and ſixty men of his regiment, and the greateſt part of the Indians embarked on board the men of war, and arrived at the iſland of Anaſtatia, oppoſite to the caſtle; leaving behind him on the Main but between ninety and one hundred white men, highlanders and others, in his pay, with forty-two Indians, and two commiſſioned officers, to alarm the Spaniards on that ſide; but he gave a verbal command of the whole to Colonel Palmer, a volunteer from that province. About the ſame time two hundred ſailors, from the ſhips, were landed upon that iſland, which the Spaniards directly abandoned, under the command of Captain Warren, Captain Law, and the honourable Captain Townſend, who were all very inſtrumental in that ſervice.

While things were in this ſituation, the Spaniards, on the 15th of June, marched a very conſiderable body of their forces from St. Auguſtin, in the grey of the morning, in order to attack the people under Colonel Palmer, at Mooſa, in which they were but too ſucceſsful; ſince they ſurprized the people that were there, cut many of them to pieces, and took part of the reſt priſoners, which was owing to the neglect of the orders given them not to ſhut themſelves up in a place which had been diſmantled and ruined, on purpoſe to ſhew that the general did not intend to keep or uſe it as a fortification. But the conveniency of lying under cover, tempted them to forget thoſe ſalutary inſtructions, which brought on their misfortune, and gave the general inexpreſſible concern, more eſpecially for Colonel Palmer, who was a gentleman of experi-

ence and intereſt, as well as a volunteer, who ſerved purely out of zeal for the public good, and therefore juſtly eſteemed.

To prevent any accident of the like nature, and the more effectually to block up the place, which for want of numbers they were not able regularly to inveſt, the Carolina regiment was ſent over to Anaſtatia. In this iſland there were three batteries erected, all above a mile from St. Auguſtin; but, however, they fired from them warmly, with ſome prejudice to the place; from whence they were as warmly anſwered, but were moſt hurt from the fire from ſix Spaniſh half-galleys that lay within the harbour. This induced a propoſal to the captains of the three men of war, to attempt the burning of theſe half-galleys; and upon a conſultation between them and the land officers, this was agreed to; but afterwards the ſea captains declared they thought it impracticable, for want of ſufficient depth of water at the entrance; yet this was diſproved on the 27th of June, by the going in of Captain Robert Tyrrel, and his coming out again on board a ſchooner, who reported that there was water enough; yet the majority voted the deſign ſtill impracticable, which hindered any attempt to carry it into execution, though the land officers conſidered it as a point that would have greatly contributed to the reducing of the place.

When it was firſt propoſed to attack the galleys, it was projected in the following manner, viz. the general was to make a diverſion on the Main, by attacking the town; Colonel Vanderduſſen, with part of his regiment, was to keep a continual fire on the town and caſtle, from the batteries, while Captain Tyrrel was to have ſet upon the galleys, with the ſeamen, and the reſt of the colonel's regiment. The general was accordingly on the Main with his troops, expecting that ſervice; but the commodore diſapproving this, and it being yet a ſecond time agreed to be attempted, upon the remonſtrances of Colonel Vanderduſſen, and Captain Warren; when the commodore's lieutenant was to have commanded the attack, new difficulties were further ſtarted when they came on ſhore, and ſo it was ſtill unattempted. Yet it appears, that ſoon after the men of war ſlipping their cables, and putting out to ſea in a ſtorm, the colonel endeavoured to revive the attempt on the galleys in their abſence; but propoſing it to the commodore's lieutenant, Mr. Swanton, who appeared to be a gentleman of ſpirit, and commanded the ſeamen left on ſhore, he was told, "He had orders left not to venture any of them before the return of the ſhipping."

Towards the end of June, ſome ſloops, with a ſupply of proviſions for the garriſon, got in ſafe at the ſouth entrance, to the harbour of St. Auguſtin, called the Metanſas, without having been diſcovered by any of our men of war, till it was too late to intercept them. How this happened has not been hitherto accounted for, but it was a ſeaſonable relief to the garriſon, who had not then above three days proviſion of bread-kind in the place; and the hurricane ſeaſon coming on, the commodore gave notice to the general, that he muſt leave his ſtation, and ſail away with the King's ſhips on the 5th of July. Upon this it was repreſented, "That ſince the men of war were obliged to ſail away, it would be neceſſary to ſend the two men of war ſloops into the Metanſas, to guard that, and either ſecure the retreat of the forces to Anaſtatia, if they ſhould be reduced to one, or aſſiſt in continuing the blockade, till they ſhould be enabled to act more offenſively, by a further aſſiſtance."

To this propoſal it was agreed, provided the ſloops of war had water enough to get in there; and a council was held July the 3d, wherein ſome of the pilots that had been ſent to ſound, declared upon oath, "There was not water enough on the bar of the Metanſas for the ſloops to go in, and if they could go in, they could not lie ſafe there from

 a hurricane,

a hurricane, nor could they fight above one a-breaſt in caſe they were attacked by the galleys."

But the commodore, afterwards aſking Mr. Blomfield Barradel, lieutenant of the Wolf ſloop, who had been along with the pilots, and happened to be aboard his ſhip that night, with ſome captains, what he had to ſay in that affair? he replied, that the pilots had given their opinion, and that he was not then to be examined; but if they aſked his opinion he would give it. They then deſired he would; he affirmed, "That there was water enough on the bar for the ſloops to get in; that they could lie ſafe from a hurricane when in; and that there was alſo ſufficient room, when in, to fight three a-breaſt, in caſe they were attacked." Upon the pilots afterwards objecting to their lying ſafe, he aſked them, "Whether they remembered to have ſeen ſuch an iſland when they were there?" And when they acknowledged they did, he replied, "That they ought to know they could lie ſafe from a hurricane under that iſland." Notwithſtanding which it was reſolved afterwards in council, that they ſhould take off all their men, and ſail away, leaving Captain Townſend at Frederica; which put an end to the enterprize.

Thus ended this expedition, which, though not attended with the ſucceſs ſome expected from it, I mean the taking the fortreſs of St. Auguſtin, was nevertheleſs of very great conſequence, inaſmuch as it kept the Spaniards for a long time upon the defenſive; when if the ſiege had not been undertaken, they would certainly have been otherwiſe employed; it laid all the country open, ſo that the Indians, in friendſhip with us, made excurſions up to the gates of the fortreſs; and the war being carried on in this manner for a length of time, and in conjunction with the Indians, bound them ſo ſtrongly to the Engliſh intereſt, that with a very little aſſiſtance from the people of Georgia, they kept the war at a diſtance; ſo that the inhabitants of Carolina felt none of its effects as a colony, except the loſſes ſuffered by their privateers, till the Spaniards executed their long projected invaſion, in 1742; in which they employed the whole of their ſtrength, and from which they expected to have changed the whole face of affairs on the Continent of America; and even then the people of Carolina ſuffered only by their fears.

12. This expedition of the Spaniards, as has been already hinted to the reader, was really meditated before the war commenced, and had very probably taken place, if repriſals had not been made upon the Spaniards, on account of the depredations committed by their guarda coſtas; at leaſt we have reaſon to judge ſo, from the memorial of Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, before-mentioned; in which he aſſerted, that Georgia belonged to the crown of Spain, and which he repeated in a ſubſequent memorial. But the operations of our fleet in the Weſt Indies, under Admiral Vernon, put a ſtop to their preparations at the Havanna; and the ſiege of St. Auguſtin, and its conſequences, retarded them likewiſe for ſome time. Yet as the Spaniards are not apt to deſiſt from projects they have once formed, and as the miniſtry at Madrid had very high expectations from the execution of this, they ſtill kept it on foot, and only waited for a favourable opportunity for performing what they imagined would have entirely changed the ſcene of things in North America. As to the manner in which they executed it at laſt, and the amazing diſappointment they met with notwithſtanding the vaſt force they employed, and the ſmallneſs of that by which they were aſſiſted, we had ſo full, ſo clear, and ſo authentic an account publiſhed by authority, that I know of no method more fit to convey an idea of it, or leſs liable to any exceptions, than tranſcribing it, the rather becauſe as it ſtands here connected with the hiſtory of Georgia, the reader will have all the lights that are neceſſary to render every circumſtance in it

perfectly intelligible. Thus then that account, tranſmitted to us by General Oglethorpe, ran: "The beginning of May laſt the Spaniards fitted out their fleet from the Havanna, conſiſting of fifty-ſix ſail, and between ſeven and eight thouſand men, with an intent to invade Georgia and South Carolina, and the other northern colonies. At their firſt ſetting out, in turning the Moor caſtle, they loſt a large ſettee with one hundred and fifty men, and a few days after the fleet was diſperſed by a ſtorm; ſo that all the ſhipping did not arrive at St. Auguſtin. The latter end of May or beginning of June, Captain Haymer of the Flamborough, in his cruiſe to the ſouthward, ſent in to General Oglethorpe for intelligence; who acquainted him, that he would probably meet with ſome Spaniſh veſſels to the ſouthward of St. Auguſtin; which he accordingly did and engaged ten ſail of the Moſquetos and drove ſome of them aſhore; but in the action loſt ſeventeen of his men. He on his return acquainted the general with what had happened, and could not then come in for the defence of Georgia, but proceeded to Charles Town, to clean his ſhip. The general thereupon ſent Lieutenant Maxwell by water, and Lieutenant Hugh Mackay over land to Carolina, with advice to the governor, but no aſſiſtance came from thence till after the retreat of the Spaniards. Lieutenant Colonel Cook was at Charles Town, in his way to London, when Lieutenant Maxwell arrived with the ſaid advice.

"The 21ſt of June, nine ſail endeavoured to come into Amelia found; but the eighteen-pounders from Fort William, and the guard ſchooner with eighty men, commanded by Captain Dunbar, fired ſo briſkly that they ſheered off as faſt as they could. The general, on this advice, reſolving to ſupport the forts on Cumberland, ſet out with a detachment of the regiment on board his boats; ſent Captain Horton with his company of grenadiers before, and was himſelf obliged to fight his way with two boats, through fourteen ſail of Spaniſh veſſels which endeavoured to intercept him in Cumberland Sound. In this engagement ſeveral of the Spaniards being killed, the ſaid veſſels ſet out to ſea, and did not join their fleet till the day before they left St. Simon's Sound. Lieutenant Tolſon, who commanded the boat of the greateſt ſtrength, inſtead of following the general, run into a marſh, where he remained till next morning, when he returned to St. Simon's; for which behaviour he was put in arreſt, in order to be tried. Major Heron, from the ſhore, ſeeing the general ſurrounded by the enemy, and hid in ſmoke, concluded him loſt; but next day, to the great joy of the people, he returned in the guard ſchooner to St. Simon's, after having drawn the command from St. Andrew's, and the ſtores and artillery that were there, and reinforced Fort William, where he left one of the boats he had with him.

"He having laid an embargo on all the veſſels in the harbour, took Capt. Thomſon's ſhip, which mounted twenty guns, into the King's ſervice, and manned her out of the ſmall veſſels which were of no force. He alſo called in the Highland company from Darien. Captain Carr's company of marines, and the rangers, from where they were differently detached; and ſent Mr. Mullryne to Carolina, to get all the men he could. The 28th of June the Spaniſh fleet came to anchor off St. Simon's bar, who were diverted from coming in, or landing any of their troops for ſeveral days; in which time the general raiſed another troop of rangers; and by rewarding thoſe who did extraordinary duty, and promiſing great encouragement to all who ſhould ſignalize themſelves on this occaſion, he kept up the ſpirits of the people, and increaſed their number daily. The 5th of July, with the tide of flood, and briſk gale, thirty-ſix Spaniſh veſſels entered St. Simon's harbour, nine of which were large top-maſt veſſels. We received them with a briſk fire from our batteries and ſhips, killed ſome of them with our eighteen-pounders from the fort, and our four-pounders from the lower

battery. The Spaniſh commodore, on board a ſhip of twenty-two guns, with a ſettee, with an eighteen-pounder and two nine-pounders in her bow, attemped to board Captain Thomſon's ſhip; but he with his great guns, Captain Carr with his company of marines, Lieutenant Wall and Enſign Otterbridge with a party of the regiment, made ſo brave a defence, that the Spaniards were obliged to retire with loſs. A ſnow of ſixteen guns at the ſame time attempted to board our guard ſchooner, but was alſo repulſed by Captain Dunbar; the engagement laſted upwards of three hours, in which the enemy loſt ſeventeen men, and had ten wounded. They paſſed all our veſſels and proceeded up the river, upon which the general held a council of war at the head of his regiment, where it was the opinion of the whole immediately to march up to Frederica, for the defence of that place.

" The general accordingly gave orders for the regiment to march, and ordered all the troops that were on board the veſſels, to come aſhore, and directed Captain Thomſon, with the guard ſchooner and prize ſloop, to make the beſt of their way to Charles Town; and this was all done in ſight of the enemy. The general, during this action, being obliged to be ſometimes on ſhipboard, ſometimes at the batteries, and to act as engineer, found himſelf under a neceſſity of having a lieutenant colonel with his regiment; he therefore appointed Major Alexander Heron lieutenant colonel in the abſence of Lieutenant Colonel Cook, who was alſo engineer, and the ſub-engineer, having attended him to Charles Town, was alſo abſent. Late at night the general arrived at Frederica, after having deſtroyed all the ſtores at St. Simon's, and ſunk the veſſels that might be of uſe to the enemy, and rendered the guns incapable of ſervice, and ordered the wounded to be carried off on horſeback. That night the enemy landed their forces on a dry marſh about a mile and an half from the camp, under cover of their great guns. They lay all that night under arms, and the next morning took poſſeſſion of the camp which we left.

" 13. About noon the Creek Indians brought us five Spaniſh priſoners, from whom we had intelligence, that Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of St. Auguſtin, commanded in chief the expedition; and that Major-General Antonio de Redondo chief engineer, and two brigadiers came with the forces from Cuba; that their whole number conſiſted of about five thouſand, and that the night before they had landed about four thouſand three hundred men. One of the priſoners the general ſent with Mr. Bedon to Charles Town. The 7th of July, at nine in the morning, a ranger of the patrol brought an account, that the enemy were marching within a mile and an half of the town. Whereupon the general immediately ordered four platoons of the regiment to march, and in the meantime went himſelf with the Highland company, who was then under arms. The Indians, and a party of rangers, came up with the enemy about a mile from the town, as they were entering the Savannah to take poſſeſſion of a ditch they had a mind to uſe as an entrenchment, but the enemy were attacked ſo briſkly that the general ſoon overcame them; moſt of their party, which conſiſted of one hundred and twenty of their beſt woods-men, and forty Indians, being killed or taken priſoners. The general took two priſoners with his own hands; Lieutenant Scroggs of the rangers took Captain Sebaſtian Sachio, priſoner, who commanded the party. Toeanoeowi, being ſhot through his right arm by Captain Mageleto, drew his piſtol with the left, and ſhot him through the head.

" The general purſued the enemy near two miles, and halted on an advantageous piece of ground until the party of the regiment came up; he poſted them with the Highlanders in a wood, with a large ſavannah or meadow in the front, over which the Spaniards muſt paſs in their way to Frederica. After which he haſtened back to Frederica,

Frederica, and ordered the rangers, and company of men, to make ready. In the meantime two companies of Spaniards of fifty men each, and two hundred more of the enemies beſt troops, came up with ſhouts, and drums beating; whereupon the general hearing platoons firing, immediately made haſte that way, and met three of the platoons, who in the ſmoke and drizzling rain had retreated in diſorder, and the fire continuing, he ordered his men to rally and follow him, who haſtening on, found that Lieutenant Sutherland, with his platoon, and Lieutenant Charles Mackay, with the Highlanders, had entirely defeated the ſaid three hundred of the enemy, in which action Don Antonio Barba was made priſoner, and mortally wounded; ſeveral others were killed, and two grenadiers were taken priſoners. Captain Demeret, and Enſign Gibbon, rallied their platoons, and came up to the ground. Captain Carr, with his company of marines, and Lieutenant Cadogan, with a party of the regiment, came up at the ſame time, and were followed by Major Heron, with the body of the regiment. In both actions the enemy loſt two captains, one lieutenant and two ſerjeants; two drummers, and about one hundred and ſixty private men; and one captain and nineteen men were taken priſoners. The general, with the regiment, halted all night, about a mile and a half from the enemy's camp, to intercept all thoſe who had ſtraggled in the woods; and expecting the enemy to make a ſecond attempt to march in the morning; but the general having advanced with a party of Indians, before day-break, towards the Spaniſh camp, found them all retreated into the ruins of the fort, and under cover of their cannon.

" Next morning, the 8th of July, the general and his men returned to Frederica, and he appointed a general ſtaff, viz. Lieutenant Primroſe Maxwell, and Hugh Mackay, aids-de-camp; Lieutenant Sutherland, brigade-major; and ſerjeant John Stuart, ſecond enſign, for his brave behaviour in the late engagement. The 9th and 10th of July all hands were employed in the works at Frederica, and the Indians brought in ſome ſcalps and priſoners. The 11th of July a ſettee and two quarter-galleys came within gun-ſhot of the town; but on our firing ſome guns and bombs from the fort, and the general going towards them with his boats, they returned to their fleet, and with the reſt drew up in line of battle. The next morning, being the 12th of July, an Engliſh priſoner eſcaped from them, who informed us that the enemy, on their landing, had reſolved to give no quarter; but from the day their grenadiers were defeated, they were in great terror, and entrenched themſelves, and gave orders that none ſhould go without their ſentinels, for fear of being ſurprized by the Indians. By other priſoners and deſerters we were alſo told, that upon their calling over their rolls, there were two hundred and forty men and nineteen of their Indians miſſing; that there were great diviſions among them, inſomuch that Don Antonio de Redondo, who commanded the Cuba forces, encamped ſeparate from thoſe of St. Auguſtin, and that the commodore had ordered all his ſeamen on board. That night the general and five hundred men marched within a mile of the enemy's camp, intending to ſurprize them, but was prevented by the treachery of a Frenchman, who was got among the company of boatmen, and fired his piece and gave alarm to the enemy, and then deſerted to them. When the general found his intention diſcovered, he ordered all his drums to beat the grenadier's march, and then returned to Frederica.

" The general, the next day being the 13th of July, in order to defeat the information of the French deſerter, directed a letter to be wrote, and ſent by a Spaniſh priſoner, who, for the ſake of money the general gave him, and the promiſe of liberty, undertook to deliver it to the ſaid Frenchman, wherein he was inſtructed to acquaint the enemy's commanding officer of the defenceleſs ſtate of Frederica, and encourage them

to

to come up by water under his pilotage; which letter the Spaniſh priſoner delivered to the Governor of St. Auguſtin, and it had ſo good an effect, that the ſaid Frenchman was immediately taken into cuſtody, and looked upon as a double ſpy, and thereupon put into irons. The next morning, being the 14th of July, the Spaniards burnt the barracks and officers houſes at St. Simon's, and Captain Horton's houſe on Iekyll; and the ſame night they reimbarked with ſo much precipitation, that they left a quantity of ammunition, proviſions, and ſome guns behind them. On the 15th all the large veſſels with the Cuba forces on board ſailed ſouthward, and the governor and troops from St. Auguſtin on board the ſmall craft, went within land, and encamped in St. Andrew's, and caught fifty horſes, with a deſign to carry them away; but on the general's appearing in his boats, the enemy ſhot the ſame horſes, and burnt the fort and houſes at St. Andrew's. The general the next day, being the 16th of July, followed the Spaniards with all his ſmall craft, but was not ſtrong enough to attack them. He landed a man out of his boat on Cumberland, who that night paſſed the enemy's camp, and early the next morning came to Fort William, with advice to Enſign Stuart, that the Spaniards were beat off St. Simon's, and that the general was coming with ſuccours, and ordered him to defend the fort to the utmoſt. On the 18th of July twenty-eight ſail of Spaniſh appeared off Fort William, fourteen of which came within land, and attacked the fort from their galleys and other veſſels, and attempted to land, but were repulſed by a party of rangers from behind the ſand-hills. Enſign Stuart, who commanded with ſixty men in the fort, defended it ſo bravely, that after an attack of upwards of three hours, they were obliged to put to ſea with conſiderable loſs.

"The eighteen-pounders there diſabled two of their galleys. The 19th of July the general was on his way to Fort William. The 20th of July the general arrived at Fort William, and ſent his boats and rangers as far as the river St. John, who returned next day, and brought advice that the enemy was quite gone; upon which the general gave the neceſſary orders for repairing Fort William, and on the 22d returned to Frederica. A few days afterwards the men of war from CharlesTown came off St. Simon's bar, and Captain Thompſon with ſome volunteers from Carolina; our guard ſchooner and two galleys came into St. Simon's harbour; and Captain Hardy of the Rye man of war, receiving a meſſage from the general, by Lieutenant Maxwell, who went on board him, ſent for anſwer, that he would take a cruize with the reſt of the King's ſhips. But the general apprehending the Spaniards, upon recovering their fright, might return with more courage and better conduct, continued Captain Thompſon's ſhip in the King's ſervice, and ſent expreſſes over land to the northern provinces on this occaſion.

"Theſe forces were commanded by Don Manual de Monteano, governor of St. Auguſtin, commander in chief of the expedition; Major-General Antonio de Rodondo engineer-general, two colonels with brevets of brigadiers; and conſiſted of one regiment of dragoons diſmounted, with their ſaddles and bridles; the regiment called the battalion of the Havanna, ten companies of fifty men each, drafted off from ſeveral regiments at Havanna; one regiment of the Havanna militia, conſiſting of ten companies of 100 men each; one regiment of negroes, regularly officered by negroes; one ditto of mulattoes, and one company of miquelets; one company of train, with proper artillery; Auguſtin forces conſiſting of about three hundred men, ninety Indians and fifteen negroes, who run away from South Carolina. To theſe accounts I ſhall add the following depoſition of Samuel Cloake, formerly belonging to his Majeſty's ſhip the Flamborough, and taken priſoner off St. Auguſtin by the Spaniards in May 1742.

"Frederica

" Frederica in Georgia, ſs.

" This deponent, being duly ſworn, ſaith, That he was put priſoner on board a ſhip called the Pretty Nancy, taken by the Spaniards from the Engliſh, fitted out with ten carriage and ſix ſwivel guns, which was part of the fleet that carried the troops from St. Auguſtin for the invaſion of Georgia and South Carolina: That ſhe had one hundred and fifty ſoldiers on board, beſides ſailors: That he counted forty-four ſail, beſides the launches and thoſe that went in land, and pettiauguas which carried the Indians: That they ſailed from St. Auguſtin the beginning of June, and met with very hard gales for three days, which diſperſed the fleet: That the chief pilot on board the commodore was one Parris, belonging to Port Royal in South Carolina, and who was married there, and had a plantation in that province: That they came to an anchor with part of their fleet off Frederica bar, to the northward of it; and the Spaniards ſaid that they ſhould not have found out Georgia, had it not been for Parris their pilot; that they lay ſeveral days at anchor off the bar, during which time the men were put into ſmall boats in order to land; but ſeeing ſeveral men marching on the beach, they were afraid to land, as they intended, and came on board again; for about three days after, holding a council of war, they reſolved not to land any men till they had made themſelves maſters of the harbour. During the time they lay off this bar, the Spaniards often whetted their ſwords, and held their knives to this deponent's and other Engliſh priſoner's throats, ſaying, they would cut the throats of thoſe they ſhould take at Georgia. They ſailed on the 5th of July with a ſtrong eaſterly wind and tide of flood: That the Engliſh fired from the batteries and ſhips very briſkly, and the Spaniards ſaid that the Engliſh ſtood very well: That a four-pound ſhot hulled the ſhip where the deponent was; and one eighteen-pound ſhot from the battery killed ſeven men on board the large ſhip: That there were of the Spaniards eight three-maſt ſhips; the commodore's was a twenty-gun ſhip; there was alſo a ſnow with fourteen nine-pounders, and a galley with three large guns, one of which he heard was a twelve-pounder, which was manned with above one hundred men; there were alſo ſeveral privateers, ſome of them with ten guns, and ſome with eight: That the Spaniards and ſome Iriſhmen on board told him, that in the whole fleet there were about five or ſix thouſand men, and were come with a deſign to take Georgia, and after that go to Port Royal in South Carolina. He further ſays, that they had a whole regiment of negroes, with a company of grenadiers, in the ſame manner as other regiments have, and cloathed in the ſame livery as other Spaniſh regiments; they were commanded by negro officers, and he ſaw the officers walking along with the Governor of St. Auguſtin aſhore; that they were dreſſed in gold and ſilver laced cloaths, like other officers, and that they were kept in the ſame pay as the other regiments. He further ſaith, that the ſhip where this deponent was, was loaded with grenadiers and dragoons, who had on board ſaddles, bridles, piſtols, and all accoutrements: That they landed all them from on board his ſhip, and put a ſmall guard of ten men on board: That two or three days afterwards one of the captains and one ſerjeant of the grenadiers came on board, and this deponent aſking the ſerjeant whether he had been at Frederica, he anſwered, that the woods were ſo full of Indians that the devil could not go through them, and that the Indians had killed about one hundred and fifty of their beſt men, and that there were but very few ſoldiers: Thoſe who came on board were ſo down-hearted that they could hardly ſpeak a word: That upon this they were ordered to get water on board,

aboard, in order to get to ſea in a hurry, which this deponent took the advantage of and made his eſcape to General Oglethorpe.

Mark.
SAMUEL × CLOAKE.

14. It may be truly ſaid, that there never happened in this part of the world, any thing more honourable for the Engliſh nation, or more likely to ſtrike a terror into their enemies, than this entire and total defeat of ſo formidable an invaſion, by ſuch a handful of forces. Inſtead of raiſing and heightening this ſucceſs, to do honour to the general's character, we ought rather to leſſen or diminiſh ſome of its circumſtances, to render it in ſuch an age as this more credible; but we have taken no liberties at all, the facts are repreſented ſtep by ſtep as they happened; and the reader is left to judge how far it appears from hence that Georgia is a true frontier, in reſpect to Carolina; and what advantages are to be hoped for in caſe the new colony ſhould increaſe in a reaſonable proportion for twenty years to come; but to help the reader's judgment in this reſpect, and to ſhew him in what light this tranſaction was conſidered by all our colonies in America; the inhabitants of which were certainly the ableſt, and moſt equitable judges; it is requiſite to obſerve that John Tinker, Eſq. governor of the Bahama Iſlands; Lewis Morris, Eſq. governor of New Jerſey; William Gooch, Eſq. governor of Virginia; George Clark, Eſq. lieutenant-governor of New York; Gabriel Johnſon, Eſq. governor of North Carolina; Thomas Bladen, Eſq. governor of Maryland; and George Thomas, Eſq. Governor of Penſylvania; all wrote to general Oglethorpe upon this memorable occaſion, to congratulate him upon being the happy inſtrument in ſo honourable and ſo important a ſervice; to aſſure him of the ſhare they took in the honour he had acquired, and of the true ſenſe they had of the great deliverance that providence had wrought for all the Britiſh colonies in North America, by his conduct and courage. Stronger teſtimonies than theſe, with reſpect to the conſequence of the action he had performed, it was impoſſible for him to receive, and better evidence than theſe letters afford it is likewiſe impoſſible that we ſhould have here at home; and therefore to ſet this fact in its true light, and that the people of Great Britain may have a juſt notion of the advantages ariſing from this wiſe and well conducted defence, in which the bravery of Britiſh ſoldiers, their affection for and confidence in their commander is ſo clearly expreſſed, I thought it reaſonable to annex the copies of the letters written by the three firſt mentioned gentlemen, as being equally honourable for them, and for the perſon to whom they are addreſſed; and if I add no more, it is to avoid being tedious, and that I may have an opportunity of cloſing the hiſtorical part of this Chapter, with papers that do ſo much honour to the new colony of which it treats.

Copy of a letter from his Excellency JOHN TINKER, Eſq. Governor of the Bahama Iſlands, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

SIR, N. Providence, Nov. 6. 1742.

I am favoured with both of your Excellency's letters of 31ſt of July and 16th of September, with an incloſed account of the Spaniards deſcent upon your province, and your fortunate victory over them: upon which I beg leave to congratulate you, and to aſſure you none of your acquaintance can receive more real ſatisfaction at an event that muſt contribute ſo much to your honour and reputation as this laſt. I rejoice too for the public, becauſe I am ſure if you had not given ſo good an account of them, the neighbouring provinces would have been in imminent danger. I know the general had

orders to attack this iſland upon their return, ſo I may juſtly thank you for ſaving me a great deal of trouble.

If there is any thing in this government that can contribute to your pleaſure, and facilitate the continuance of our friendſhip and future correſpondence, I ſhall, with joy, embrace the propoſition. The bearer has been a long time here, and can give you an exact account of the Carte du Pais. We are at preſent employed in repairing the fortifications, and making ſome additional ones, which will, I hope, be compleated this winter. I have the honour to be, with great regard and truth,

Your Excellency's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) JOHN TINKER.

Copy of a letter from his Excellency LEWIS MORRIS, Eſq. Governor of New Jerſey, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

SIR, Burlington, the 2d of Nov. 1742.

I received the honour of yours of the 31ſt of July laſt, by the expreſs you ſent along the continent, who is now got thus far back in his return to you. The contents of it gave me very great pleaſure, as it informed me of your health, and of the great (or rather wonderful) ſucceſs God has been pleaſed to give to his Majeſty's arms under your conduct; and I doubt not has effectually convinced the aggreſſors how unable they are to cope with reſolute Britiſh troops; and I hope will be a ſufficient diſcouragement to a ſecond attempt of that kind; which, if the firſt had ſucceeded, might prove of dangerous conſequence to his Majeſty's plantations on the continent, eſpecially the moſt ſouthern ones.

You have gathered unenvied laurels, and well deſerve to wear them. I take leave to aſſure you no body can be better pleaſed with your ſucceſs, than,

Sir, your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

(Signed) LEWIS MORRIS.

Extract of a letter from the honourable WILLIAM GOOCH, Eſq. Governor of Virginia, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

SIR, October the 12th, 1742.

I received the letter of the 31ſt of July your Excellency honoured me with, by the hands of your truſty courier, Mr. Watkins, and with it a very ſenſible ſatisfaction; I rejoice to hear your courage and conduct have had their deſerved ſucceſs, in ſo unequal a trial. Your prudential behaviour on the occaſion cannot be too much applauded, nor actions ſo truly laudable too much admired. The whole continent is under laſting obligations to you, for your extraordinary vigilance and magnanimity, when, not thinking your ſervices to your king and country compleated, nor your valour ſufficiently proved in the defence of your infant ſettlement, againſt the repeated attacks of cruel and inhuman foes, more than could be expected, conſidering their numbers; with an uncommon reſolution you forced them in the field to a precipitate retreat, and effectually defeated the deſperate deſigns of an enemy that had the vanity to flatter themſelves with the hopes of making an eaſy conqueſt of ſome, at leaſt, of the Britiſh provinces.

As theſe great actions are to be attributed to your fortitude, ſo in my judgment the unexpected and vigorous oppoſition they met with, ending in ſo ſevere a rebuff, has thrown them into ſuch diſorder, that I am confident thoſe troops, were they all together in St. Auguſtin, could not ſo ſoon recover ſufficient courage to animate them to the

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like undertaking; the confuſion and hurry in which they reimbarked, are ſuch evident tokens of their being terrified and diſmayed, that with your uſual watchfulneſs you may reſt ſecure from further diſturbance, &c.

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) WILLIAM GOOCH.

15. We have now compleated the hiſtory of the Engliſh colonies in America in ſuch a manner, that the reader cannot help diſcerning their intrinſic value and great importance; there is therefore no neceſſity of our adding any thing on this ſubject here, and therefore we will confine our remarks entirely to the colony of Georgia, and endeavour to ſhew from what views, upon what hopes, and in how a great degree the public is intereſted in the maintenance and ſupport of this new colony. In the firſt place, we have ſeen that the truſtees originally deſigned it for a boundary or frontier, to cover the other provinces upon the continent; that it was extremely proper for this, the very ſituation of it ſhews; that it was extremely wanted we may gather from the hiſtories of the other provinces, in which we find various inſtances of the ruin of their advanced ſettlements; from their leaving ſo large a country as Georgia uncultivated, a plain ſign of their fear of becoming nearer neighbours to the Spaniards; and from the names of places, ſuch as Bloody Point, which commemorate the maſſacres that have been heretofore committed in thoſe parts; but the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt proof of all, is the memorial from the aſſembly of Carolina, in which the reader has ſeen this matter ſtated in the fulleſt and faireſt light; from all which I infer, that the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a barrier, was a point worthy of public attention; and that the benefits accruing from it to Carolina, and all the provinces to the northward, might very well be conſidered as a ſufficient recompence for any expence that might attend the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a frontier. That the public were not amuſed in the hopes that were given them by the truſtees of Georgia in this reſpect; that the ſending a regiment thither, was not a needleſs or uſeleſs expence; and that the money employed in fortifying there, was not either waſted or thrown away, manifeſtly appears by their repulſing the Spaniards in the late invaſion. If this was ſolely owing to the bravery, firmneſs, and ſtrength of the new colony, then ſurely there is no room to find fault with it; and if the province is as ſome people would have it, thinly peopled, and very little capable of defence, what applauſe is due to the general, who, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from any other place, could repel ſuch a force, and thereby ſecure all our colonies in North America. Take it either way, we are ſure of a barrier while we have Georgia under his direction.

In the ſecond place, this country was deſigned as an aſylum for diſtreſſed people in our own country, and for ſuch induſtrious foreign Proteſtants as ſhould be willing to go thither. If we conſider the thing in this light, the ſupporting this deſign was no favour in the government; for it is the duty of every government to provide for ſuch of its poor ſubjects as are willing to work; and the leaſt they can do, is to ſend them to the colonies, ſince it muſt be owing to their miſmanagement that they have not employment at home; but it is not their duty only, it is their intereſt alſo; for men active and induſtrious, who can find nothing to do, and are at a loſs to find any thing to eat, are not apt to remain long in ſuch a condition; and ſurely it is better to ſend ſuch people abroad, though at a ſmall expence, than to ſee them for want of ſuch care, ſend themſelves to the gallows. In times of general and continued peace, there will, however, be ſuch overflowing in moſt nations; under arbitrary princes from mens averſion to ſlavery, under free governments from a ſuperabundance of people. In both

caſes that government is to be commended, which, laying hold of theſe overflowings, applies them to its own uſe. To give ſuch people territories, is to acquire, though it ſeems a ſoleciſm in ſpeech, the very territories you give; for land without people is of no uſe; but land inhabited and cultivated by white people, let it lie where it will, is of great value; and that value is much enhanced when that land is cultivated, and thoſe people are ſettled preciſely where you want them moſt. This is the caſe of Georgia; for the Carolina memorial tell us, that white men were not to be raiſed there for money; which was the ſame thing as if they had told the government, that the beſt way they could employ their money, was in ſending of white people thither. But when we conſider the expence of ſending white men, and compare it with the purchaſe of negroes, the caſe appears ſtill more advantageous; ſince the white men come cheaper, and are of much greater advantage; by ſettling them you acquire uſeful ſubjects, and conſequently increaſe your force; by purchaſing negroes, you only gain ſo many ſlaves that increaſe your danger and terror, by leſſening your force. Your own people and foreign Proteſtants will be always yours, but negroes are any body's that will but promiſe them better conditions than they have under you, which may be very eaſily done; and of what ill conſequence this may prove, appears from the negro regiment in the Spaniſh ſervice; for had they ſucceeded in their invaſion, and once penetrated into a colony full of negroes, they might have raiſed new regiments by barely beating their drums; regiments that would have been equally terrible to us, and uſeful to them from their knowledge of the country, and from their hatred to their old maſters.

There was a third advantage propoſed in the ſettling this new colony where it is ſettled, and from the terms upon which it was ſettled; and that was, the ſecuring the nations of Indians which inhabited the vaſt countries to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of Georgia, in the Britiſh intereſt. A thing ſo much the more neceſſary, conſidering the views that the French had of the ſame kind; and of vaſt importance to all the colonies, as the maintaining of friendſhip with theſe nations, muſt neceſſarily interrupt the correſpondence between the French colonies of Canada and Louviſiana, upon which their being formidable to us North America abſolutely depends; ſince if ever they complete it, every child that can be brought to comprehend a map, will ſee that they will ſurround all our colonies on the main, from Nova Scotia to Georgia; but by this laſt colony, we have bid fair for interrupting their deſign, by engaging in our intereſt thoſe Indian nations moſt capable of doing us good and them hurt; as for inſtance, the Lower and Upper Creeks, a nation ſo called from their country being interſected with rivers, which country extends from the river Savannah to the lakes of Florida, ſouthward and weſtward, to the Cherokee mountains and the river Couſa; ſo that we may eaſily diſcern how uſeful their friendſhip muſt be to the colonies of Georgia and Carolina, more eſpecially when it is conſidered that they are a very brave, a very numerous, and a very faithful nation, as appears from their conduct in the preſent war; in which they have ſhewn as heroic courage as any the Greek hiſtory records, and a fidelity to their allies, equal to that of the early Romans, which has been owing to alliances concluded with equity and ſupported by integrity, and the ſame conduct conſtantly purſued towards them, will for ever bind them to our ſervice.

The Cherokees poſſeſs the mountainous country weſtward to the river Miſſiſſippi, as the Chickeſaws do the plains to the ſouth-weſt of the country of the Cherokees, both brave and numerous nations, enthuſiaſtically fond of liberty; in which it is our intereſt to ſupport and maintain them againſt the French. Hence it appears that in this light the truſtees were both well informed, and have happily ſucceeded; the reaſon of the thing, and the hiſtory of the country plainly proves this; and, beſides, they have the only kind

of evidence in credit with the moderns; I mean, that all they promiſed themſelves has been verified by the event.

By the happy ſituation of this country, the inhabitants of it will not only be enabled to protect and defend the northern colonies that lay behind it, but may be alſo of great uſe to Jamaica and the Leeward iſlands. I am ſenſible that there are many that will affect to treat the firſt part of this aſſertion as ridiculous, and to ſneer at the latter as chimerical; but I have conſidered very well what I have aſſerted, and am from thence convinced of the truth of what I ſay. I can very eaſily foreſee that it may be objected, my own book ſhews that there are thouſands and ten thouſands in Virginia, Penſylvania, New York, the Jerſeys, and New England; and therefore it is a jeſt to ſay that theſe great and populous countries are to be protected by a handful of poor people juſt ſettled in Georgia; yet for all this the fact muſt be true, or that colony abandoned. If we, here at home, continue to protect and to ſupport the people of Georgia, and in conſequence of that protection and ſupport, induce them to conſult their private intereſt, by purſuing ſuch ſchemes as are moſt for the public advantage, Georgia will very ſoon be full of people, and of uſeful people, who muſt have their tools, their cloathing, and other neceſſaries from hence; and who will be in a condition to pay us plentifully for all they have. Georgia, if attended to, may become as populous as Barbadoes, or the Bahama Iſlands, and that in a very ſhort ſpace of time; for if a large bounty were given for a certain number of years, upon every pound of ſilk imported from thence, we ſhould ſee it a rich and thriving colony, and people would flock thither from all parts; who, by maintaining their treaties with the Indians, might eſtabliſh an effectual barrier againſt both the French and Spaniards, with all their Indian allies. All this is highly poſſible and practicable, nay, and very probable too; and when once it comes to be a fact, there will be no ſort of abſurdity in ſaying the people of this colony, and their Indian allies, will afford ſhelter and protection to the ſettlements that lie to the north of them. But this is not all, for as I obſerved before, if the inhabitants of Georgia once become numerous, they will then, in conſequence of their ſituation, be moſt able to help Jamaica, by a ſupply of ſtout, well diſciplined, white men, in caſe of any attack by the French or Spaniards; or, which is an evil they are not altogether ſecure from, any ſudden inſurrection of their negroes. I very readily grant that I argue from an uncertainty, that is to ſay, we are not ſure that this colony will be ſo protected and ſupported; but if it be, the conſequences are abſolutely certain; and the conſideration of theſe conſequences ought to be no mean argument with our government to maintain and ſupport it.

We are now come to the very laſt article of our remarks, which is the hopes that may be rationally entertained of the produce of this country. We will begin with what the truſtees certainly deſigned ſhould be the ſtaple commodity of Georgia; I mean ſilk. That this country is very happily ſituated, that its ſoil and climate render it very fit for producing ſilk, cannot be denied by any who are at all acquainted with this rich branch of commerce, which ſome very good judges have affirmed to be much more conſiderable than either the linen or woollen manufacture. This country lies along the ſea-ſide, is well watered within land, has a ſoil extremely proper for the culture of the mulberry-tree, and is ſeated in a latitude and climate we might judge would prove agreeable to the ſilk-worm. Theſe circumſtances might very naturally lead one to expect that the inhabitants might ſet about the production of ſilk in this country, for their own advantage. With a view to this, proper perſons have been ſent thither: the experiment has been tried, ſilk made in Georgia has been ſent over, and Sir Thomas Lombe, and other excellent judges of that commodity, have declared,

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that it is in all reſpects as good, and works to the full as well or better than any Piedmont ſilk, which ſtands us in twenty ſhillings a pound. At the very time that this Chapter is under my hand a letter has been received from the reverend miniſter of the Proteſtant congregation at Ebenezer, by which it plainly appears, that ſilk may be produced in the greateſt perfection, and without any conſiderable difficulty in this country, provided the people had proper encouragement. We are not to underſtand by this, that the people in that country affect to make terms with us, and refuſe to raiſe ſilk unleſs we will give them more for it than it is worth; for the fact is quite otherwiſe, the encouragement they demand, is not ſo much on their own behalf as for the ſake of the commodity.

All beginnings are hard, and theſe people, in undertaking this work, are beginning two things at the ſame time, viz. to raiſe ſilk, and to raiſe a ſubſiſtence: if theſe interfere with each other, it is very plain that the former muſt give way to the latter. It is natural for people to wiſh to live well, but it is neceſſary that they ſhould live ſome way or other; and therefore this poor clergyman honeſtly tells us, that his people having now got into a way of winding the ſilk off the cocones, they would apply themſelves more diligently to this buſineſs, if they were not called off by other cares, that is, to get wherewithal to live upon. If therefore we really mean to promote the raiſing of ſilk in general, and aim, inſtead of curioſity, to make it a commodity, we need only declare a bounty upon it; this would ſpeedily do the buſineſs; it would encourage every body there to turn their hands to this work, and it is a work to which all hands may be turned, women and children as well as men; and no ſuch hard labour as to render ſlaves neceſſary. What this might produce we may in ſome meaſure gueſs, from what the culture of ſilk produces in Italy; where four and five pounds an acre are common prices for lands that bear mulberry trees, where the leaves are ſold at a high rate, and where the poor people willingly give their time and labour, in feeding and attending the worms, for half the price of the ſilk; which is but divided between the labourer and the landholder; amounting commonly to between three and four pounds a tree. If once this buſineſs was effectually ſet a-going, there is no queſtion but the progreſs would be very ſpeedy, and the bounty paid for a few years, would moſt effectually eſtabliſh both commodity and colony.

On the other hand it ought to be conſidered, that the price of Georgia ſilk, and the bounty upon it, would be both paid in our own commodites; whereas we pay now for Piedmont ſilk wholly in ready money; ſo that the difference to the nation will be but a very trifle; perhaps I ſhould not carry the thing too far, if I ſaid nothing. It is very poſſible, that when this trade came to flouriſh in Georgia, it might alſo be ſet up in Carolina, and even in Virginia, there being no ſort of doubt, that with due attention and application, ſilk might be produced in both theſe colonies; neither is this any new diſcovery, but what has been obſerved by all the writers upon the affairs of the plantations for many years paſt; but if it ſhould be the caſe, it would not be at all detrimental to this nation; but on the contrary, this very thing will lay us under a new obligation to Georgia, for then we ſhould have the ſilk manufacture as much in our hands, if not more, than we have the woollen; and how vaſt an alteration this would make in the balance of our trade, may be eaſily ſhewn.

It is to be obſerved, that in all ſilk manufactures there are two kinds of ſilk employed, one for the warp or cane, which is the very ſilk that our colonies would produce; but before this ſilk can be uſed, it muſt be thrown by an engine into what is called organzine, for which there is at preſent but one engine in this kingdom, which is the famous ſilk-mill at Derby; ſince the erecting of which his Sardinian majeſty has prohibited

the exportation of raw ſilk from his dominions; ſo that what we have from his country is organzine. He has done ſtill more for the benefit of his ſubjects; for he has laid ſuch high duties upon our manufactures, as amount almoſt to a prohibition; ſo that as I have more than once ſaid, we are obliged to pay for this ſilk in ready money, for it is ſo neceſſary to us, that our ſilk manufactures cannot be carried on without it; and by this means his ſubjects take annually from this nation about two hundred thouſand pounds in money. Beſides what we receive from Piedmont, we have likewiſe conſiderable quantities of raw ſilk of the ſame kind with that from Genoa, and other parts of Italy; which is thrown into organzine by the engine at Derby.

As to the other kind of ſilk, which makes the woof or ſhute, it comes to us from many places, but particularly by the way of Turkey; ſo that if we had the former kind of ſilk from our plantations, it would enable us to conſume a much greater quantity of this other ſilk that cometh to us by the way of Turkey, for which we pay in our woollen manufactures; ſo that here is plainly a double advantage; firſt, of ſaving the ready money which is paid for one kind of ſilk; and next, increaſing the exportation of our own goods, for which we bring home in exchange that other kind of ſilk; and if once we were in poſſeſſion of theſe advantages, there would follow a third, equal, if not ſuperior to both; for we ſhould be then inconteſtibly able to fabricate all kinds of wrought ſilks at ſo cheap a rate as to underſell moſt parts of Europe; which would draw a demand from Germany, Flanders, Spain, and Portugal, to the inconceivable benefit of the merchants and manufacturers of this kingdom, who are beyond all queſtion in conjunction with the ſeamen, who muſt thrive when they do, the moſt valuable people in it, and by whoſe induſtry the reſt are maintained. Thus we ſee that the deſign of eſtabliſhing the buſineſs of raiſing ſilk in Georgia, is in itſelf a matter of vaſt moment, not to the truſtees or the inhabitants of that new colony only, but to the whole nation; a thing that would give a new turn to our trade; employ a multitude of hands at home, by promoting both the ſilk and woollen manufactures; enlarge our commerce abroad, encreaſe our ſhipping, augment the number of our ſeamen, and enable us the better to bear thoſe vaſt expences into which, it is ſaid, the circumſtances of affairs abroad have neceſſarily plunged us.

Before I part with this ſubject, I think it becomes me to add ſomewhat with reſpect to the conduct of the King of Sardinia, which, from what I have ſaid above, may be thought in ſome meaſure unkind towards this nation; whereas, properly underſtood, nothing of that ſort will appear. The firſt and great concern of every prince, or at leaſt of every wiſe and good prince, is the welfare of his own ſubjects; and with reſpect to the monarch of whom we are ſpeaking, he has purſued it with great ſteadineſs and prudence. His duties upon French commodities are very low; ſo that his ſubjects are furniſhed from thence with woollen manufactures at very reaſonable rates, and by putting our goods under a very high cuſtom his ſubjects ſell their ſilk dear, and for ready money; and thus, by the interpoſition of the government, they make the moſt of their goods, and are as rich as the nature and extent of their country will permit them to be. It muſt indeed be allowed, that as things ſtand at preſent his Sardinian Majeſty's political and commercial concerns are in a manner oppoſite to each other; but this does not hinder him from purſuing both. The balance of power in Italy is a thing of vaſt importance to him, ſince, if it ſhould be loſt, he would ſcarce be able to keep his dominions; but the trade of his ſubjects is likewiſe of great importance, for without that his dominions would be hardly worth keeping. His conduct therefore, in both reſpects is wiſe and juſt, though it falls out to be in ſome meaſure prejudicial to us, and that too in our tendereſt concerns, our manufactures and our trade.

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But what then, ought we to differ with or blame him? nothing like it; we ought, on the contrary, to admire and imitate him; we ought to make the ſame diſtinction that he does, between our political and commercial intereſts; we ought to ſhew ourſelves firm in ſupporting the former, and in order to it we muſt be vigorous in promoting the latter. We ſee very plainly and clearly, or at leaſt we may ſee it if we will, that there is nothing more practicable in the world, than the raiſing the ſilk trade in Georgia; the country is fit for it, the climate is fit for it; we have raiſed, and may raiſe, what quantities of mulberry-trees we will; the ſilkworm thrives there wonderfully well, which however is the caſe of very few countries; and the ſilk brought from thence has been found excellent. If all this does not paſs for demonſtration in a matter of this nature, it is in vain to look for demonſtration. On the other hand, that the raiſing of ſilk in Georgia would fill that country with white people; would ſecure to us the affection, and the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring Indian nations, and ſo render it an effectual frontier is beyond all diſpute; and that the advantages accruing to this kingdom, by enabling that plantation to furniſh us with ſilk equal in quality to the Italian, are ſo plain and certain that I make no ſcruple of affirming, that if due care was taken in this reſpect, all the expence neceſſary to eſtabliſh the ſilk trade there, would not amount to above one year's purchaſe of the profits, five and twenty years hence; by which I mean, that the advantages accruing from this colony to Great Britain, in 1771; ſuppoſing the ſilk trade immediately ſettled there, and by immediately, I mean no more than as ſoon as poſſible, will equal all that the public has or may lay out upon that ſettlement before it becomes able to maintain itſelf. We manure our lands before we expect crops from them; we manufacture our goods before we ſend them to market; we educate our children before we expect they ſhould provide for themſelves; and why ſhould not we take the ſame care of this colony, before we expect public advantages from thence.

It has been already ſhewn what may be expected from the different method purſued in the eſtabliſhing this and other colonies; and how eaſily, and how entirely, it may be turned to the ſervice of Great Britain, ſo as in the compaſs of a few years to anſwer national expectations, better than colonies that have been much longer ſettled. But we muſt keep theſe points in view; we muſt proceed as we have begun, or all that we have hitherto done will be thrown away; and if it ſhould, we can blame nobody but ourſelves. We have ſeen the ſilk trade planted there; we have ſeen it take root, and even bring forth bloſſoms, which, if the beſt judges may be truſted, promiſe the faireſt fruit; let it not then be loſt for a little care or a little expence, if that be neceſſary, in pruning and watering it.

I might likewiſe take notice of the raiſing wine here; indeed, I have promiſed it, but I have inſiſted ſo long upon ſilk, that I can be but ſhort upon this head; yet ſomething I will ſay. There were great hopes that this improvement might ſoon have been brought to perfection, but ſome difficulties have been found in the way, and they are chiefly theſe: The coat of the natural grape is not ſtrong enough, and therefore when it grows ripe they burſt. The froſt, about the vernal equinox, frequently kills the vines when they are ſhooting; and as to the European grapes, it is found that the inſects of the country deſtroy them. Yet experience has ſhewn, that by grafting the European on the wild vine, all theſe inconveniencies are in a great meaſure prevented; for then it ſhoots later, and ſo eſcapes the froſt better; the grape ſkins become thicker and ſtronger, and inſects do it leſs prejudice: ſo that there are ſtill hopes that wine may be made there, both in great plenty, and in great perfection; and if we reflect on the miſtake we made, with reſpect to the Cape of Good Hope, which we abandoned as worth nothing, and which the Dutch, by their induſtry, have made one of the

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fineſt and moſt valuable plantations in the world; we ſhall not be haſty in ſlighting theſe hopes.

Beſides, there is nothing wanting in this country but a ſufficient number of inhabitants, to render it, in every reſpect, a fertile and a pleaſant ſettlement. They reap very good wheat here in May; they mow their graſs in June; they might cultivate rice here to great advantage, if that was judged proper, which, however, for many good reaſons, is thought not ſo; olives flouriſh there in the greateſt perfection; and ſo do oranges in the ſouth part of the province, where (I ſpeak on the credit of eye-witneſſes) an orange tree has been known, in ſeven years time, to have been fifteen feet from the root to the branches.

Theſe conſiderations, with reſpect to the conſequences that may follow from the improvement of this laſt ſettlement, which I look upon to be the honour of the preſent age, have proceeded ſolely from a regard to truth, and to the public ſervice which are the ſame motives that have directed me through the courſe of this undertaking. It appeared to me that there were many things, in relation to moſt of the colonies, and particularly in reſpect to this, about which the world in general was either miſinformed or not informed at all; and therefore I thought it would be doing ſome ſervice to trade, to the colonies, and to the public, if theſe points were fully and fairly treated; for which purpoſe I took pains to procure the beſt materials I could, and have digeſted them in the beſt method I was able, but in ſuch a way that the principal facts appear all along with their proper authorities; ſo that the reader ſees to what he gives credit, and is not obliged to take any thing upon truſt from me; all my reaſonings being ſubmitted, as they ought to be, to his judgment, with full liberty to admit as little or as much as he thinks fit, when he has duly weighed the arguments that are offered in ſupport of them. It is in this way, and in this way only, that ſedentary perſons can make themſelves uſeful to ſociety, and in this way they may be very uſeful, by furniſhing others with an opportunity of viewing and reflecting upon things which otherwiſe might never have come to their notice.

One thing more I muſt obſerve before I conclude this chapter, which is, that if there be any thing in it, or indeed in any of thoſe relating to the Britiſh plantations, which ought, in a particular manner, to claim the attention of the public; it is, in a great meaſure, due to the lights afforded by the Honourable James Oglethorpe, from whom, if the author has caught any part of that generous ſpirit, which inclines a man to bend all his thoughts, and turn all his labours, to the ſervice of his country, it is but juſt that he ſhould acknowledge it; and this he is the more ready to do, becauſe if there be any merit in his performance, capable of making it known to and eſteemed by poſterity, he would willingly conſecrate it as a mark of his eſteem and gratitude, for the many informations he has received, and the right turn that has been given to his inquiries, by that knowing and worthy perſon, who is equally happy in rendering the greateſt perſonal ſervices himſelf to the community, and by infuſing the like diſpoſition in others, both by his example and converſation.

# THE FIRST VOYAGE OF M. MARTIN FROBISHER,

## TO THE NORTH-WEST,

## FOR THE SEARCH OF THE STRAIGHT OR PASSAGE TO CHINA;

WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER HALL, MASTER IN THE GABRIEL,

And made in the Year of our Lord 1576. *

THE 7th of June being Thurſday, the two barks, viz. the Gabriel and the Michael, and our pinnace, ſet ſail at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Deptford, and there we anchored; the cauſe was, that our pinnace burſt her bowſprit and foremaſt aboard of a ſhip that rode at Deptford; elſe we meant to have paſſed that day by the Court then at Greenwich.

The eighth day, being Friday, about twelve o'clock, we weighed at Deptford, and ſet ſail, all three of us, and bare down by the Court, where we ſhot off our ordnance, and made the beſt ſhew we could. Her Majeſty, beholding the ſame, commended it, and bade us farewell, with ſhaking her hand at us out of the window. Afterward ſhe ſent a gentleman aboard of us, who declared that her Majeſty had good liking of our doings, and thanked us for it; and alſo willed our captain to come the next day to the court to take his leave of her.

The ſame day, towards night, Mr. Secretary Woolly came aboard of us, and declared to the company, that her Majeſty had appointed him to give them charge to be obedient and diligent to their captains and governors in all things, and wiſhed us happy ſucceſs.

The 12th day, being over againſt Graveſend, by the caſtle or blockhouſe, we obſerved the latitude, which was 51 degrees 33 minutes, and in that place the variation of the compaſs is 11 degrees and a half.

The 24th day, two o'clock in the afternoon, I had ſight of Faire Iſle, being from us ſix leagues North and by Eaſt; and when I brought it N.W. by N. it did riſe at the ſouthernmoſt end with a little hummock, and ſwamp in the midſt.

The 25th day, from four to eight o'clock in the forenoon, the wind at N.W. by N. a freſh gale, I caſt about to the weſtward, the ſouthernmoſt head of Schetland, called Swinborne Head, N.N.W. from me, and the land of Faire Iſle W.S.W. from me, I ſailed directly to the north head of that ſaid land, ſounding as I ran in, having 60, 50, and 40 fathoms, and grey red ſhells; and within half a mile of that iſland, there are 36 fathoms; for I ſailed to that iſland to ſee whether there was any roadſted for a N.W. wind; and I found, by my ſounding, hard rocks, and foul ground, and deep water, within two cables length of the ſhore, 28 fathoms, and ſo did not anchor, but plied to and fro with my foreſail and mizen, till it was high water, under the iſland. The tide ſetteth there N.W. and S.E.; the flood ſetteth S.E. and the ebb N.W.

The 26th day, having the wind at South, a fair gale, ſailing from Faire Iſle to Swinborne head, I did obſerve the latitude; the iſland of Fowlay being W.N.W. from me ſix leagues, and Swinborne Head E.S.E. from me, I found my elevation to be 37 de-

* Hakluyt, iii. 29.

grees,

grees, and my declination 22 degrees 46 minutes; ſo that my latitude was 59 degrees 46 minutes. At that preſent, being near to Swinborne Head, having a leak which did trouble us, as alſo to take in freſh water, I plied room with a ſound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did anchor in ſeven fathoms water and fair ſand. You have, coming in the ſound's mouth, in entering, ſeventeen, fifteen, twelve, ten, nine, eight, and ſeven fathoms, and the ſound lieth in N. N.W. and there we rode to a weſt ſun, and ſtopped our leak; and having refreſhed ourſelves with water, at a N.N.W. ſun, I ſet ſail from S. Tronions, the wind at S. S. E. and turned out till we were clear of the ſound, and ſo ſailed weſt to go clear of the iſland of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I ſounded, having fifty fathoms, and ſtreamy ground; and alſo I ſounded, Fowlay being north from me, one league off that iſland, being fifty fathom at the ſouth head, and ſtreamy ground, like broken oatmeal, and one ſhell being red and white like mackarel.

The 27th day, at a ſouth ſun, I did obſerve the latitude, the iſland of Fowlay being from me two leagues E. N. E., I found myſelf to be in latitude 59 degrees 59 minutes, truly obſerved, the wind at S. S. W. I ſailed W. by N.

From twelve to four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind at ſouth, a fair gale, the ſhip ſailed W. by N. ſix leagues; and at the end of this watch I ſounded, having ſixty fathoms with little ſtones and ſhells; the iſland from us eight leagues eaſt.

The 1ſt July, from four to eight o'clock, we ſailed weſt, four glaſſes four leagues, and at that preſent we had ſo much wind, that we ſpooned afore the ſea S. W. two leagues.

The 3d day, we found our compaſs to be varied one point to the weſtwards. This day, from four to eight o'clock, we ſailed W. by S. ſix leagues.

From eight to twelve o'clock at noon, W. by S. four leagues; at that preſent I found our compaſs to be varied eleven degrees and one-fourth part to the weſtward, which is one point.

The 11th day, at a S. E. ſun, we had ſight of the land of Friſeland, bearing from us W. N. W. ſixteen leagues, and riſing like pinnacles of ſteeples, and all covered with ſnow. I found myſelf in 61 degrees of latitude. We ſailed to the ſhore, and could find no ground at 150 fathoms; we hoiſted out our boat, and the captain, with four men, rowed to the ſhore to get on land; but the land lying full of ice, they could not get on land, and ſo they came aboard again. We had much ado to get clear of the ice, by reaſon of the fog; yet, from Thurſday eight o'clock in the morning, to Friday at noon, we ſailed S. W. 20 leagues.

The 18th day, at a S. E. ſun, I found the ſun to be elevated 33 degrees, and at a S. E. ſun 40 degrees. So I obſerved it till I found it at the higheſt, and then it was elevated 52 degrees. I judged the variation of the compaſs to be two points and a half to the weſtward.

The 21ſt day, we had ſight of a great drift of ice, ſeeming a firm land, and we caſt weſtward to be cleared of it.

The 26th we had ſight of a land of ice, the latitude was 62 degrees 2 minutes.

The 28th, in the morning, was very foggy; but at the clearing up of the fog, we had ſight of land, which I ſuppoſed to be Labrador, with great ſtore of ice about the land; I ran in towards it, and ſounded, but could get no bottom at 100 fathoms, and the ice being ſo thick, I could not get to the ſhore, and ſo lay off, and came clear of the ice. Upon Monday we came within a mile of the ſhore, and ſought a harbour: all the ſound was full of ice, and our boat rowing aſhore, could get no ground at 100 fathoms, within a cable's length of the ſhore. Then we ſailed E. N. E. along the ſhore,

for ſo the land lieth, and the current is there great, ſetting N. E. and S. W., and we could have gotten anchor ground, we would have ſeen with what force it had run; but I judge, a ſhip may drive a league and a half in one hour, with the tide.

The 31ſt, at four o'clock in the morning, being fair and clear, we had ſight of a head land, as we judged, bearing from us N. by E., and we ſailed N. E. by N. to that land, and when we came thither, we could not get to that land for ice; for the ice ſtretched along the coaſt, ſo that we could not come to the land by five leagues.

Wedneſday the firſt of Auguſt it calmed; and in the afternoon I cauſed my boat to be hoiſted out, being hard by a great iſland of ice; and I and four men rowed to that ice, and ſounded within two cables length of it, and had ſixteen fathoms; and after that, ſounded again, within a minion ſhot; and had ground at 100 fathoms, and fair ſand. We ſounded the next day, a quarter of a mile from it, and had 60 fathoms, rough ground; and at that preſent being aboard, that great iſland of ice fell one part from another, making a noiſe, as if a great cliff had fallen into the ſea; and at four o'clock I ſounded again, and had 90 fathoms, and ſmall black ſtones, and little white ſtones like pearls. The tide here did ſet to the ſhore.

The 10th, I took four men and myſelf, and rowed to ſhore, to an iſland one league from the main, and there the flood ſetteth S. W. along the ſhore, and it floweth, as near as I could judge, ſo too; I could not tarry to prove it, becauſe the ſhip was a great way from me, and I feared a fog; but when I came aſhore it was low water. I went to the top of the iſland, and before I came back, it was highed a foot water, and ſo, without tarrying, I came aboard.

The 11th, we found our latitude to be 63 degrees 8 minutes; and this day we entered the ſtraight.

The 12th, we ſet ſail towards an iſland, called the Gabriels Iſland, which was ten leagues then from us.

The 13th, we eſpied a ſound, and bare with it, and came to a ſandy bay, where we came to an anchor, the land bearing E. S. E. off us, and there we rode all night, in eight fathoms water. It flowed there at a S. E. moon. We called it Prior's Sound; being from the Gabriels Iſland 10 leagues.

The 14th, we weighed and ran into another ſound, where we anchored in eight fathoms water, fair ſand and black ooze, and there caulked our ſhip, being weak from the wales upwards, and took in freſh water.

The 15th day, we weighed and ſailed to Priors bay, being a mile from thence.

The 16th day was calm, and we rode ſtill, without ice; but preſently, within two hours, it was frozen round about the ſhip, a quarter of an inch thick; and that day very fair and calm.

The 17th day, we weighed, and came to Thomas Williams Iſland.

The 18th day, we ſailed N. N. W. and anchored again in 23 fathoms, and tough ooze, under Butchers Iſland, which is, from the former iſland, ten leagues.

The 19th day, in the morning, being calm, and no wind, the captain and I took our boat, with eight men in her, to row us aſhore, to ſee if there were any people, or no, and going to the top of the iſland, we had ſight of ſeven boats, which came rowing from the eaſt ſide, toward that iſland, whereupon we returned on board again: at length we ſent our boat with five men in her, to ſee whither they rowed, and ſo with a white cloth brought one of their boats with their men along the ſhore, rowing after our boat, till ſuch time as they ſaw our ſhip, and then they rowed aſhore. Then I went on ſhore myſelf, and gave every of them a threaden point, and brought one of them aboard of me, where he did eat and drink, and then carried him on ſhore again;

whereupon all the reſt came aboard with their boats, being nineteen perſons; and they ſpake, but we underſtood them not. They be like to Tartars, with long black hair, broad faces, and flat noſes, and tawny in colour, wearing ſeal ſkins; and ſo do the women, not differing in the faſhion; but the women are marked in the face with blue ſtreaks down the cheeks, and round about the eyes. Their boats are made all of ſeal ſkins, with a keel of wood within the ſkin; the proportion of them is like a Spaniſh ſhallop, ſave only they be flat in the bottom, and ſharp at both ends.

The 20th day we weighed, and went to the eaſt ſide of this iſland, and I and the captain, with four men more, went on ſhore, and there we ſaw their houſes; and the people eſpying us, came rowing towards our boat; whereupon we plied toward our boat, and we being in our boat, and they on ſhore, they called to us and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boat, and we carried him aboard, and gave him a bell, and a knife: ſo the captain and I willed five of our men to ſet him aſhore at a rock, and not among the company which they came from; but their wilfulneſs was ſuch, that they would go to them, and ſo were taken themſelves, and our boat loſt.

The next day, in the morning, we ſtood in near the ſhore, and ſhot off a fauconet, and ſounded our trumpet; but we could hear nothing of our men. This ſound we called, The five men's ſound, and plied out of it, but anchored again in 30 fathoms and ooze, and riding there all night, in the morning the ſnow lay a foot thick upon our hatches.

The 22d day, in the morning, we weighed, and went again to the place where we loſt our men and our boat. We had ſight of fourteen boats, and ſome came near to us; but we could learn nothing of our men: among the reſt, we enticed one boat to our ſhip's ſide, with a bell, and in giving him the bell we took him and his boat, and ſo kept him, and ſo rowed down to Thomas Williams Iſland, and there anchored all night.

The 26th day we weighed to come homeward, and by twelve o'clock at noon we were thwart of Trumpets Iſland.

The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Iſland, and at eight o'clock at night we had the Cape Labrador, as we ſuppoſed, weſt from us 10 leagues.

The 28th day we went our courſe S. E. and on the 29th we ſailed S. E. by E. 22 leagues.

The firſt day of September, in the morning, we had ſight of the land of Friſeland, being eight leagues from us; but we could not come near it, for the monſtrous ice that lay about it. From this day, till the ſixth of this month, we ran along Iſland, and had the ſouth part of it, at eight o'clock, eaſt from us ten leagues.

The 7th day of this month we had a very terrible ſtorm, by force whereof one of our men was blown into the ſea out of our waiſt; but he caught hold of the foreſail ſheet, and there held till the captain plucked him again into the ſhip.

The 25th day of this month we had ſight of the iſland of Orkney, which was then eaſt from us. The firſt day of October we had ſight of the Scheld, and ſo ſailed about the coaſt, and anchored at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

THE

# THE SECOND VOYAGE OF MASTER MARTIN FROBISHER,

## MADE TO THE WEST AND NORTH-WEST REGIONS,

### In the Year 1577;

### WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE.

WRITTEN BY MASTER DIONISE SETTLE.

ON Whitſunday, being the 26th of May, in the year of our Lord 1577, Captain Frobiſher departed from Blackwall with one of the Queen's Majeſty's ſhips, called the Aide, of nine ſcore tons, or thereabouts, and two other little barks likewiſe, the one called the Gabriel, whereof Maſter Fenton, a gentleman of my lord of Warwick, was captain; and the other the Michael, whereof Maſter York, a gentleman of my Lord Admiral's, was captain, accompanied with ſeven ſcore gentlemen, ſoldiers, and ſailors, well furniſhed with victuals, and other proviſions neceſſary for one half year, on this his ſecond voyage, for the further diſcovering of the paſſage to Cathay, and other countries thereunto adjacent, by W. and N.W. navigations; which paſſage or way is ſuppoſed to be on the North, and N.W. parts of America; and the ſaid America to be an iſland, environed with the ſea, where through our merchants may have courſe and recourſe with their merchandize, from theſe our northernmoſt parts of Europe, to thoſe oriental coaſts of Aſia, in much ſhorter time, and with greater benefit, than any others, to their no little commodity and profit that do or ſhall frequent the ſame. Our ſaid captain and general of this preſent voyage and company having, the year before, with two little pinnaces, to his great danger and no ſmall commendations, given a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is alſo preſt, when occaſion ſhall be miniſtered (to the benefit of his Prince and native country) to adventure himſelf further therein. As for this ſecond voyage, it ſeemeth ſufficient, that he hath better explored and ſearched the commodities of thoſe people and countries, which in his firſt voyage, the year before, he had found out.

Upon which conſiderations, the day and year before expreſſed, we departed from Blackwall to Harwich, where, making an accompliſhment of things neceſſary, the laſt of May we hoiſted up ſails, and, with a merry wind, the 7th June, we arrived at the iſlands, called Orcades, or vulgarly, Orkney; being in number thirty, ſubject and adjacent to Scotland, where we made proviſion of freſh water; in the doing whereof, our general licenſed the gentlemen and ſoldiers, for their recreation, to go on ſhore. At our landing, the people fled from their poor cottages, with ſhrieks and alarms, to warn their neighbours of enemies; but, by gentle perſuaſions, we reclaimed them to their houſes. It ſeemeth, they are often frighted with pirates, or ſome other enemies, that move them with ſuch ſudden fear. Their houſes are very ſimply built with pebble ſtone, without any chimnies, the fire being made in the midſt thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of the family, eat and ſleep on the one ſide of the houſe; and the cattle on the other; very beaſtly and rudely, in reſpect of civility. They are deſtitute of wood; their fire is turves and cowſhards. They have corn, bigge, and



oats,

oats, with which they pay their king's rents, to the maintenance of his houſe. They take great quantity of fiſh, which they dry in the wind and ſun. They dreſs their meat very filthily, and eat it without ſalt. Their apparel is after the rudeſt ſort of Scotland; their money is all baſe; their church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fiſhermen of England can better declare the diſpoſition of theſe people than I; wherefore I remit their uſages to their reports, as yearly repair thither in their courſe to and from the iſland for fiſh.

We departed here hence the 8th of June, and followed our courſe between W. and N.W. until the 4th of July, all which time we had no night; but that eaſily, and without impediment, we had, when we were ſo diſpoſed, the fruition of our books and other pleaſures, to paſs away the time, a thing of no ſmall moment to ſuch as wander in unknown ſeas and long navigations, eſpecially when both the winds and raging ſurges do paſs their common and wonted courſe. This benefit endureth in thoſe parts, not ſix weeks; but where the pole is raiſed to 70 or 80 degrees, it continueth much longer.

All along theſe ſeas, after we were ſix days ſailing from Orkney, we met, floating in the ſea, great fir trees, which were, as we judged, with the fury of great floods, rooted up, and ſo driven into the ſea. Iſland hath almoſt no other wood nor fuel, but ſuch as they take up upon their coaſts. It ſeemeth that theſe trees are driven from ſome part of the Newfoundland, with the current that ſetteth from the weſt to the eaſt.

The 4th of July we came within the making of Friſeland. From this ſhore 10 or 12 leagues, we met great iſlands of ice, of half a mile, ſome more, ſome leſs, in compaſs, ſhewing, above the ſea, 30 or 40 fathoms, and, as we ſuppoſed, faſt on ground, where, with our lead, we could ſcarce ſound the bottom for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant ſmells of ſweet gums, and pleaſant notes of muſical birds, which other countries, in more temperate zones, do yield, we taſted the moſt boiſterous boreal blaſts, mixed with ſnow and hail, in the months of June and July, not inferior to our intemperate winter: a ſudden alteration, and eſpecially in a place and parallel where the pole is not elevate above 61 degrees, at which height other countries, more to the north, yea, unto 70 degrees, ſhew themſelves more temperate than this doth.

All along this coaſt ice lieth, as a continual bulwark, and ſo defendeth the country, that thoſe that would land there incur great danger. Our general, three days together, attempted with the ſhip boat to have gone on ſhore, which for that without great danger he could not accompliſh; he deferred it until a more convenient time. All along the coaſt lie very high mountains, covered with ſnow, except in ſuch places, where, through the ſteepneſs of the mountains, of force it muſt needs fall. Four days coaſting along this land, we found no ſigns of habitation. Little birds, which we judged to have loſt the ſhore, by reaſon of thick fogs which that country is much ſubject to, came flying into our ſhips, which made us ſuppoſe, that the country is both more tolerable, and alſo habitable within, than the outward ſhore maketh ſhow or ſignification.

From hence we departed the 8th of July, and the 16th of the ſame, we came with the making of land, which land our general the year before had named the Queen's Foreland, being an iſland, as we judge, lying near the ſuppoſed continent with America; and on the other ſide, oppoſite to the ſame, one other iſland, called Halles Iſle, after the name of the maſter of the ſhip, near adjacent to the firm land, ſuppoſed continent with Aſia; between the which two iſlands there is a large entrance or ſtraight, called Frobiſher's Straight, after the name of our general, the firſt finder thereof. This ſaid ſtraight is ſuppoſed to have paſſage into the ſea of Suez, which I leave unknown as yet.

It ſeemeth, that either here, or not far hence, the ſea ſhould have more large entrance than in other parts within the frozen or intemperate zone, and that ſome contrary tide, either from the eaſt or weſt, with main force caſteth out that great quantity of ice, which cometh floating from this coaſt even unto Friſeland, cauſing the country to ſeem more intemperate than others much more northerly than the ſame.

I cannot judge that any temperature, under the pole, the time of the ſun's northern declination being half a year and one whole day (conſidering that the ſun's elevation ſurmounteth not 23 deg. and 30 min.) can have power to diſſolve ſuch monſtrous and huge ice, comparable to great mountains, except by ſome other force, as by ſwift currents and tides, with the help of the ſaid day of half a-year.

Before we came within the making of theſe lands we taſted cold ſtorms, inſomuch that it ſeemed we had changed ſummer with winter, if the length of the days had not removed us from that opinion.

At our firſt coming the ſtraights ſeemed to be ſhut up with a long mure of ice, which gave no little cauſe of diſcomfort unto us all; but our general (to whoſe diligence imminent dangers and difficult attempts ſeemed nothing, in reſpect of his willing mind for the commodity of his Prince and country), with two little pinnaces prepared of purpoſes, paſſed twice through them to the eaſt ſhore, and the iſlands thereunto adjacent; and the ſhip, with the two barks, lay off and on ſomething further into the ſea, from the danger of the ice.

Whilſt he was ſearching the country near the ſhore, ſome of the people of the country ſhewed themſelves, leaping and dancing, with ſtrange ſhrieks and cries, which gave no little admiration to our men. Our general deſirous to allure them to us by fair means, cauſed knives and other things to be proffered unto them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and took up, leaving ſomething of theirs to countervail the ſame. At length two of them leaving their weapons, came down to our general and maſter, who did the like to them, commanding the company to ſtay, and went unto them, who after certain dumb ſigns, and mute congratulations, began to lay hands upon them, but they cleverly eſcaped, and ran to their bows and arrows, and came fiercely upon them, (not reſpecting the reſt of our company, which were ready for their defence), but with their arrows hurt divers of them: we took the one, and the other eſcaped.

Whilſt our general was buſied in ſearching the country, and thoſe iſlands adjacent on the eaſt ſhore, the ſhip and barks having great care not to put far into the ſea from him, for that he had ſmall ſtore of victuals, were forced to abide a cruel tempeſt, chancing in the night, amongſt and in the thickeſt of the ice, which was ſo monſtrous, that even the leaſt of a thouſand had been of force ſufficient to have ſhivered our ſhip and barks into ſmall portions, if God, (who in all neceſſities hath care upon the infirmities of man), had not provided for this our extremity a ſufficient remedy through the light of the night, whereby we might well diſcern to flee from ſuch imminent dangers, which we avoided with fourteen boards in one watch the ſpace of four hours. If we had not incurred this danger amongſt theſe monſtrous iſlands of ice, we ſhould have loſt our general and maſter, and the moſt of our beſt ſailors, which were on the ſhore deſtitute of victuals: but by the valour of our maſter gunner, maſter Jackman, and Andrew Dyer, the maſter's mates, men expert both in navigation and other good qualities, we were all content to incur the dangers afore-rehearſed, before we would with our own ſafety, run into the ſeas, to the deſtruction of our ſaid general and his company.

The day following, being the 19th of July, our captain returned to the ſhip, with report of ſuppoſed riches, which ſhewed itſelf in the bowels of theſe barren mountains, wherewith we were all ſatisfied.

Within

Within four days after we had been at the entrance of the ſtraights, the N. W. and W. winds diſperſed the ice into the ſea, and made us a large entrance into the ſtraights, ſo that without any impediment, on the 19th of July we entered them, and the 20th thereof, our general and maſter with great diligence ſought out and founded the weſt ſhore, and found out a fair harbour for the ſhip and barks to ride in, and named it after our maſter's mate, Jackman's Sound, and brought the ſhip, barks, and all their company, to ſafe anchor, except one man, which died by God's viſitation.

At our firſt arrival, after the ſhip rode at anchor, our general, with ſuch company as could well be ſpared from the ſhips, in marching order entered the land, having ſpecial care by exhortations, that, at our entrance thereinto, we ſhould all with one voice, kneeling upon our knees, chiefly thank God for our arrival; ſecondly, beſeech him that it would pleaſe his divine Majeſty long to continue our Queen, for whom he, and all the reſt of our company, took poſſeſſion of the country; and thirdly, that by our Chriſtian ſtudy and endeavour, theſe barbarous people, trained up in paganiſm and infidelity, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of ſalvation in Chriſt our Redeemer; with other words very apt to ſignify his willing mind and affection toward his prince and country, whereby all ſuſpicion of an undutiful ſubject may credibly be judged to be utterly exempted from his mind. All the reſt of the gentlemen, and others, deſerve worthily herein their due praiſe and commendation.

Theſe things in this order accompliſhed, our general commanded all the company to be obedient in things needful for our own ſafeguard, to Maſter Fenton, Maſter Yorke, and Maſter Beaſt, his lieutenant, while he was occupied in other neceſſary affairs concerning our coming thither.

After this order, we all marched through the country, with enſign diſplayed, ſo far as was thought needful, and now and then heaped up ſtones on high mountains and other places, in token of poſſeſſion, as likewiſe to ſignify unto ſuch as might hereafter chance to arrive there, that poſſeſſion is taken in behalf of ſome other prince, by thoſe who firſt found out the country.

Whoſo maketh navigations to thoſe countries, hath not only extreme winds and furious ſeas to encounter withal, but alſo many monſtrous and great iſlands of ice; a thing both rare, wonderful, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced ſundry times, while the ſhip did ride here at anchor, to have continual watch with boats and men ready with hawſers to knit faſt unto ſuch ice, as with the ebb and flood were toſſed to and fro in the harbour, and with force of oars to haul them away, for endangering the ſhip.

Our general certain days ſearched this ſuppoſed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to anſwer his expectation, after he made trial thereof, he departed thence with two little barks, and men ſufficient, to the eaſt ſhore, being the ſuppoſed continent of Aſia, and left the ſhip, with moſt of the gentlemen, ſoldiers and ſailors, until ſuch time as he either thought good to ſend or come for them.

The ſtones of this ſuppoſed continent with America be altogether ſparkled, and gliſter in the ſun like gold; ſo likewiſe doth the ſand in the bright water, yet they verify the old proverb, "all is not gold that gliſtereth."

On this weſt ſhore we found a dead fiſh floating, which had in his noſe a horn ſtraight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two inches, being broken in the top, where we might perceive it hollow, into the which ſome of our ſailors putting ſpiders, they preſently died. I ſaw not the trial hereof, but it was reported unto me of a truth, by the virtue whereof we ſuppoſed it to be the ſea-unicorn.

After our general had found out good harbour for the ſhip and barks to anchor in, and alſo ſuch ſtore of ſuppoſed gold ore, as he thought himſelf ſatisfied withal, he returned to the Michael, whereof Maſter Yorke aforeſaid was captain, accompanied with our maſter and his mate; who, coaſting along the weſt ſhore, not far from whence the ſhip rode, they perceived a fair harbour, and willing to foundthe ſame, at the entrance thereof they eſpied two tents of ſeal ſkins, unto which thecaptain, our ſaid maſter, and other company reſorted. At the ſight of our men the people fled into the mountains: nevertheleſs they went to their tents, where leaving certain trifles of ours, as glaſſes, bells, knives, and ſuch like things, they departed, not taking any thing of theirs, except one dog; they did in like manner leave behind them a letter, pen, ink, and paper, whereby our men whom the captain loſt the year before, and in that people's cuſtody, might (if any of them were alive) be advertiſed of our preſence and being there.

On the ſame day, after conſultation had, all the gentlemen, and others likewiſe that could be ſpared from the ſhip, under the conduct and leading of Maſter Philpot, (unto whom in our general's abſence, and his lieutenant, Maſter Beaſt, all the reſt were obedient,) went aſhore, determining to ſee, if by fair means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwiſe take ſome of them, and ſo attain to ſome knowledge of thoſe men whom our general loſt the year before.

At our coming back again to the place where their tents were before, they had removed their tents further into the ſaid bay or ſound, where they might, if they were driven from the land, flee with their boats into the ſea. We parting ourſelves into two companies, and compaſſing a mountain, came ſuddenly upon them by land; who eſpying us, without any tarrying fled to their boats, leaving the moſt part of their oars behind them for haſte, and rowed down the bay, where our two pinnaces met them and drove them aſhore: but if they had had all their oars, ſo ſwift are they in rowing, it had been loſt time to have chaſed them.

When they were landed, they fiercely aſſaulted our men with their bows and arrows, who wounded three of them with our arrows, and perceiving themſelves thus hurt, they deſperately leaped off the rocks into the ſea and drowned themſelves, which if they had not done, but had ſubmitted themſelves, or if by any means we could have taken them alive (being their enemies as they judged), we would both haveſaved them, and alſo have ſought remedy to cure their wounds, received at our hands. But they, altogether void of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities look for no other than death; and perceiving they ſhould fall into our hands, thus miſerably by drowning rather deſired death, than otherwiſe to be ſaved by us; the reſt perceiving their fellows in this diſtreſs, fled into the high mountains. Two women not being ſo apt to eſcape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incumbered with a young child, we took. The old wretch, whom divers of our ſailors ſuppoſed to be either a devil or a witch, had her buſkins plucked off to ſee if ſhe were cloven-footed, and for her ugly hue and deformity we let her go. The young woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were ſlain Bloody Point, and the bay or harbour, York's Sound, after the name of one of the captains of the two barks. Having this knowledge both of their fierceneſs and cruelty, and perceiving that fair means as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we diſpoſed ourſelves, contrary to our inclination, ſomething to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a ſpoil of the ſame; where we found an old ſhirt, a doublet, a girdle, and alſo ſhoes of our men, whom we loſt the year before; on nothing elſe unto them belonging could we ſet our eyes.

Their

Their riches are not gold, ſilver, or precious drapery, but their ſaid tents and boats made of the ſkins of red deer and ſeal ſkins; alſo dogs like unto wolves, but for the moſt part black, with other trifles, more to be wondered at for their ſtrangeneſs, than for any other commodity needful for our uſe.

Thus returning to our ſhip the 3d of Auguſt, we departed from the weſt ſhore, ſuppoſed firm with America, after we had anchored there thirteen days, and ſo the 4th thereof we came to our general on the eaſt ſhore, and anchored in a fair harbour named Ann Warwicke's Sound, unto which is annexed an iſland both named, after the Counteſs of Warwicke, Ann Warwicke's Sound and Iſland.

In this iſle our general thought good for his voyage to freight both the ſhip and barks with ſuch ſtone, or ſuppoſed gold mineral, as he judged to countervail the charges of his firſt and this his ſecond navigation to theſe countries.

In the mean time of our abode here, ſome of the country people came to ſhew themſelves unto us ſundry times, on the main ſhore, near adjacent to the ſaid iſle. Our general, deſirous to have ſome news of his men whom he loſt the year before, with ſome company with him repaired with the ſhip's boat to commune, or ſign with them for familiarity, whereunto he is perſuaded to bring them. They at the firſt ſhew made tokens that three of his five men were alive, and deſired pen, ink, and paper, and that within three or four days they would return, and (as we judged) bring thoſe of our men which were living with them.

They alſo made ſigns or tokens of their king, whom they called CACOUGH, and how he was carried on men's ſhoulders, and a man far ſurmounting any of our company in bigneſs and ſtature.

With theſe tokens and ſigns of writing, pen, ink, and paper was delivered to them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid upon the ſhore, and the party gone away, they took up; which likewiſe they do, when they deſire any thing for change of their laying for that which is left ſo much as they think will countervail the ſame, and not coming near together. It ſeemeth they have been uſed to this trade or traffic with ſome other people adjoining or not far diſtant from their country.

After four days, ſome of them ſhewed themſelves upon the firm land, but not where they were before. Our general very glad thereof, ſuppoſing to hear of our men, went from the iſland with the boat and ſufficient company with him. They ſeemed very glad, and allured him about a certain point of the land; behind which they might perceive a company of the crafty villains to lie lurking, whom our general would not deal withal, for that he knew not what company they were, and ſo with few ſigns diſmiſſed them and returned to his company.

Another time, as our ſaid general was coaſting the country with two little pinnaces, whereby at our return he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white ſkin, allured us to them. Once again, our general, for that he hoped to hear of his men, went towards them. At our coming near the ſhore, whereupon they were, we might perceive a number of them lie hidden behind great ſtones, and thoſe three in ſight labouring by all means poſſible, that ſome would come on land; and perceiving we made no haſte by words nor friendly ſigns, which they uſed by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but three in ſight, they ſought further means to provoke us thereunto. One alone laid fleſh on the ſhore, which we took up with the boat-hook, as neceſſary victuals for the relieving of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken, for that as yet they could not digeſt our meat; whereby they perceived themſelves deceived of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once again to make (as it were) a full ſhow of their crafty natures, and ſubtle

ſleights, to the intent thereby to have entrapped and taken ſome of our men, one of them counterfeited himſelf impotent and lame of his legs, who ſeemed to deſcend to the water-ſide with great difficulty, and to cover his craft the more, one of his fellows came down with him, and in ſuch places where he ſeemed unable to paſs, he took him on his ſhoulders, ſet him by the water-ſide, and departed from him, leaving him (as it ſhould ſeem) all alone, who playing his counterfeit pageant very well, thought thereby to provoke ſome of us to come on ſhore, not fearing but that one of us might make our party good with a lame man.

Our general having compaſſion of his impotency, thought it good (if it were poſſible) to cure him thereof; wherefore he cauſed a ſoldier to ſhoot at him with his caleever, which grazed before his face. The counterfeit villain deliverly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrows, and the reſt from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bows, arrows, ſlings, and darts. Our general cauſed ſome caleevers to be ſhot off at them, whereby ſome being hurt, they might hereafter ſtand in more fear of us.

This was all the anſwer for this time we could have of our men, or of our general's letter. Their crafty dealing at theſe three ſeveral times being thus manifeſt unto us, may plainly ſhew their diſpoſition in other things to be correſpondent. We judged that they uſed theſe ſtratagems, thereby to have caught ſome of us, for the delivering of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature and of a good proportion, their colour is not much unlike the ſun-burnt countryman, who laboureth daily in the ſun for his living. They wear their hair ſomething long, and cut before either with ſtone or knife, very diſorderly. Their women wear their hair long, and knit up with two loops, ſhewing forth on either ſide of their faces, and the reſt foltred upon a knot. Alſo ſome of their women race their faces proportionally, as chin, cheeks, and forehead, and the wriſts of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth dark azure.

They eat their meat all raw, both fleſh, fiſh, and fowl, or ſomething parboiled, with blood and a little water, which they drink. For lack of water they will eat ice that is hard frozen, as pleaſantly as we will do ſugarcandy, or other ſugar.

If they for neceſſity ſake ſtand in need of the premiſes, ſuch graſs as the country yieldeth they pluck and eat, not daintily, or ſaladwiſe, to lure their ſtomachs to appetite, but for neceſſity ſake, without either ſalt, oils, or waſhing, like brute beaſts devouring the ſame; they neither uſe table, ſtool, or table-cloth, for comelineſs; but when they are embrued with blood knuckle deep, and their knives in like ſort, they uſe their tongues, as apt inſtruments to lick them clean; in doing whereof they are aſſured to loſe none of their victuals.

They frank or keep certain dogs not much unlike wolves, which they yoke together as we do oxen and horſes, to a ſled or trail, and ſo carry their neceſſaries over the ice and ſnow from place to place, as the captive whom we have, made perfect ſigns; and when thoſe dogs are not apt for the uſe, or when with hunger they are conſtrained for the lack of other victuals, they eat them, ſo that they are needful for them in reſpect of their bigneſs, as our oxen are for us.

They apparel themſelves in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as they kill, ſewed together with the ſinews of them. All the fowl which they kill, they ſkin and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend themſelves from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tails, which tails they give when they think to gratify any friendſhip ſhewed unto them; a great ſign of friendſhip with them. The men have them not ſo ſide as the women.

The

The men and women wear their hoſe cloſe to their legs, from the waiſt to the knee, without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legs they wear hoſe of leather, with the fur ſide inward, two or three pair on at once, and eſpecially the women; in thoſe hoſe they put their knives, needles, and other things needful to bear about. They put a bone within their hoſe, which reacheth from the foot to the knee, whereupon they draw their ſaid hoſe, and ſo in place of garters, they are holden from falling down about their feet.

They dreſs their ſkins very ſoft and ſupple with the hair on; in cold weather or winter they wear the fur ſide inward, and in ſummer outward. Other apparel they have none but the ſaid ſkins.

Thoſe beaſts, fiſhes, and fowls which they kill, are their meat, drink, apparel, houſes, bedding, hoſe, ſhoes, thread and ſails for their boats, with many other neceſſaries whereof they ſtand in need, and almoſt all their riches.

Their houſes are tents, made of ſeal ſkins, pitched up with four fir quarters, four-ſquare, meeting at the top, and the ſkins ſewed together with ſinews, and laid thereupon; they are ſo pitched up, that the entrance into them is always ſouth or againſt the ſun.

They have other houſes which we found not to be inhabited, which are raiſed with ſtones and whalebones, and a ſkin laid over them to withſtand the rain or other weather, the entrance of them being not much unlike an oven's mouth, where I think they reſort for a time to fiſh, hunt, and fowl, and ſo leave them until the next time they come thither again.

The weapons are bows, arrows, darts, and ſlings: their bows are of wood of a yard long, ſinewed at the back with ſtrong ſinews, not glued to, but faſt girded and tied on; their bow-ſtrings are likewiſe ſinews; their arrows are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with two ends, and the wood in the midſt; they paſs not in length half a yard, or little more; they are feathered with two feathers, the pen end being cut away, and the feathers laid upon the arrow, with the broad ſide to the wood, inſomuch that they ſeem when they are tied on, to have four feathers. They have alſo three ſorts of heads to thoſe arrows; one ſort of ſtone or iron, proportioned like to a heart; the ſecond ſort of bone, much like unto a ſtopt head, with a hook on the ſame; the third ſort, of bone likewiſe, made ſharp at both ſides, and ſharp pointed. They are not made very faſt, but lightly tied to, or elſe ſet in a nocke, that upon ſmall occaſion the arrows leave theſe heads behind them; and they are of ſmall force, except they be very near when they ſhoot.

Their darts are made of two ſorts; the one with many forks of bones in the fore end, and likewiſe in the midſt; their proportions are not much unlike our toaſting irons, only longer, but theſe they caſt out of an inſtrument of wood very readily. The other ſort is greater than the firſt aforeſaid, with a long bone made ſharp on both ſides, not much unlike a rapier, which I take to be their moſt hurtful weapon.

They have two ſorts of boats made of leather, ſet out on the inner ſide with quarters of wood, artificially tied together with thongs of the ſame; the greater ſort are not much unlike our wherries, wherein 16 or 20 men may ſit; they have for a ſail, dreſt the guts of ſuch beaſts as they kill very fine and thin, which they ſew together; the other boat is but for one man to ſit and row in with one oar.

Their order of fiſhing, hunting, and fowling, are with theſe ſaid weapons; but in what ſort, or how they uſe them, we have no perfect knowledge as yet.

I can ſuppoſe their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houſes nor apparel are of ſuch force to withſtand the extremity of cold that the country ſeemeth to be infected withal; neither do I ſee any ſign likely to perform the ſame.

Thoſe

Thoſe houſes, or rather dens, which ſtand there, have no ſign of footway, or any thing elſe trodden, which is one of the chiefeſt tokens of habitation; and thoſe tents which they bring with them, when they have ſufficiently hunted and fiſhed, they remove to other places, and when they have ſufficiently ſtowed them of ſuch victuals as the country yieldeth or bringeth forth, they return to their winter ſtations or habitations. This conjecture do I make for the infertility which I conjecture to be in that country.

They have ſome iron, whereof they make arrow heads, knives, and other little inſtruments, to work their boats, bows, arrows, and darts withal, which are very unapt to do any thing withal, but with great labour.

It ſeemeth that they have converſation with ſome other people, of whom for exchange they ſhould receive the ſame. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giveth a ſound.

What knowledge they have of God, or what idol they adore, we have no perfect intelligence: I think them rather ANTHROPOPHAGI, or devourers of man's fleſh, than otherwiſe; for that there is no fleſh or fiſh which they find dead, (ſmell it never ſo filthily), but they will eat it, as they find it, without any other dreſſing. A loathſome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

There is no manner of creeping beaſt hurtful, except ſome ſpiders, (which ſome affirm are ſigns of great ſtore of gold), and alſo certain ſtinging gnats, which bite ſo fiercely, that the place where they bite ſhortly after ſwelleth and itcheth very ſore.

They make ſigns of certain people that wear bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

The countries on both ſides the ſtreights lie very high, with rough ſtony mountains, and great quantity of ſnow thereon. There is very little plain ground, and no graſs, except a little which is much like unto moſs that groweth on ſoft ground, ſuch as we get turfs in. There is no wood at all. To be brief, there is nothing fit or profitable for the uſe of man, which that country with root yieldeth or bringeth forth: howbeit, there is great quantity of deer, whoſe ſkins are like unto aſſes; their heads and horns do far exceed, as well in length, as alſo in breadth, any in theſe our parts or countries; their feet likewiſe are as great as our oxen's, which we meaſured to be ſeven or eight inches in breadth. There are alſo hares, wolves, fiſhing bears, and ſea fowl of ſundry ſorts.

As the country is barren and unfertile, ſo are they rude and of no capacity to culture the ſame to any perfection, but are contented by their hunting, fiſhing, and fowling, with raw fleſh and warm blood, to ſatisfy their greedy paunches, which is their only glory.

There is great likelihood of earthquakes or thunder, for that there are huge and monſtrous mountains, whoſe greateſt ſubſtance are ſtones, and thoſe ſtones ſo ſhaken with extraordinary means, that one is ſeparated from another, which is diſcordant with all other quarries.

There are no rivers or running ſprings, but ſuch as through the heat of the ſun, with ſuch water as deſcendeth from the mountains and hills, whereon great drifts of ſnow do lie, are ingendered.

It argueth alſo that there ſhould be none; for that the earth, which with the extremity of the winter is ſo frozen within, that that water which ſhould have recourſe within the ſame to maintain ſprings, hath not its motion, whereof great waters have their original, as is ſeen otherwhere. Such vallies as are capable to receive the water,

that in the ſummer time by the operation of the ſun deſcendeth from great abundance of ſnow, which continually lieth on the mountains, and hath no paſſage, ſinketh into the earth and ſo vaniſheth away, without any runnell above the earth, by which occaſion, or continual ſtanding of the ſaid water, the earth is opened, and the great froſt yieldeth to the force thereof; which in other places, four or five fathoms within the ground, for lack of the ſaid moiſture, the earth (even in the very ſummer time) is frozen, and ſo combineth the ſtones together, that ſcarcely inſtruments with great force can unknit them.

Alſo where the water in thoſe vallies can have no ſuch paſſage away, by the continuance of time in ſuch order as is before rehearſed, the yearly deſcent from the mountains filleth them full, that at the loweſt bank of the ſame they fall into the valley, and ſo continue as fiſhing-ponds or ſtagnes in ſummer time full of water, and in the winter hard frozen, as by ſkarres that remain thereof in ſummer may eaſily be perceived; ſo that the heat of ſummer is nothing comparable or of force to diſſolve the extremity of cold that cometh in winter.

Nevertheleſs, I am aſſured, that below the force of the froſt within the earth, the waters have recourſe, and empty themſelves out of ſight into the ſea, which through the extremity of the froſt are conſtrained to do the ſame; by which occaſion the earth within is kept the warmer, and ſprings have their recourſe, which is the only nutriment of gold and minerals within the ſame.

There is much to be ſaid of the commodities of theſe countries, which are couched within the bounds of the earth; which I let paſs till more perfect trial be made thereof.

The 24th of Auguſt, after we had ſatisfied our minds with freight ſufficient for our veſſels, though not our covetous deſires with ſuch knowledge of the country, people, and other commodities as are before rehearſed, we departed therehence. The 17th of September we fell in with the land's-end of England, and ſo ſailed to Milford Haven, from whence our general rode to the court, for order to what port or haven to conduct the ſhip.

We loſt our two barks in the way homewards, the one the 29th of Auguſt, the other the 31ſt of the ſame month, by occaſion of a great tempeſt and fog; howbeit God reſtored the one to Briſtowe, and the other made his courſe by Scotland to Yarmouth. In this voyage we loſt two men, one in the way by God's viſitation, and the other homeward, caſt overboard with a ſurge of the ſea.

# THE THIRD AND LAST VOYAGE UNTO META INCOGNITA,

## MADE BY M. MARTIN FROBISHER IN THE YEAR 1578.

### WRITTEN BY THOMAS ELLIS.

THESE are to let you know, that upon the 25th of May, the Thomas Allen being vice-admiral, whoſe captain was M. Yorke, M. Gibbs maſter, Chriſtopher Hall pilot; accompanied with the rear-admiral named the Hopewell, whoſe captain was M. Henry Carewe, the M. Andrew Dyer, and certain other ſhips came to Graveſend, where we anchored, and abode the coming of certain of our fleet, which were not yet come.

The 27th of the ſame month, our fleet being now come together, and all things put in a readineſs, the wind favouring, and tide ſerving, we being of ſails in number eight, weighed anchor and hoiſted our ſails towards Harwich to meet with our admiral, and the reſidue, which then and there abode our arrival, where we ſafely arrived the 28th thereof, finding there our admiral, whom we with the diſcharge of certain pieces, ſaluted, according to order and duty; and were welcomed with the like courteſy, which being finiſhed we landed; where our general continued muſtering his ſoldiers and miners, and ſetting things in order appertaining to the voyage, until the laſt of the ſaid month of May, which day we hoiſted our ſails, and committing ourſelves to the conducting of Almighty God, we ſet forward toward the weſt country in ſuch lucky wiſe and good ſucceſs, that by the 5th of June we paſſed the Durſies, being the utmoſt part of Ireland to the weſtward.

And here it were not much amiſs, nor far from our purpoſe, if I ſhould a little diſcourſe and ſpeak of our adventures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plymouth, and alſo the meeting certain poor men, which were robbed and ſpoiled of all that they had by pirates and robbers; amongſt whom was a man of Briſtow, on whom our general uſed his liberality, and ſent him away with letters into England.

But becauſe ſuch things are impertinent to the matter, I will return (without any more mentioning of the ſame) to that from the which I have digreſſed and ſwerved, I mean our ſhips now ſailing on the ſurging ſeas, ſometimes paſſing with pleaſure with a wiſhed eaſtern wind, ſometimes hindered of our courſe again by the weſtern blaſts, until the 20th day of the aforeſaid month of June, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very high and cragged land, and was almoſt clean covered with ſnow, ſo that we might ſee nought but craggy rocks, and the tops of high and huge hills, ſometimes (and for the moſt part) all covered with foggy miſts. There might be alſo perceived the great iſles of ice lying on the ſeas, like mountains, ſome ſmall and ſome big, of ſundry kinds of ſhapes, and ſuch a number of them, that we could not come near the ſhore for them.

Thus ſailing along the coaſt, at the laſt we ſaw a place, ſomewhat void of ice, where our general (accompanied with certain others) went aſhore, where they ſaw certain tents made of beaſts ſkins, and boats much like unto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furniſhed with fleſh, fiſh ſkins, and other trifles; amongſt the which was found a box of nails, whereby we did conjecture that they had either artificers amongſt them, or elſe a traffic

a traffic with ſome other nation. The men ran away, ſo that we could have no conference or communication with them. Our general (becauſe he would have them no more to flee, but rather encouraged to ſtay, through his courteous dealing) gave commandment that his men ſhould take nothing away with them, ſaving only a couple of white dogs; for which he left pins, points, knives, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and ſo came aboard, and hoiſted ſail, and paſſed forwards.

But being ſcarce out of the ſight thereof, there fell ſuch a fog and hideous miſt, that we could not ſee one another; whereupon we ſtruck our drums, and ſounded our trumpets, to the end we might keep together, and ſo continued all that day and night, till the next day that the miſt broke up, ſo that we might eaſily perceive all the ſhips thus ſailing together all that day until the next day, being the 22d of the ſame; on which day we ſaw an infinite number of ice, from the which we caſt about, to ſhun the danger thereof.

But one of our ſmall barks, named the Michael, whoſe captain was Maſter Kinderſlie, the maſter Bartholomew Bull, loſt our company, inſomuch that we could not obtain the ſight of her many days after; of whom I mean to ſpeak further anon, when occaſion ſhall be miniſtered, and opportunity ſerve. Thus we continued in our courſe until the 2d of July, on which day we fell with the Queen's Foreland, where we ſaw ſo much ice, that we thought it impoſſible to get into the ſtreights; yet at the laſt we gave the adventure, and entered the ice.

Being amongſt it, we ſaw the Michael, of whom I ſpake before, accompanied with the Judith, whoſe captain was Maſter Fenton, the maſter Charles Jackman, bearing into the aforeſaid ice, far diſtant from us, who in a ſtorm that fell that preſent night, (whereof I will at large, God willing, diſcourſe hereafter,) were ſevered from us, and being in, wandered up and down the ſtreights amongſt the ice, many days in great peril; till at the laſt (by the Providence of God) they came ſafely to harbour in their wiſhed port, in the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, the 20th of July aforeſaid, ten days before any of the other ſhips. Who going on ſhore, found where the people of the country had been, and had hid their proviſion in great heaps of ſtones, being both of fleſh and fiſh, which they had killed: whereof we alſo found great ſtore in other places after our arrival. They found alſo divers engines, as bows, ſlings and darts. They found likewiſe certain pieces of the pinnace, which our general left there the year before, which pinnace he had ſunk, minding to have it again the next year.

Now ſeeing I have entreated ſo much of the Judith and the Michael, I will return to the reſt of the other ſhips, and will ſpeak a little of the ſtorm that fell, with the miſhaps that we had, the night that we put into the ice; whereof I made mention before.

At the firſt entering into the ice at the mouth of the ſtreights, our paſſage was very narrow and difficult; but being once got in, we had a fair open place without any ice for the moſt part, being a league, the ice being round about us and incloſing us, as it were, within the pales of a park. In which place, becauſe it was almoſt night, we minded to take in our ſails, and lie a hull all that night. But the ſtorm ſo increaſed, and the waves began to mount aloft, which brought the ice ſo near us, and coming on ſo faſt upon us, that we were fain to bear in and out, where we might eſpie an open place. Thus, the ice coming on us ſo faſt, we were in great danger, looking every hour for death. And thus paſſed we on in that great danger, ſeeing both ourſelves

and the reſt of our ſhips ſo troubled and toſſed amongſt the ice, that it would make the ſtrongeſt heart to relent.

At the laſt the bark Dionyſe, being but a weak ſhip, and bruiſed afore amongſt the ice, being ſo leaky that no longer ſhe could tarry above the water, ſunk without ſaving any of the goods which were within her; which ſight ſo abaſhed the whole fleet, that we thought verily that we ſhould have taſted of the ſame ſauce. But nevertheleſs, we ſeeing them in ſuch great danger, manned our boats and ſaved all the men in ſuch wiſe, that not one periſhed, God be thanked.

The ſtorm ſtill increaſed, and the ice incloſed us, ſo that we were fain to take down top and top-maſts; for the ice had ſo environed us, that we could ſee neither land nor ſea, as far as we could ken; ſo that we were fain to cut our cables to hang over-board for fenders, ſomewhat to eaſe the ſhip's ſides from the great and dreary ſtrokes of the ice; ſome with capſtan bars, ſome fending off with oars, ſome with planks of two inches thick, which were broken immediately with the force of the ice; ſome going out upon the ice to bear it off with their ſhoulders from the ſhips. But the rigorouſneſs of the tempeſt was ſuch, and the force of the ice ſo great, that not only they burſt and ſpoiled the aforeſaid proviſion, but likewiſe ſo raiſed the ſides of the ſhips, that it was pitiful to behold, and cauſed the hearts of many to faint.

Thus we continued all that diſmal and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for inſtant death; but our God (who never leaveth them deſtitute which faithfully call upon him, although he often puniſheth for amendment ſake), in the morning cauſed the wind to ceaſe, and the fog, which all that night lay on the face of the water, to clear; ſo that we might perceive about a mile from us, a certain place clear from any ice, to the which with an eaſy breath of wind, which our God ſent us, we bent ourſelves. And furthermore, he provided better for us than we deſerved or hoped for; for when we were in the aforeſaid clear place, he ſent us a freſh gale at weſt, or at W. S. W. which ſet us clear without all the ice. And further he added more, for he ſent us ſo pleaſant a day, as the like we had not of a long time before, as after puniſhment conſolation.

Thus we joyful wights being at liberty, took in all our ſails and lay a hull, praying God for our deliverance, and ſtayed to gather together our fleet; which once being done, we ſeeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, ſaving only they of whom I ſpake before, and the ſhip which was loſt; then at the laſt we hoiſted our ſails, and lay beating off and on, till ſuch time as it would pleaſe God to take away the ice that we might get into the ſtreights.

And as we thus lay off and on, we came by a marvellous huge mountain of ice, which ſurpaſſed all the reſt that ever we ſaw; for we judged it to be near four-ſcore fathoms above water, and we thought it to be aground for any thing that we could perceive, being there nineſcore fathoms deep, and of compaſs about half a mile.

Alſo the 5th of July there fell a hideous fog and miſt, that continued till the 19th of the ſame; ſo that one ſhip could not ſee another. Therefore we were fain to bear a ſmall ſail, and to obſerve the time; but there run ſuch a current of a tide, that it ſet us to the N. W. of the Queen's Foreland, the backſide of all the ſtreights; where (through the contagious fog, having no ſight either of ſun or ſtar) we ſcarce knew where we were. In this fog the 10th of July, we loſt the company of the vice-admiral, the Anne Francis, the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

The 16th day, one of our ſmall barks, named the Gabriel, was ſent by our general

to

to bear in with the land to deſcry it; where being on land, they met with the people of the country, which ſeemed very humane and civil, and offered to traffic with our men, proffering them fowls and ſkins for knives and other trifles, whoſe courteſy cauſed us to think that they had ſmall converſation with other of the ſtreights.

Then we bare back again to go with the Queen's Foreland, and the 18th day we came by two iſlands whereon we went on ſhore, and found where the people had been; but we ſaw none of them. This day we were again in the ice, and like to be in as great peril as we were at firſt; for through the darkneſs and obſcurity of the foggy miſt, we were almoſt run on rocks and iſlands before we ſaw them. But God (even miraculouſly) provided for us, opening the fogs that we might ſee clearly, both where and in what danger we preſently were, and alſo the way to eſcape; or elſe without fail we had ruinouſly run upon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our inſtant caſe we caſt about to get again on ſea-board; which, God be thanked, by night we obtained, and praiſed God. The clear continued ſcarce an hour, but the fog fell again as thick as ever it was.

Then the Rear-admiral and the Bear got themſelves clear without danger of ice and rocks, ſtruck their ſails and lay a hull, ſtaying to have the reſt of the fleet come forth, which as yet had not found the right way to clear themſelves from the danger of rocks and ice, until the next morning, at what time the Admiral diſcharged certain warning pieces to give notice that ſhe had eſcaped, and that the reſt (by following her) might ſet themſelves free, which they did that day.

Then having gathered ourſelves together, we proceeded on our purpoſed voyage, bearing off and keeping ourſelves diſtant from the coaſt till the 19th day of July; at which time the fogs brake up and diſperſed, ſo that we might plainly and clearly behold the pleaſant air, which ſo long had been taken from us, by the obſcurity of the foggy miſts; and after that time we were not much encumbered therewith, until we had left the confines of the country.

Then we eſpying a fair ſound, ſuppoſed it to go into the ſtreights between the Queen's Foreland and Jackman's Sound, which proved as we imagined, for our general ſent forth the Gabriel to diſcover it, who paſſed through with much difficulty, for there ran ſuch an extreme current of a tide, with ſuch a horrible gulph, that with a freſh gale of wind they were ſcarcely able to ſtem it; yet at the length with great travail they paſſed it, and came to the ſtreights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater; who altogether ventured to bear into the ice again, to ſee if they could obtain their wiſhed port. But they were ſo encumbered that with much difficulty they were able to get out again, yet at the laſt they eſcaping, the Thomas Allen and the Gabriel bare in with the weſtern ſhore, where they found harbour, and there moored their ſhips until the 4th of Auguſt, at which time they came to us in the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound. The Thomas of Ipſwich caught a great leak, which cauſed her to caſt again to ſea-board, and ſo was mended.

We ſailed along ſtill by the coaſt, until we came to the Queen's Foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulph aforeſaid, which place or gulph (as ſome of our maſters do credibly report) doth flow nine hours, and ebbs but three. At that point we diſcovered certain lands ſouthward, which neither time nor opportunity would ſerve to ſearch. Then being come to the mouth of the ſtreights we met with the Anne Francis, who had lain bulting up and down ever ſince her departure alone, never finding any of her company. We met then alſo the Francis of Foy, with whom

again we intended to venture and get in, but the ice was yet ſo thick, that we were compelled again to retire, and get us on ſea-board.

There fell alſo the ſame day, being the 26th of July, ſuch an horrible ſnow, that it lay a foot thick upon the hatches, which froze as it fell.

We had alſo at other times divers cruel ſtorms, both of ſnow and hail, which manifeſtly declared the diſtemperature of the country. Yet for all that we were ſo many times repulſed and put back from our purpoſe, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for us, but hurtful to our voyage, we mutually conſented to our valiant general once again, to give the onſet.

The 28th therefore of the ſaid July we eſſayed, and with little trouble (God be praiſed) we paſſed the dangers by day-light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, we hulled in the clear, till the cheerful light of the day had chaſed away the noiſome darkneſs of the night; at which time we ſet forward toward our wiſhed port: by the 30th day we obtained our expected deſire, where we found the Judith and the Michael; which brought no ſmall joy unto the general, and great conſolation to the heavy hearts of thoſe wearied wights.

The 30th day of July we brought our ſhips into the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, and moored them; namely, theſe ſhips, the Admiral, the Rear-admiral, the Francis of Foy, the Bear, Armenel, the Salomon, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater; which being done, our general commanded us all to come aſhore, upon the Counteſs's Iſland, where he ſet his miners to work upon the mine, giving charge with expedition to diſpatch with their lading.

Our general himſelf, accompanied with his gentlemen, divers times made roads into ſundry parts of the country, as well to find new mines, as alſo to find out and ſee the people of the country. He found out one mine upon an iſland by Bear's Sound, and named it the Counteſs of Suſſex Iſland. One other was found in Winter's Fornace, with divers others, to which the ſhips were ſent ſunderly to be laden. In the ſame roads he met with divers of the people of the country at ſundry times, as once at a place called David's Sound; who ſhot at our men, and very deſperately gave them the onſet, being not above three or four in number, there being of our countrymen above a dozen; but ſeeing themſelves not able to prevail, they took themſelves to flight; whom our men purſued, but being not uſed to ſuch craggy cliffs, they ſoon loſt the ſight of them, and ſo in vain returned.

We alſo ſaw of them at Bear's Sound, both by ſea and land in great companies; but they would at all times keep the water between them and us. And if any of our ſhips chanced to be in the Sound, (as they came divers times becauſe the harbour was not very good,) the ſhip laded and departed again; then ſo long as any ſhips were in ſight, the people would not be ſeen. But when as they perceived the ſhips to be gone, they would not only ſhew themſelves ſtanding upon high cliffs, and call us to come over unto them, but alſo would come in their boats very near to us, as it were to brag at us; whereof our general having advertiſement, ſent for the captains and gentlemen of the ſhips, to accompany and attend upon him, with the captain alſo of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come unto us; for they and the Fleebote having loſt us the 26th day in the great ſnow, put into an harbour in the Queen's Foreland, where they found good ore, wherewith they laded themſelves, and came to ſeek the general; ſo that now we had all our ſhips, ſaving one bark which was loſt, and the Thomas of Ipſwich, who (compelled by what fury I know not) forſook our company, and returned home without lading.

Our

Our general, accompanied with his gentlemen (of whom I ſpake), came all together to the Counteſs of Suſſex Iſland, near to Bear Sound, where he manned out certain pinnaces, and went over to the people, who perceiving his arrival, fled away with all ſpeed, and in haſte left certain darts, and other engines behind them, which we found; but the people we could not find.

The next morning, our general perceiving certain of them in boats upon the ſea, gave chaſe to them in a pinnace under ſail, with a freſh gale of wind, but could by no means come near unto them; for the longer he ſailed, the farther off he was from them, which well ſhewed their cunning and activity. Thus, time wearing away, and the day of our departure approaching, our general commanded us to lade with all expedition, that we might be again on ſea-board with our ſhips; for whilſt we were in the country, we were in continual danger of freezing in: for often ſnow and hail often falling, the water was ſo much frozen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could ſcarce row our boats or pinnaces, eſpecially in Dier's Sound, which is a calm and ſtill water; which cauſed our general to make the more haſte, ſo that by the 30th day of Auguſt we were all laden and made all things ready to depart.

But before I proceed any further herein, to ſhew what fortune befell our departure, I will turn my pen a little to M. Captain Fenton, and thoſe gentlemen, which ſhould have inhabited all the year in thoſe countries, whoſe valiant minds were much to be commended; for doubtleſs they had done as they intended, if luck had not withſtood their willingneſs.

For the bark Dionyſe, which was loſt, had in her much of their houſe which was prepared and ſhould have been builded for them, with many other implements. Alſo the Thomas of Ipſwich, which had moſt of their proviſion in her, came not into the ſtreights at all, neither did we ſee her ſince the day we were ſeparated in the great ſnow, of which I ſpake before. For theſe cauſes, having not their houſe nor yet proviſion, they were diſappointed of their pretence to tarry, and therefore laded their ſhips, and ſo came away with us.

But before we took ſhipping, we builded a little houſe in the Counteſs of Warwick's Iſland, and garniſhed it with many kind of trifles, as pins, points, laces, glaſſes, combs, babes on horſeback and on foot, with innumerable other ſuch fancies and toys; thereby to allure and entice the people to ſome familiarity againſt other years.

Thus having finiſhed all things, we departed the country, as I ſaid before; but becauſe the Buſſe had not lading enough in her, ſhe put into Bear's Sound, to take in a little more. In the meanwhile the Admiral, and the reſt without at ſea ſtayed for her. And that night fell ſuch an outrageous tempeſt, beating on our ſhips with ſuch vehement rigour, that anchor and cable availed nought; for we were driven on rocks and iſlands of ice, inſomuch that (had not the great goodneſs of God been miraculouſly ſhewed to us) we had been caſt away every man. This danger was more doubtful and terrible than any that preceded or went before, for there was not any one ſhip (I think) that eſcaped without damage. Some loſt anchor and alſo cables, ſome boats, ſome pinnaces, ſome anchor, cable, boats, and pinnaces.

This boiſterous ſtorm ſo ſevered us one from another, that one ſhip knew not what was become of another. The Admiral knew not where to find the Vice-admiral or Rear-admiral, or any other ſhip of our company. Our general being on land in Bear's-Sound, could not come to his ſhip, but was compelled to go aboard the Gabriel, where he continued all the way homeward (which was God's favour towards us), will we, nill we, in ſuch haſte, as not any one of us were able to keep in company with other, but

but were ſeparated. And if by chance any one ſhip did overtake other, by ſwiftneſs of ſail, or met, as they often did, yet was the rigour of the wind ſo hideous, that they could not continue company together the ſpace of one whole night.

Thus our journey outward was not ſo pleaſant, but our coming thither, entering the coaſts and country, by narrow ſtreights, perilous ice, and ſwift tides, our times of abode there in ſnow and ſtorms, and our departure from thence the 31ſt of Auguſt, with dangerous bluſtering winds and tempeſts, which that night aroſe, was as uncomfortable; ſeparating us ſo as we ſailed, that not any of us met together until the 28th of September, which day we fell on the Engliſh coaſts, between Scilly and the Land's-end, and paſſed the channel, until our arrival in the river of Thames.

*The Report of Thomas Wiars, Paſſenger in the Emanuel, otherwiſe called the Buſſe of Bridgewater, wherein James Leech was Maſter, one of the Ships in the laſt Voyage of Maſter Martin Frobiſher, 1578, concerning the Diſcovery of a great Iſland in their Way homeward, the 12th of September.*

THE Buſſe of Bridgewater was left in Bear's Sound at Meta Incognita, the 2d day of September, behind the fleet in ſome diſtreſs, through much wind, riding near the lee-ſhore, and forced there to ride it out upon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all a-ground but two. The 3d of September being fair weather, and the wind N. N. W. ſhe ſet ſail and departed thence, and fell with Frizeland on the 8th day of September at ſix of the clock at night, and then they ſet off from the S.W. point of Frizeland, the wind being at eaſt and E. S. E. but that night the wind veered ſoutherly, and ſhifted oftentimes that night; but on the 10th day in the morning, the wind at W. N. W. fair weather, they ſteered S. E. by S. and continued that courſe, until the 12th day of September, when about eleven of the clock before noon, they deſcried a land which was from them about five leagues, and the ſouthermoſt part of it was S. E. by E. from them, and the northermoſt next N. N. E. or N. E.. The maſter accounted that the S. E. point of Frizeland was from him at that inſtant, when he firſt deſcried this new iſland N. W. by N. 50 leagues. They account this iſland to be 25 leagues long, and the longeſt way of it S. E. and N. W. The ſouthern part of it is in the latitude of 57 degrees and one ſecond part, or thereabout. They continued in ſight of it from the 12th day at eleven of the clock, till the 13th day at three of the clock in the afternoon, when they left it, and the laſt part they ſaw of it, bare from them N. W. by N. There appeared two harbours upon that coaſt; the greateſt of them ſeven leagues to the northwards of the ſouthermoſt point, the other but four leagues. There was very much ice near the ſame land, and alſo 20 or 30 leagues from it, for they were not clear of ice till the 15th day of September afternoon. They plied their voyage homewards, and fell with the weſt part of Ireland about Galway, and had firſt ſight of it on the 25th day of September.

CAPTAIN

## CAPTAIN FROBISHER'S FIRST VOYAGE.

[ANOTHER ACCOUNT *.]

OUR general, Captain Frobiſher, being thoroughly furniſhed of the knowledge of the ſphere, and all other ſkills appertaining to the art of navigation, as alſo of the confirmation he hath of the ſame by many years experience both by ſea and land, and being perſuaded of a new and nearer paſſage to Cataya than by Capo de Buona Sperança, which the Portugals yearly uſe; he began firſt with himſelf to deviſe, and then with his friends to confer, and laid a plain plot unto them, that that voyage was not only poſſible by the N. W., but alſo he could prove, eaſy to be performed. And further he determined and reſolved with himſelf, to go make full proof thereof, and to accompliſh or bring true certificate of the truth, or elſe never to return again; knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to perform this notable voyage, whereof he had conceived in his mind a great hope, by ſundry ſure reaſons and ſecret intelligence, which here for ſundry cauſes I leave untouched, yet he wanted altogether means and ability to ſet forward and perform the ſame. Long time he conferred with his private friends of theſe ſecrets, and made alſo many offers for the performing of the ſame in effect unto ſundry merchants of our country, above fifteen years before he attempted the ſame, as by good witneſs ſhall well appear, (albeit ſome evil willers which challenge to themſelves the fruit of other men's labours, have greatly injured him, in the report of the ſame, ſaying that they have been the firſt authors of that action, and that they have learned him the way, which themſelves as yet have never gone); but perceiving that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, which never regard virtue without ſure, certain, and preſent gains, he repaired to the court (from whence, as from the fountain of our common wealth, all good cauſes have their chief increaſe and maintenance), and there laid open to many great eſtates and learned men the plot and ſum of his device. And amongſt many honourable minds which favoured his honeſt and commendable enterpriſe, he was ſpecially bound and beholden to the Right Honourable Ambroſe Dudley Earl of Warwick, whoſe favourable mind and good diſpoſition hath always been ready to countenance and advance all honeſt actions with the authors and executers of the ſame; and ſo by means of my lord's honourable countenance he received ſome comfort of his cauſe, and by little and little, with no ſmall expence and pain, brought his cauſe to ſome perfection, and had drawn together ſo many adventurers, and ſuch ſums of money as might well defray a reaſonable charge to furniſh himſelf to ſea withal.

He prepared two ſmall barks of twenty and five and twenty tons a piece, wherein he intended to accompliſh his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furniſhed with the foreſaid two barks, and one ſmall pinnace of ten tons burthen, having therein victuals and other neceſſaries for twelve months proviſion, he departed upon the ſaid voyage from Blackwall the 15th of June, Anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named the Gabriel, and the other the Michael; and ſailing N. W. from England, upon the 11th of July he had ſight of an high and ragged land, which he judged to be Frizeland (whereof ſome authors have made mention), but durſt not approach the ſame, by reaſon of the great ſtore of ice that lay along the coaſt, and the great miſts that troubled them not a little. Not far-

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 57.



from

from thence he loſt company of his ſmall pinnace, which by means of the great ſtorm he ſuppoſed to be ſwallowed up of the ſea, wherein he loſt only four men.

Alſo the other bark named the Michael, miſtruſting the matter, conveyed themſelves privily away from him, and returned home with great report that he was caſt away.

The worthy captain, notwithſtanding theſe diſcomforts, although his maſt was ſprung, and his topmaſt blown overboard with extreme foul weather, continued his courſe towards the N.W., knowing that the ſea at length muſt needs have an ending, and that ſome land ſhould have a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the leaſt to bring true proof what land and ſea the ſame might be ſo far to the north-weſtwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore diſcovered. And the 20th of July he had ſight of an high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland; after her Majeſty's name. And ſailing more northerly along that coaſt, he deſcried another foreland, with a great gut, bay, or paſſage, dividing as it were two main lands or continents aſunder. There he met with ſtore of exceeding great ice all along this coaſt, and coveting ſtill to continue his courſe to the northwards, was always by contrary winds detained overthwart theſe ſtraights, and could not get beyond. Within few days after, he perceived the ice to be well conſumed and gone, either there ingulphed in by ſome ſwift currents or indrafts, carried more to the ſouthwards of the ſame ſtreights, or elſe conveyed ſome other way; wherefore he determined to make proof of this place, to ſee how far that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himſelf through the ſame into ſome open ſea on the backſide, whereof he conceived no ſmall hope, and ſo entered the ſame the 21ſt day of July, and paſſed above fifty leagues therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a great main or continent. And that land upon his right hand as he ſailed weſtward, he judged to be the continent of Aſia, and there to be divided from the firm of America, which lieth upon the left hand over againſt the ſame.

This place he named after his name, Frobiſher's Streights, like as Magellanus at the S.W. end of the world, having diſcovered the paſſage to the South Sea, (where America is divided from the continent of that land which lieth under the ſouth pole), and called the ſame ſtreights, Magellane's Streights.

After he had paſſed 60 leagues into this foreſaid ſtreight, he went aſhore, and found ſigns where fire had been made.

He ſaw mighty deer which ſeemed to be mankind, which ran at him, and hardly he eſcaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to uſe defence and policy to ſave his life.

In this place he ſaw and perceived ſundry tokens of the people's reſorting thither. And being aſhore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a number of ſmall things fleeting in the ſea afar off, which he ſuppoſed to be porpoiſes or ſeals, or ſome kind of ſtrange fiſh; but coming nearer he diſcovered them to be men in ſmall boats made of leather. And before he could deſcend down from the hill, certain of thoſe people had almoſt cut off his boat from him, having ſtolen ſecretly behind the rocks for that purpoſe, where he ſpeedily haſted to his boat; and went himſelf to his halberd, and narrowly eſcaped the danger and ſaved his boat. Afterwards he had ſundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ſhip, and brought him ſalmon, and raw fleſh and fiſh, and greedily devoured the ſame before our men's faces. And to ſhew their agility, they tried many maſteries upon the ropes of the ſhip after our mariners faſhion, and appeared to be very ſtrong of their arms, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of ſeals, and bear ſkins, and ſuch like, with our men; and received bells, looking-glaſſes, and other toys, in recompence thereof again. After great courteſie, and many

 meetings,

meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captain's direction, began more eaſily to truſt them; and five of our men going aſhore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were never ſince heard of to this day again; ſo that the captain being deſtitute of boat, bark, and all company, had ſcarcely ſufficient number to conduct back his bark again. He could now neither convey himſelf aſhore to reſcue his men (if he had been able), for want of a boat; and again the ſubtle traitors were ſo wary, as they would after that never come within our men's danger. The captain notwithſtanding, deſirous to bring ſome token from thence of his being there, was greatly diſcontented that he had not before apprehended ſome of them; and therefore to deceive the deceivers, he wrought a pretty policy; for knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toys, and eſpecially in bells, he rang a pretty low bell, making ſigns that he would give him the ſame that would come and fetch it. And becauſe they would not come within his danger for fear, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpoſe he threw ſhort, that it might fall into the ſea and be loſt. And to make them more greedy of the matter, he rang a louder bell, ſo that in the end one of them came near the ſhip's ſide to receive the bell, which when he thought to take at the captain's hand, he was thereby taken himſelf; for the captain being readily provided, let the bell fall, and caught the man faſt, and plucked him with main force, boat and all, into his bark out of the ſea. Whereupon when he found himſelf in captivity, for very choler and diſdain he bit his tongue in twain within his mouth; notwithſtanding he died not thereof, but lived until he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at ſea.

Now with this new prey (which was a ſufficient witneſs of the captain's far and tedious travel towards the unknown parts of the world, as did well appear by this ſtrange infidel, whoſe like was never ſeen, read, nor heard of before, and whoſe language was neither known nor underſtood of any), the ſaid Captain Frobiſher returned homeward, and arrived in England in Harwich the 2d of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but ſpecially famous for the great hope he brought of the paſſage to Cataya.

And it is eſpecially to be remembered, that at their firſt arrival in thoſe parts, there lay ſo great ſtore of ice all the coaſt along ſo thick together, that hardly his boat could paſs unto the ſhore. At length, after divers attempts, he commanded his company, if by any poſſible means they could get aſhore, to bring him whatſoever thing they could firſt find, whether it were living or dead, ſtock or ſtone, in token of Chriſtian poſſeſſion, which thereby he took in behalf of the Queen's moſt excellent majeſty, thinking that thereby he might juſtify the having and enjoying of the ſame things that grew in theſe unknown parts.

Some of his company brought flowers, ſome green graſs, and one brought a piece of black ſtone, much like to a ſea-coal in colour, which by the weight ſeemed to be ſome kind of metal or mineral. This was a thing of no account in the judgment of the captain at firſt ſight, and yet for novelty it was kept in reſpect of the place from whence it came.

After his arrival in London, being demanded of ſundry of his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to preſent them withal, but a piece of this black ſtone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof, which by chance ſhe threw and burned in the fire, ſo long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glittered with a bright marcaſite of gold. Whereupon the matter being called in ſome queſtion, it was brought to certain gold-finers in London to make an eſſay thereof, who gave out that it held gold, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards the

ſame gold-finers promiſed great matters thereof if there were any ſtore to be found, and offered themſelves to adventure for the ſearching of thoſe parts from whence the ſame was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter, ſought ſecretly to have a leaſe at her Majeſty's hands of thoſe places, whereby to enjoy the maſs of ſo great a public profit unto their own private gains.

In concluſion: The hope of more of the ſame gold ore to be found, kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many, to advance the voyage again. Whereupon, preparation was made for a new voyage againſt the year following, and the captain more ſpecially directed by commiſſion for the ſearching this gold ore, than for the ſearching any further diſcovery of the paſſage. And being well accompanied with divers reſolute and forward gentlemen, her Majeſty then lying at the Right Honourable the Lord of Warwick's houſe in Eſſex, he came to take his leave, and kiſſing her Highneſs's hands, with gracious countenance and comfortable words departed towards his charge.

*A true Report of ſuch Things as happened in the ſecond Voyage of Captain Frobiſher, pretended for the Diſcovery of a new Paſſage to Cataya, China, and the Eaſt Indies, by the North-weſt. Ann. Dom.* 1577.

BEING furniſhed with one tall ſhip of her Majeſty's, named the Aide, of two hundred tons, and two other ſmall barks, the one named the Gabriel, the other the Michael, about 30 tons a-piece, being fitly appointed with men, ammunition, victuals, and all things neceſſary for the voyage, the ſaid Captain Frobiſher, with the reſt of his company, came aboard his ſhips riding at Blackwall, intending (with God's help) to take the firſt wind and tide ſerving him, the 25th day of May, in the year of our Lord God 1577.

The names of ſuch gentlemen as attempted this diſcovery, and the number of ſoldiers and mariners in each ſhip, as followeth:

Aboard the Aide, being Admiral, were the number of 100 men of all ſorts, whereof 30 or more were gentlemen and ſoldiers, the reſt ſufficient and tall ſailors.

Aboard the Gabriel, being Vice-Admiral, were in all 18 perſons, whereof ſix were ſoldiers, the reſt mariners.

Aboard the Michael were 16 perſons, whereof five were ſoldiers, the reſt mariners.

Aboard the Aide, was,

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| General of the whole company for her Majeſty | Martin Frobiſher. |
| His Lieutenant | George Beſt. |
| His Enſign | Richard Philpot. |
| Corporal of the Shot | Francis Forder. |
| The reſt of the gentlemen | Henry Carew.<br>Edmund Stafford.<br>John Lee.<br>M. Harvy.<br>Mathew Kinerſley.<br>Abraham Lins.<br>Robert Kinnerſley.<br>Francis Brakenbury.<br>William Armſhow. |

The

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|---|---|
| The Maſter | Chriſtopher Hall. |
| The Mate | Charles Jackman. |
| The Pilot | Andrew Dier. |
| The Maſter Gunner | Richard Cox. |
| Aboard the Gabriel, was, | |
| Captain | Edward Fenton. |
| One gentleman | William Tamfield. |
| The Maſter | William Smith. |
| Aboard the Michael, was, | |
| Captain | Gilbert Yorke. |
| One gentleman | Thomas Chamberlaine. |
| The Maſter | James Beare. |

On Whitſunday, being the 26th of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anchor at Blackwall, and fell that tide down to Graveſend, where we remained until Monday at night.

On Monday morning, the 27th of May, aboard the Aide we received all the communion by the miniſter of Graveſend, and prepared us as good Chriſtians towards God, and reſolute men for all fortunes; and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

Tueſday the 28th, about nine o'clock at night, we arrived at Harwich in Eſſex, and there ſtayed for the taking in of certain victuals, until Friday the 31ſt, during which time came letters from the Lords of the Council, ſtraitly commanding our General, not to exceed his complement and number appointed him, which was 120 perſons; whereupon he diſcharged many proper men, which with unwilling minds departed.

He alſo diſmiſſed all his condemned men, which he thought for ſome purpoſes very needful for the voyage, and towards night, upon Friday the 31ſt of May, we ſet ſail and put to the ſeas again. And ſailing northward along the eaſt coaſts of England and Scotland, the 7th day of June we arrived in St. Magnus Sound in Orkney Iſlands, called in Latin Orcades, and came to anchor on the ſouth ſide of the bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall, where we ſet ſail firſt, ——— leagues.

Here our company going on land, the inhabitants of theſe iſlands began to flee as from the enemy, whereupon the lieutenant willed every man to ſtay together, and went himſelf unto their houſes to declare what we were, and the cauſe of our coming thither, which being underſtood, after their poor manner they friendly entreated us, and brought us for our money ſuch things as they had. And here our gold-finers found a mine of ſilver.

Orkney is the principal of the iſles of the Orcades, and ſtandeth in the latitude of 59 deg. and a half. The country is much ſubject to cold, anſwerable for ſuch a climate, and yet yieldeth ſome fruits, and ſufficient maintenance for the people contented ſo poorly to live.

There is plenty enough of poultry, ſtore of eggs, fiſh, and fowl.

For their bread they have oaten cakes, and their drink is ewes' milk, and in ſome parts ale.

Their houſes are but poor without, and ſluttiſh enough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable; for their fire they burn heath and turf, the country in moſt parts being void of wood.

They have great want of leather, and deſire our old ſhoes, apparel, and old ropes (before money), for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coin. The chief town is called Kyrway.

In this iſland hath been ſometime an abbey, or a religious houſe, called Saint Magnus, being on the weſt ſide of the iſle, whereof the ſound beareth name, through which we paſſed. Their governor, or chief lord, is called the Lord Robert Stewart, who at our being there, as we underſtood, was in durance at Edinburgh, by the Regent's commandment of Scotland.

After we had provided us here of matter ſufficient for our voyage, the 8th of June we ſet ſail again, and paſſing through Saint Magnus Sound, having a merry wind by night, came clear and loſt ſight of all the land, and keeping our courſe W. N. W. by the ſpace of two days, the wind ſhifted upon us, ſo that we lay in traverſe on the ſeas, with contrary winds, making good (as near as we could) our courſe to the weſtward, and ſometime to the northward, as the wind ſhifted. And hereabout we met with three ſail of Engliſh fiſhermen from Iſeland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters unto our friends in England. We traverſed theſe ſeas by the ſpace of 26 days without any ſight of land, and met with much drift wood, and whole bodies of trees. We ſaw many monſtrous fiſhes, and ſtrange fowls, which ſeemed to live only by the ſea, being there ſo far diſtant from any land. At length God favoured us with more proſperous winds, and after we had ſailed four days, with good wind in the poop, the 4th of July, the Michael being foremoſt a-head, ſhot off a piece of ordnance, and ſtruck all her ſails, ſuppoſing that they deſcried land, which by reaſon of the thick miſts, they could not make perfect; howbeit, as well our account, as alſo the great alteration of the water, which became more black and ſmooth, did plainly declare we were not far off the coaſt. Our general ſent his maſter aboard the Michael (who had been with him the year before), to bear in with the place to make proof thereof, who deſcried not the land perfect, but ſaw ſundry huge iſlands of ice, which we deemed to be not paſt 12 leagues from the ſhore, for about ten of the clock at night, being the 4th of July, the weather being more clear, we made the land perfect, and knew it to be Friſeland. And the height being taken here, we found ourſelves to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a half, and were fallen with the ſouthernmoſt point of this land.

This Friſeland ſheweth a ragged and high land, having the mountains almoſt covered over with ſnow, along the coaſt full of drift ice, and ſeemeth almoſt inacceſſible, and is thought to be an iſland in bigneſs not inferior to England, and is called of ſome authors Weſt Friſeland, I think becauſe it lyeth more weſt than any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude very far to the northward, as ſeemed to us, and appeareth by a deſcription ſet out by two brethren, Venetians, Nicholaus and Anthonius Zeni, who being driven off from Ireland with a violent tempeſt, made ſhipwreck here, and were the firſt known Chriſtians that diſcovered this land, about 200 years ſince, and they have in their ſea-cards ſet out every part thereof, and deſcried the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as civil and religious people as we. And for ſo much of this land as we have ſailed along, comparing their card with the coaſt, we find it very agreeable. This coaſt ſeemeth to have good fiſhing, for we lying becalmed, let fall a hook without any bait, and preſently caught a great fiſh called a hollibut, who ſerved the whole company for a day's meat, and is dangerous meat for ſurfeiting. And ſounding about five leagues off from the ſhore, our lead brought up in the tallow, a kind of coral almoſt white, and ſmall ſtones as bright as cryſtal, and it is not to be doubted but this land may be found very rich and beneficial, if it were thoroughly diſcovered, although we ſaw no creature there but little birds. It is a marvellous thing to behold of what great bigneſs and depth ſome iſlands of ice be here, ſome 70, ſome 80 fathom under water, beſides that which is above, ſeeming iſlands more than half a mile in circuit. All theſe ice are in taſte freſh, and ſeem to

be bred in the ſounds thereabouts, or in ſome land near the pole, and with the winds and tides are driven along the coaſts. We found none of theſe iſlands of ice ſalt in taſte, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the ocean ſea-water, which is always ſalt, but of ſome ſtanding or little moving lakes or great freſh waters near the ſhore, cauſed either by melted ſnow from tops of mountains, or by continual acceſs of freſh rivers from the land, and intermingling with the ſea-water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreme froſt) may cauſe ſome part of ſalt water to freeze ſo with it, and ſo ſeem a little brackiſh, but otherwiſe the main ſea freezeth not, and therefore there is no *mare glaciale*, or frozen ſea, as the opinion hitherto hath been. Our general tried landing here twice, but by the ſudden fall of miſts (whereunto this coaſt is much ſubject), he was like to loſe ſight of his ſhips, and being greatly endangered with the driving ice along the coaſt, was forced aboard, and fain to ſurceaſe his pretence till a better opportunity might ſerve; and having ſpent four days and nights ſailing along this land, finding the coaſt ſubject to ſuch bitter cold and continual miſts, he determined to ſpend no more time therein, but to bear out his courſe towards the ſtreights called Frobiſher's Streights, after the general's name, who being the firſt that ever paſſed beyond 58 degrees to the northwards, for any thing that hath been yet known of certainty of Newfoundland, otherwiſe called the continent or firm land of America, diſcovered the ſaid ſtreights this laſt year 1576.

Between Frizeland and the ſtreights we had one great ſtorm, wherein the Michael was ſomewhat in danger, having her ſtirrage broken, and her topmaſts blown overboard, and being not paſt fifty leagues ſhort of the ſtreights by our account, we ſtruck ſail and lay a hull, fearing the continuance of the ſtorm, the wind being at the N. E. and having loſt company of the barks in that flaw of wind, we happily met again the 17th day of July, having the evening before ſeen divers iſlands of fleeting ice, which gave an argument that we were not far from land. Our general in the morning from the main-top (the weather being reaſonably clear) deſcried land; but to be better aſſured, he ſent the two barks two contrary courſes, whereby they might deſcry either the South or North Foreland, the Aide lying off and on at ſea, with a ſmall ſail by an iſland of ice, which was the mark for us to meet again together. And about noon, the weather being more clear, we made the North Foreland perfect, which otherwiſe is called Hall's Iſland, and alſo a ſmall iſland bearing the name of the ſaid Hall, whence the ore was taken up which was brought into England this laſt year 1576; the ſaid Hall being preſent at the finding and taking up thereof, who was then maſter in the Gabriel with Captain Frobiſher. At our arrival here, all the ſeas about this coaſt were ſo covered over with huge quantity of great ice, that we thought theſe places might only deſerve the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Icy Sea.

This North Foreland is thought to be divided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little ſound called Hall's Sound, which maketh it an iſland, and is thought little leſs than the Iſle of Wight, and is the firſt entrance of the ſtreights upon the northern ſide, and ſtandeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and 50 minutes. God having bleſſed us with ſo happy a land-fall, we bare into the ſtreights which run in next hand, and ſomewhat further up to the northward, and came as near the ſhore as we might for the ice; and upon the 18th day of July, our general taking the gold-finers with him, attempted to go on ſhore with a ſmall rowing pinnace, upon the ſmall iſland where the ore was taken up, to prove whether there were any ſtore thereof to be found; but he could not get, in all that iſland, a piece as big as a walnut, where the firſt was found. But our men, which ſought the other iſlands thereabouts, found them all to have good ſtore of the ore, whereupon our general with theſe good tidings returned aboard

about

about ten of the clock at night, and was joyfully welcomed of the company, with a volley of ſhot. He brought eggs, fowls, and a young ſeal aboard, which the company had killed aſhore; and having found, upon thoſe iſlands, gins ſet to catch fowl, and ſticks new cut, with other things, he well perceived, that, not long before, ſome of the country people had reſorted thither.

Having therefore found thoſe tokens of the people's acceſs in thoſe parts, and being in his firſt voyage well acquainted with their ſubtle and cruel diſpoſition, he provided well for his better ſafety; and on Friday the 19th of July, in the morning early, with his beſt company of gentlemen and ſoldiers, to the number of 40 perſons, went on ſhore, as well to diſcover the in-land and habitation of the people, as alſo to find out ſome fit harbour for our ſhips; and paſſing towards the ſhore with no ſmall difficulty, by reaſon of the abundance of ice, which lay along the coaſt ſo thick together, that hardly any paſſage through them might be diſcovered, we arrived at length upon the main of Hall's greater iſland, and found there alſo, as well as in the other ſmall iſlands, good ſtore of the ore. And leaving his boats here with ſufficient guard, we paſſed up into the country about two Engliſh miles, and recovered the top of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a column of croſs ſtones, heaped up of a good height together, in good ſort, and ſolemnly ſounded a trumpet, and ſaid certain prayers, kneeling about the enſign, and honoured the place with the name of Mount Warwick, in remembrance of the Right Honourable Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick, whoſe noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gave great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retired our companies, not ſeeing any thing here worthy of further diſcovery; the country ſeeming barren and full of ragged mountains, and in moſt parts covered with ſnow.

And thus marching towards our boats, we deſcried certain of the country people on the top of Mount Warwick, with a flag wafting us back again, and making great noiſe, with cries like the mowing of bulls, ſeeming greatly deſirous of conference with us; whereupon the general being therewith better acquainted, anſwered them again with the like cries; whereat, and with the noiſe of our trumpets, they ſeemed greatly to rejoice, ſkipping, laughing, and dancing for joy. And hereupon we made ſigns unto them, holding up two fingers, commanding two of our men to go apart from our companies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men and two of theirs met together, a good ſpace from company, neither party having their weapons about them. Our men gave them pins, and points, and ſuch trifles as they had; and they likewiſe beſtowed on our men two bow-caſes, and ſuch things as they had. They earneſtly deſired our men to go up into their country, and our men offered them like kindneſs about our ſhips, but neither part (as it ſeemed) admitted or truſted the others courteſy. Their manner of traffick is thus; they do uſe to lay down of their merchandize upon the ground, ſo much as they mean to part withal, and ſo looking that the other party with whom they make trade, ſhould do the like, they themſelves do depart, and then, if they do like of their part, they come again, and take in exchange the others merchandiſe; otherwiſe, if they like not, they take their own and depart. The day being thus well near ſpent, in haſte we retired our companies into our boats again, minding forthwith to ſearch along the coaſt for ſome harbour fit for our ſhips, for the preſent neceſſity thereof was much, conſidering that all this while they lay off and on between the two lands, being continually ſubject, as well to great danger of fleeting ice, which environed them, as to the ſudden flows which the coaſt ſeemed much ſubject to. But when the people perceived our departure, with great tokens of affection they earneſtly called us back again, following us almoſt to our boats; whereupon, our general,

general, taking his maſter with him, who was beſt acquainted with their manners, went apart unto two of them; meaning, if they could lay ſure hold upon them, forcibly to bring them aboard, with intent to beſtow certain toys and apparel upon the one, and ſo to diſmiſs him with all arguments of courteſy, and retain the other for an interpreter. The general, and his maſter, being met with their two companions together, after they had exchanged certain things, the one with the other, one of the ſavages, for lack of better merchandiſe, cut off the tail of his coat (which is a chief ornament among them), and gave it unto our general for a preſent: but he preſently, upon a watch-word given him with his maſter, ſuddenly laid hold upon the two ſavages; but the ground under-foot being ſlippery with the ſnow on the ſide of the hill, their handfaſt failed, and their prey eſcaping, ran away and lightly recovered their bows and arrows, which they had hid not far from them, behind the rocks; and being only two ſavages in ſight, they ſo fiercely, deſperately, and with ſuch fury aſſailed and purſued our general and his maſter, being altogether unarmed, and not miſtruſting their ſubtlety, that they chaſed them to their boats, and hurt the general in the buttock with an arrow, who the rather ſpeedily fled back, becauſe they ſuſpected a greater number behind the rocks. Our ſoldiers (which were commanded before to keep their boats) perceiving the danger, and hearing our men calling for ſhot, came ſpeedily to reſcue, thinking there had been a greater number. But when the ſavages heard the ſhot of one of our calivers, (and yet having firſt beſtowed their arrows,) they ran away, our men ſpeedily following them. But a ſervant of my Lord of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger, a good footman, and uncumbered with any furniture, having only a dagger at his back, overtook one of them, and being a Corniſh man, and a good wreſtler, ſhewed his companion ſuch a Corniſh trick, that he made his ſides ache againſt the ground for a month after; and ſo being ſtayed, he was taken alive and brought away, but the other eſcaped. Thus, with their ſtrange and new prey, our men repaired to their boats, and paſſed from the main to a ſmall iſland of a mile compaſs, where they reſolved for to tarry all night; for even now a ſudden ſtorm was grown ſo great at ſea, that by no means they could recover their ſhips. And here every man refreſhed himſelf with a ſmall portion of victuals, which was laid into the boats for their dinners, having neither eat nor drank all the day before. But becauſe they knew not how long the ſtorm might laſt, nor how far off the ſhips might be put to ſea, nor whether they ſhould ever recover them again or not, they made great ſpare of their victuals, as it greatly behoved them; for they knew full well, that the beſt cheer the country could yield them, was rocks and ſtone, a hard food to live withal; and the people more ready to eat them, than to give them wherewithal to eat. And thus, keeping very good watch and ward, they lay there all night, upon hard cliffs of ſnow and ice, both wet, cold, and comfortleſs.

Theſe things thus happening with the company on land, the danger of the ſhips at ſea was no leſs perilous; for within one hour after the general's departing in the morning, by negligence of the cook in overheating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Aide was ſet on fire, and had been the confuſion of the whole, if, by chance a boy eſpying it, it had not been ſpeedily, with great labour and God's help, well extinguiſhed.

This day alſo were divers ſtorms and flaws, and by nine of the clock at night the ſtorm was grown ſo great, and continued ſuch until the morning, that it put our ſhips at ſea in no ſmall peril; for having mountains of fleeting ice on every ſide, we went roomer for one, and loofed for another; ſome ſcraped us, and ſome happily eſcaped us, that the leaſt of all of them were as dangerous to ſtrike as any rock, and able to have ſplit aſunder the ſtrongeſt ſhip of the world. We had a ſcope of clear, without ice (as

God would), wherein we turned, being otherwiſe compaſſed on every ſide about; but ſo much was the wind, and ſo little was the ſea-room, that being able to bear only our fore-courſe, we caſt ſo oft about, that we made fourteen boards in eight glaſſes running, being but four hours; but God being our beſt ſteerſman, and by the induſtry of Charles Jackman and Andrew Dier, the maſter's mates, both very expert mariners, and Richard Cox, the maſter gunner, with other very careful ſailors, then within board, and alſo by the help of the clear nights, which are without darkneſs, we did happily avoid thoſe preſent dangers, whereat ſince we have more marvelled than in the preſent danger feared; for that every man within board, both better and worſe, had enough to do with his hands to haul ropes, and with his eyes to look out for danger. But the next morning, being the 20th of July, (as God would,) the ſtorm ceaſed, and the general eſpying the ſhips, with his new captive and whole company, came happily aboard, and reported what had paſſed aſhore, whereupon, all together upon our knees we gave God humble and hearty thanks, for that it had pleaſed Him from ſo ſpeedy peril to ſend us ſuch ſpeedy deliverance; and ſo from this northern ſhore we ſtruck over towards the ſouthern land.

The 21ſt of July we diſcovered a bay which ran into the land, that ſeemed a likely harbour for our ſhips; wherefore our general rowed thither with his boats to make proof thereof, and with his gold-finers to ſearch for ore, having never eſſayed any thing on the ſouth ſhore as yet, and the firſt ſmall iſland which we landed upon. Here all the ſands and cliffs ſhined ſo gliſter, and had ſo bright a marcaſite, that it ſeemed all to be gold; but, upon trial made, it proved no better than black-lead, and verified the proverb, "all is not gold that gliſtereth."

On the 22d of July we bare into the ſaid ſound, and came to anchor a reaſonable breadth off the ſhore, where thinking ourſelves in good ſecurity, we were greatly endangered with a piece of drift ice, which the ebb brought forth of the ſounds, and came thwart us ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and ſoldiers within board, taking great pains at this pinch at the capſtan, overcame the moſt danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it ſtruck on our ſtern ſuch a blow, that we feared leſt it had ſtricken away our rudder; and being forced to cut our cable in the hawſe, we were fain to ſet our foreſail, to run further up within, and if our ſteerage had not been ſtronger than in the preſent time, we feared we had run the ſhip upon the rocks, having a very narrow channel to turn in; but as God would, all came well to paſs, and this was named Jackman's Sound, after the name of the maſter's mate, who had firſt liking unto the place.

Upon a ſmall iſland within this ſound, called Smith's Iſland (becauſe he firſt ſet up his force there), was found a mine of ſilver, but was won out of the rocks without great labour. Here our gold-finers made eſſay upon ſuch ore as they found upon the northern land, and found four ſorts thereof to hold gold in good quantity. Upon another ſmall iſland here was alſo found a great dead fiſh, which, as it ſhould ſeem, had been embayed with ice, and was in proportion round like to a porpoiſe, being about twelve feet long, and in bigneſs anſwerable, having a horn of two yards long growing out of the ſnout or noſtrils. This horn is wreathed and ſtraight, like in faſhion to a taper made of wax, and may truly be thought to be the ſea-unicorn. This horn is to be ſeen, and reſerved as a jewel by the Queen's Majeſty's commandment, in her wardrobe of robes.

Tueſday the 23d of July, our general, with his beſt company of gentlemen, ſoldiers, and ſailors, to the number of 70 perſons in all, marched, with enſign diſplayed, upon the continent of the ſouthernland (the ſuppoſed continent of America), where, commanding

manding a trumpet to ſound a call for every man to repair to the enſign, he declared to the whole company, how much the cauſe imported for the ſervice of her Majeſty, our country, our credits, and the ſafety of our own lives; and therefore required every man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by thoſe he ſhould aſſign. And he appointed for leaders, Captain Fenton, Captain Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beſt; which done, we caſt ourſelves into a ring, and altogether upon our knees, gave God humble thanks, for that it had pleaſed Him of His goodneſs to preſerve us from ſuch imminent dangers, beſeeching likewiſe the aſſiſtance of His Holy Spirit, ſo to deliver us in ſafety into our country, whereby the light and truth of theſe ſecrets being known, it might redound to the more honour of His Holy Name, and conſequently to the advancement of our commonwealth. And ſo in as good ſort as the place ſuffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountains, which were no leſs painful in climbing than dangerous in deſcending, by reaſon of their ſteepneſs and ice. And having paſſed about five miles by ſuch unwieldy ways, we returned unto our ſhips without ſight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here divers of the gentlemen deſired our general to ſuffer them, to the number of twenty or thirty perſons, to march up thirty or forty leagues into the country; to the end they might diſcover the inland, and do ſome acceptable ſervice for their country: but he, not contented with the matter he ſought for, and well conſidering the ſhort time he had in hand, and the greedy deſire our country hath to a preſent ſavour and return of gain, bent his whole endeavour only to find a mine to freight his ſhips, and to leave the reſt (by God's help) hereafter to be well accompliſhed. And, therefore, the 26th of July, he departed over to the north-land with the two barks, leaving the Aide riding in Jackman's Sound, and meant, after he had found convenient harbour and freight there for his ſhips, to diſcover further for the paſſage. The barks came the ſame night to anchor in a ſound upon the norther-land, where the tides did run ſo ſwift, and the place was ſo ſubject to indrafts of ice, that by reaſon thereof they were greatly endangered; and having found a very rich mine, as they ſuppoſed, and got almoſt 20 ton of ore together, upon the 28th of July the ice came driving into the ſound where the barks rode, in ſuch ſort, that they were therewith greatly diſtreſſed: and the Gabriel riding aſtern the Michael, had her cable galled aſunder in the hawſe by a piece of driving ice, and loſt another anchor; and having but one cable and anchor left, for ſhe had loſt two before, and the ice ſtill driving upon her, ſhe was, by God's help, well fenced from the danger of the reſt, [illegible] hard a-head of her, which if it [illegible] by one great iſland of ice, which came a-gro[illegible] upon the rocks with th[illegible] had not ſo chanced, I think, ſurely, ſhe had been caſt [illegible] the le[illegible] ice. The Michael moored anchor upon this great ice, and rode und[illegible] thereof; but, about midnight, by the weight of itſelf, and the ſetting of the tides, the ice brake within half the bark's length, and made unto the company within board a ſudden and fearful noiſe. The next flood, towards the morning, we weighed anchor, and went further up the ſtreights, and leaving our ore behind us which we had digged, for haſte left the place by the name of Beare's Sound, after the name of the maſter of the Michael, and named the iſland Leceſter's Iſland. In one of the ſmall iſlands here we found a tomb, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our ſavage captive being with us, and being demanded, by ſigns, whether his countrymen had not ſlain this man and eat his fleſh ſo from the bones, he made ſigns to the contrary, and that he was ſlain with wolves and wild beaſts. Here alſo was found, hid under ſtones, good ſtore of fiſh, and ſundry other things of the inhabitants; as ſleds, bridles, kettles of fiſh-ſkins, knives of bone, and ſuch other like. And our ſavage declared unto us the uſe of all thoſe things; and taking in his hand one of thoſe country bridles, he caught one

of our dogs and hampered him handſomely therein, as we do our horſes, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dog to draw in a ſled, as we do horſes in a coach, ſetting himſelf thereupon like a guide; ſo that we might ſee they uſe dogs for that purpoſe that we do our horſes. And we found ſince by experience, that the leſſer ſort of dogs they feed fat, and keep them as domeſtic cattle in their tents for eating, and the greater ſort ſerve for the uſe of drawing their ſleds.

The 29th of July, about five leagues from Beare's Sound, we diſcovered a bay, which being fenced on each ſide with ſmall iſlands, lying off the main, which break the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of ice, did prove a very fit harbour for our ſhips, where we came to anchor under a ſmall iſland, which now, together with the ſound, is called by the name of that right honourable and virtuous lady, Anne Counteſs of Warwick. And this is the furtheſt place that this year we have entered up within the ſtreights, and is reckoned from the cape of the Queen's Foreland, which is the entrance of the ſtreights, not above 30 leagues. Upon this iſland was found good ſtore of the ore, which, in the waſhing, to our thinking, held gold, plainly to be ſeen; whereupon it was thought beſt rather to load here, where there was ſtore and indifferent good, than to ſeek further for better, and ſpend time with jeopardy. And therefore our general, ſetting the miners to work, and ſhewing firſt a good precedent of a painful labourer and a good captain in himſelf, gave good examples for others to follow him. Whereupon, every man, both better and worſe, with their beſt endeavours, willingly laid to their helping hands; and the next day, being the 30th of July, the Michael was ſent over to Jackman's Sound, for the Aide and the whole company to come thither. Upon the main land over againſt the Counteſs's Iſland, we diſcovered and beheld, to our great marvel, the poor caves and houſes of thoſe country people, which ſerve them, as it ſhould ſeem, for their winter dwellings, and are made two fathom under ground, in compaſs round, like to an oven, being joined faſt one to another, having holes like a fox or coney berry, to keep and come together. They undertrenched theſe places with gutters for that the water falling from the hills above them, may ſlide away without their annoyance; and are ſeated commonly in the foot of a hill, to ſhield them better from the cold winds, having their door and entrance ever open towards the ſouth. From the ground upwards they build with whales bones, for lack of timber, which bending one over another, are handſomely compacted in the top together, and are covered over with ſeals ſkins, [illegible] the rain; in which houſe they have [illegible] which, inſtead of tiles, fence them from [illegible] with broad ſtones a [illegible] only one room, having the one half of the floor raiſed [illegible] neſts [illegible] foot higher than the other, whereon ſtrewing moſs, they make their [illegible] to ſleep in. They defile theſe dens moſt filthily with their beaſtly feeding, and dwell ſo long in a place, as we think, until their ſluttiſhneſs loathing them, they are forced to ſeek a ſweeter air, and a new ſeat, and are, no doubt, a diſperſed and wandering nation, as the Tartarians, and live in hordes and troops, without any certain abode, as may appear by ſundry circumſtances of our experience.

Here, our captive being aſhore with us, to declare the uſe of ſuch things as we ſaw, ſtayed himſelf alone behind the company, and did ſet up five ſmall ſticks round in a circle one by another, with one ſmall bone placed juſt in the midſt of all; which thing when one of our men perceived, he called us back to behold the matter, thinking that he had meant ſome charm or witchcraft therein. But the beſt conjecture we could make thereof was, that he would thereby his countrymen ſhould underſtand, that for our five men, whom they betrayed the laſt year, (whom he ſignified by the five ſticks,) he was taken and kept priſoner; which he ſignified by the bone in the midſt: for afterwards, when we

ſhewed him the picture of his countryman, which the laſt year was brought into England, (whoſe counterfeit we had drawn, with boat and other furniture, both as he was in his own, and alſo in Engliſh apparel,) he was upon the ſudden much amazed thereat, and beholding adviſedly the ſame with ſilence a good while, as though he would ſtrain courteſie whether ſhould begin the ſpeech,(for he thought him no doubt a lively creature,) at length began to queſtion with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, ſeemed to ſuſpect him, as one diſdainful, and would with a little help have grown into choler at the matter, until at laſt by feeling and handling, he found him but a deceiving picture; and then with great noiſe and cries, ceaſed not wondering, thinking that we could make men live or die at our pleaſure.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gave us plainly to underſtand by ſigns, that he had knowledge of the taking our five men the laſt year, and confeſſing the manner of each thing, numbered the five men upon his five fingers, and pointed unto a boat in our ſhip, which was like unto that wherein our men were betrayed; and when we made him ſigns that they were ſlain and eaten, he earneſtly denied, and made ſigns to the contrary.

The laſt of July, the Michael returned with the Aide to us, from the ſoutherland, and came to anchor by us in the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, and reported, that ſince we departed from Jackman's Sound, there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, until the 30th of July, when certain of our company being aſhore upon a ſmall iſland within the ſaid Jackman's Sound, near the place where the Aide rode, did eſpy a long boat with divers of the country people therein, to the number of 18 or 20 perſons, whom ſo ſoon as our men perceived, they returned ſpeedily aboard, to give notice thereof unto our company. They might perceive theſe people climbing up to the top of a hill, where with a flag they wafted unto our ſhip, and made great outcries and noiſes, like ſo many bulls. Hereupon our men did preſently man forth a ſmall ſkiff, having not above ſix or ſeven perſons therein, which rowed near the place where thoſe people were, to prove if they could have any conference with them. But after this ſmall boat was ſent a greater, being well appointed for their reſcue, if need required.

As ſoon as they eſpied our company coming near them, they took their boats and haſted away, either for fear, or elſe for policy, to draw our men from reſcue further within their danger; wherefore our men conſtruing that their coming hither was but to ſeek advantage, followed ſpeedily after them; but they rowed ſo ſwiftly away, that our men could come nothing near them, howbeit they failed not of their beſt endeavour in rowing, and having chaſed them above two miles into the ſea, returned into their ſhips again.

The 1ſt of Auguſt, being the morning following, Captain Yorke, with the Michael, came into Jackman's Sound, and declared unto the company there, that the laſt night paſt he came to anchor in a certain bay (which ſince was named Yorke's Sound,) about four leagues diſtant from Jackman's Sound, being put to leeward of that place for lack of wind, where he diſcovered certain tents of the country people, where going with his company aſhore, he entered into them, but found the people departed, as it ſhould ſeem, for fear of their coming. But amongſt ſundry ſtrange things which in theſe tents they found, there was raw and new killed fleſh of unknown ſorts, with dead carcaſes and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They alſo beheld (to their greateſt marvel) a doublet of canvas made after the Engliſh faſhion, a ſhirt, a girdle, three ſhoes, for contrary feet, and of unequal bigneſs, which they well conjectured to be the apparel of our five poor countrymen, which were intercepted the laſt year by theſe country

people, about fifteen leagues from this place, further within the ſtreights; whereupon our men being in good hope, that ſome of them might be here, and yet living, the captain deviſing for the beſt, left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, ink, and paper alſo, whereby our poor captive countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends' minds, and of their arrival, and likewiſe return their anſwer. And ſo without taking any thing away in their tents, leaving there alſo looking-glaſſes, points, and others of our toys, (the better to allure them by ſuch friendly means,) departed aboard his bark, with intent to make haſte to the Aide, to give notice unto the company of all ſuch things as he had there diſcovered, and ſo meant to return to thoſe tents again, hoping that he might by force or policy entrap or entice the people to ſome friendly conference. Which things when he had delivered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captain Yorke, with the maſter of the Aide and his mate, (who the night before had been at the tents, and came over from the other ſide in the Michael with him,) being accompanied with the gentlemen and ſoldiers, to the number of 30 or 40 perſons, in two ſmall rowing pinnaces, made towards the place where the night before they diſcovered the tents of thoſe people, and ſetting Charles Jackman, being the maſter's mate, aſhore, with a convenient number, for that he could beſt guide them to the place, they marched over land, meaning to compaſs them on the one ſide, whilſt the captain, with his boats, might entrap them on the other ſide. But landing at laſt at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents removed. Notwithſtanding, our men which marched up into the country, paſſing over two or three mountains, by chance eſpied certain tents in a valley underneath them, near unto a creek by the ſea-ſide, which becauſe it was not the place where the guide had been the night before, they judged them to be another company, and beſetting them about, determined to take them if they could; but they having quickly deſcried our company, launched one great and another ſmall boat, being about 16 or 18 perſons, and very narrowly eſcaping, put themſelves to ſea. Whereupon, our ſoldiers diſcharged their calivers, and followed them, thinking the noiſe thereof being heard to our boats at ſea, our men there would make what ſpeed they might to that place. And thereupon, indeed, our men which were in the boats, croſſing upon them in the mouth of the ſound, whereby their paſſage was let for getting ſea-room, wherein it had been impoſſible for us to overtake them by rowing, forced them to put themſelves aſhore upon a point of land within the ſaid ſound, (which, upon occaſion of the ſlaughter there, was ſince named The Bloody Point,) whereunto our men ſo ſpeedily followed, that they had little leiſure left them to make any eſcape. But ſo ſoon as they landed, each of them brake his oar, thinking by that means to prevent us in carrying away their boats for want of oars; and deſperately returning upon our men, reſiſted them manfully in their landing, ſo long as their arrows and darts laſted, and after gathering up thoſe arrows which our men ſhot at them; yea, and plucking our arrows out of their bodies, encountered afreſh again, and maintained their cauſe until both weapons and life failed them: and when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant of what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they caſt themſelves headlong from off the rocks into the ſea, leſt perhaps their enemies ſhould receive glory or prey of their dead carcaſes, for they ſuppoſed us belike to be cannibals, or eaters of man's fleſh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerouſly hurt in the belly with one of their arrows, and of them were ſlain five or ſix, the reſt by flight eſcaping among the rocks, ſaving two women, whereof the one being old and ugly, our men thought ſhe had been a devil or ſome witch, and therefore let her go; the other being young and cumbered with a ſucking child at her back,

hiding herſelf behind the rocks, was eſpied by one of our men, who ſuppoſing ſhe had been a man, ſhot through the hair of her head, and pierced through the child's arm, whereupon ſhe cried out, and our ſurgeon meaning to heal her child's arm, applied ſalves thereunto. But ſhe not acquainted with ſuch kind of ſurgery, plucked thoſe ſalves away, and by continual licking with her own tongue, not much unlike our dogs, healed up the child's arm. And becauſe the day was well near ſpent, our men made haſte unto the reſt of our company, which on the other ſide of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparel, letter, and other Engliſh furniture, that they were the ſame company which Captain Yorke diſcovered the night before, having removed themſelves from the place where he left them.

And now conſidering their ſudden flying from our men, and their deſperate manner of fighting, we began to ſuſpect that we had heard the laſt news of our men which the laſt year were betrayed of theſe people: and conſidering alſo their ravenous and bloody diſpoſition, in eating any kind of raw fleſh or carrion, howſoever ſtinking, it is to be thought that they had ſlain and devoured our men, for the doublet which was found in their tents, had many holes therein, being made with their arrows and darts.

But now the night being at hand, our men with their captives, and ſuch poor ſtuff as they found in their tents, returned towards their ſhips; when being at ſea, there aroſe a ſudden flaw of wind, which was not a little dangerous for their ſmall boats, but as God would, they came all ſafely aboard. And with theſe good news they returned (as before mentioned) into the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound unto us. And between Jackman's Sound, from whence they came, and the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, between land and land, being thought the narroweſt place of the ſtreights, were judged nine leagues over at the leaſt. And Jackman's Sound being upon the ſouther-land, lieth directly almoſt over-againſt the Counteſs' Sound, as is reckoned ſcarce thirty leagues within the ſtreights from the Queen's Cape, which is the entrance of the ſtreights of the ſoutherland. This cape, being named Queen Elizabeth's Cape, ſtandeth in the latitude of ſixty-two degrees and a half to the northwards of Newfoundland, and upon the ſame continent, for any thing that is yet known to the contrary.

Having now got a woman captive for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together; and every man with ſilence deſired to behold the manner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expreſſed by writing. At their firſt encountering they beheld each the other very wiſtly a good ſpace, without ſpeech or word uttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it ſeemed the grief and diſdain of their captivity had taken away the uſe of their tongues and utterance; the woman at the firſt very ſuddenly, as though ſhe diſdained, or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to ſing as though ſhe minded another matter; but being again brought together, the man brake up the ſilence firſt, and with ſtern and ſtaid countenance began to tell a long ſolemn tale to the woman, whereunto ſhe gave good hearing, and interrupted him nothing till he had finiſhed, and afterwards being grown into more familiar acquaintance by ſpeech, they were turned together, ſo that (I think) the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other; and for ſo much as we could perceive, although they lived continually together, yet they did never uſe as man and wife, though the woman ſpared not to do all neceſſary things that appertained to a good houſewife indifferently for them both, as in making clean their cabin, and every other thing that appertained to his eaſe; for when he was ſea-ſick, ſhe would make him clean; ſhe would kill and flay the dogs for their eating, and dreſs his meat. Only I think it worth the noting, the continency of them both; for the man would never ſhift himſelf, except he had firſt cauſed the woman to depart

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out of his cabin, and they both were moſt ſhamefaced, leſt any of their privy parts ſhould be diſcovered, either of themſelves or any other body.

On Monday the 6th of Auguſt, the lieutenant with all the ſoldiers, for the better guard of the miners and the other things aſhore, pitched their tents in the Counteſs's Iſland, and fortified the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty perſons; when being all at labour, they might perceive upon the top of a hill over againſt them a number of the country people, wafting with a flag, and making great outcries unto them, and were of the ſame company which had encountered lately our men upon the other ſhore, being come to complain their late loſſes, and to entreat (as it ſeemed) for reſtitution of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away. Whereupon the general, taking the ſavage captive with him, and ſetting the woman where they might beſt perceive her, in the higheſt place of the iſland, went over to talk with them. This captive, at his firſt encounter of his friends, fell ſo out into tears, that he could not ſpeak a word in a great ſpace; but after a while overcoming his kindneſs, he talked at full with his companions, and beſtowed friendly upon them ſuch toys and trifles as we had given him, whereby we noted that they are very kind one to another, and greatly ſorrowful for the loſs of their friends. Our general, by ſigns, required his five men which they took captive the laſt year, and promiſed them not only to releaſe thoſe which he had taken, but alſo to reward them with great gifts and friendſhip. Our ſavage made ſigns in anſwer from them, that our men ſhould be delivered us, and were yet living; and made ſigns likewiſe unto us, that we ſhould write our letters unto them, for they knew very well the uſe we have of writing, and received knowledge thereof, either of our poor captive countrymen which they betrayed, or elſe by this our new captive, who hath ſeen us daily write, and repeat again ſuch words of his language as we deſired to learn; but they for this night, becauſe it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earneſtly in haſte for the ſame. And the next morning early, being the 7th of Auguſt, they called again for the letter, which being delivered unto them, they ſpeedily departed, making ſigns with three fingers, and pointing to the ſun, that they meant to return within three days, until which time we heard no more of them, and about the time appointed they returned, in ſuch ſort as you ſhall afterwards hear.

This night, becauſe the people were very near unto us, the lieutenant cauſed the trumpet to ſound a call, and every man in the iſland repairing to the enſign, he put them in mind of the place, ſo far from their country wherein they lived, and the danger of a great multitude which they were ſubject unto, if good watch and ward were not kept; for at every low-water the enemy might come almoſt dry-foot from the main unto us: wherefore he willed every man to prepare him in good readineſs upon all ſudden occaſions; and ſo giving the watch their charge, the company departed to reſt.

I thought the captain's letter well worth remembering, not for the circumſtance of curious inditing, but for the ſubſtance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore havere peated here the ſame, as by himſelf it was haſtily written.

### The Form of M. Martin Frobiſher's Letter to the Engliſh Captives.

"IN the name of God, in whom we all believe, who (I truſt) hath preſerved your bodies and ſouls amongſt theſe infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to

ſeek

ſeek by all means you can deviſe for your deliverance, either with force or with any commodities within my ſhips, which I will not ſpare for your ſakes, or any thing elſe I can do for you. I have aboard of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the man which I carried away from hence the laſt year, is dead in England. Moreover you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I will not leave a man alive in their country. And thus, if one of you can come to ſpeak with me, they ſhall have either the man, woman, or child, in pawn for you. And thus unto God, whom I truſt you do ſerve, in haſte I leave you, and to him we will daily pray for you. This Tueſday morning the 7th Auguſt, Anno 1577.

Your's to the uttermoſt of my power,

MARTIN FROBISHER.

"I have ſent you by theſe bearers, pen, ink, and paper, to write back unto me again, if perſonally you cannot come, to certify me of your eſtate."

Now had the general altered his determination for going any farther into the ſtreights at this time, for any further diſcovery of the paſſage, having taken a man and woman of that country, which he thought ſufficient for the uſe of language; and having alſo met with theſe people here, which intercepted his men laſt year, (as the apparel and Engliſh furniture which was found in their tents very well declared,) he knew it was but a labour loſt to ſeek them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And conſidering alſo the ſhort time he had in hand, he thought it beſt to bend his whole endeavour for the getting of mine, and to leave the paſſage further to be diſcovered hereafter. For his commiſſion directed him in this voyage, only for the ſearching of the ore, and to defer the further diſcovery of the paſſage until another time.

On Thurſday the 9th of Auguſt, we began to make a ſmall fort for our defence, in the Counteſs's Iſland, and entrenched the corner of a cliff, which on three parts, like a wall of good height, was encompaſſed and well fenced with the ſea, and we finiſhed the reſt with caſks of the earth to good purpoſe, and thisw as called Beſt's Bulwark, after the lieutenant's name, who firſt deviſed the ſame. This was done, for that we ſuſpected more, leſt the deſperate men might oppreſs us with multitude, than any fear we had of their force, weapons, or policy of battle: but as wiſdom would us in ſuch a place, ſo far from home, not to be of ourſelves altogether careleſs; ſo the ſigns which our captive made unto us, of the coming down of his Governor or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gave us occaſion to foreſee what might enſue thereof; for he ſhewed by ſigns, that this Catchoe was a man of higher ſtature far than any of our nation is, and he is accuſtomed to be carried upon men's ſhoulders.

About midnight the lieutenant cauſed a falſe alarm to be given in the iſland, to prove as well the readineſs of the company there aſhore, as alſo what help might be hoped for upon the ſudden, if need ſo required, and every part was found in good readineſs upon ſuch a ſudden.

Saturday the 11th of Auguſt, the people ſhewed themſelves again, and called unto us from the ſide of a hill over againſt us. The general (with good hope to hear of his men, and to have anſwer of his letter) went over unto them, where they preſented themſelves, not above three in ſight, but were hidden indeed in great numbers behind the rocks, and making ſigns of delay with us, to entrap ſome of us to redeem their own, did only ſeek advantage to train our boat about a point of land from ſight of our company: whereupon our men juſtly ſuſpecting them, kept aloof without their danger, and yet ſet one of our company aſhore, which took up a great bladder which one of them

them offered us, and leaving a looking-glaſs in the place, came into the boat again. In the mean while our men, which ſtood in the Counteſs's Iſland to behold, who might better diſcern them than thoſe in the boat, by reaſon they were on higher ground, made a great outcry unto our men in the boat, for that they ſaw divers of the ſavages creeping behind the rocks towards our men; whereupon the general preſently returned without tidings of his men.

Concerning this bladder which we received, our captive made ſigns that it was given him to keep water and drink in; but we ſuſpected rather it was given him to ſwim and ſhift away withal, for he and the woman ſought divers times to eſcape, having looſed our boats from a-ſtern our ſhips, and we never a boat left to purſue them withal, and had prevailed very far, had they not been very timely eſpied and prevented therein.

After our general's coming away from them, they muſtered themſelves in our ſight upon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rank, all holding hands over their heads, and dancing with great noiſe and ſongs together; we ſuppoſed that they made this dance and ſhew for us to underſtand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we ſhould do the ſame. And thus they continued upon the hill tops until night, when hearing a piece of our great ordnance which thundered in the hollowneſs of the high hills, it made unto them ſo fearful a noiſe, that they had no great will to tarry long after. And this was done more to make them know our force, than to do them any hurt at all.

On Sunday the 12th of Auguſt, Captain Fenton trained the company, and made the ſoldiers maintain ſkirmiſh among themſelves, as well for their exerciſe as for the country people to behold in what readineſs our men were always to be found; for it was to be thought that they lay hid in the hills thereabouts, and obſerved all the manne of our proceedings.

On Wedneſday the 14th of Auguſt, our general, with two ſmall boats well appointed for that he ſuſpected the country people to lie lurking thereabouts, went up a certain bay, within the Counteſs's Sound, to ſearch for ore, and met again with the country people, who ſo ſoon as they ſaw our men, made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders ſewed together with the guts and ſinews of beaſts, wafted us amain unto them, but ſhewed not above three of their company. But when we came near them, we might perceive a great multitude creeping behind the rocks, which gave us good cauſe to ſuſpect their traiterous meaning; whereupon we made them ſigns, that if they would lay their weapons aſide, and come forth, we would deal friendly with them, although their intent was manifeſted unto us: but for all the ſigns of friendſhip we could make them, they came ſtill creeping towards us behind the rocks, to get more advantage of us, as though we had no eyes to ſee them, thinking belike that our ſingle wits could not diſcover ſo bare deviſes and ſimple drifts of their's. Their ſpokeſman earneſtly perſuaded us with many enticing ſhews, to come eat and ſleep aſhore with great arguments of courteſy, and clapping his bare hands over his head in token of peace and innocency, willed us to do the like. But the better to allure our hungry ſtomachs, he brought us a trim bait of raw fleſh, which for faſhion ſake with a boat-hook we caught into our boat: but when the cunning eater perceived his firſt cold morſel could nothing ſharpen our ſtomachs, he caſt about for a new train of warm fleſh to procure our appetites; wherefore he cauſed one of his fellows in halting manner, to come forth as a lame man from behind the rocks; and the better to declare his kindneſs in carving he hoiſted him upon his ſhoulders, and bringing him hard to the water-ſide where we were, left him there limping, as an eaſy prey to be taken of us. His hope was that we would

would bite at this bait, and ſpeedily leap aſhore within their danger, whereby they might have apprehended ſome of us, to ranſom their friends home again, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and ſoldiers had great will to encounter them aſhore; but the general, more careful by proceſs of time to win them, than wilfully at the firſt to ſpoil them, would in no wiſe admit that any man ſhould put himſelf in any hazard aſhore, conſidering the matter he now intended was for the ore, and not for the conqueſt. Notwithſtanding, to prove this cripple's footmanſhip, he gave liberty for one to ſhoot; whereupon the cripple having a parting blow, lightly recovered a rock, and went away a true and no feigned cripple; and hath learned his leſſon for ever halting afore ſuch cripples again. But his fellows, which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likeneſs, and maintained the ſkirmiſh with their ſlings, bows, and arrows, very fiercely, and came as near as the water ſuffered them; and with as deſperate mind as hath been ſeen in any man, without fear of ſhot or any thing, followed us all along the coaſt, but all their ſhot fell ſhort of us, and are of little danger. They had belayed all the coaſt along for us, and being diſperſed ſo, were not well to be numbered; but we might diſcern of them about a hundred perſons, and had cauſe to ſuſpect a greater number. And thus without loſs or hurt we returned to our ſhips again.

Now our work growing to an end, and having, with only five poor miners, and the help of a few gentlemen and ſoldiers, brought aboard almoſt 200 ton of ore, in the ſpace of twenty days, every man therewithal well comforted, determined luſtily to work afreſh for a bone voyage, to bring our labour to a ſpeedy and happy end.

And on Wedneſday, at night, being the 21ſt of Auguſt, we fully finiſhed the whole work. And it was now good time to leave, for as the men were well wearied, ſo their ſhoes and cloaths were well worn; their baſkets' bottoms torn out, their tools broken, and the ſhips reaſonably well filled. Some, with over-ſtraining themſelves, received hurts not a little dangerous, ſome having their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the ice began to congeal and freeze about our ſhips' ſides a-night, which gave us a good argument of the ſun's declining ſouthward, and put us in mind to make more haſte homeward.

It is not a little worth the memory, to the commendation of the gentlemen and ſoldiers herein, who leaving all reputation a-part, with ſo great willingneſs and with courageous ſtomachs, have themſelves almoſt overcome in ſo ſhort a time the difficulty of this ſo great a labour; and this to be true, the matter, if it be well weighed without further proof, now brought home doth well witneſs.

Thurſday, the 22d of Auguſt, we plucked down our tents, and every man haſted homeward, and making bonfires upon the top of the higheſt mount of the iſland, and marching with enſign diſplayed round about the iſland, we gave a volley of ſhot for a farewell, in honour of the Right Honourable Lady Anne Counteſs of Warwick, whoſe name it beareth; and ſo departed aboard.

The 23d, having the wind large at weſt, we ſet ſail from out of the Counteſs's Sound homeward, but the wind calming, we came to anchor within the point of the ſame ſound again.

The 24th, about three of the clock in the morning, having the wind large at weſt, we ſet ſail again, and by nine of the clock at night we left the Queen's Foreland a-ſtern of us, and being clear of the ſtreights, we bare further into the main ocean, keeping our courſe more ſoutherly, to bring ourſelves the ſooner under the latitude of our own climate.

The wind was very great at ſea, ſo that we lay a hull all night, and had ſnow half a foot deep on the hatches.

From the 24th until the 28th, we had very much wind, but large, keeping our courſe S. S. E. and had like to have loſt the barks, but by good hap we met again.

The 29th the wind blew much at north-eaſt, ſo that we could bear only a bunt of our fore-ſail, and the barks were not able to carry any ſail at all.

The Michael loſt company of us, and ſhaped her courſe toward Orkney, becauſe that way was better known unto them, and arrived at Yarmouth.

The 30th, with the force of the wind, and a ſurge of the ſea, the maſter of the Gabriel and the boatſwain were ſtricken both overboard; and hardly was the boatſwain recovered, having hold on a rope hanging overboard in the ſea, and yet the bark was laced fore and after with ropes a breaſt high within board.

This maſter was called William Smith, being but a young man and a very ſufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleaſant, told his captain, he dreamt that he was caſt over-board, and that the boatſwain had him by the hand, and could not ſave him; and ſo immediately upon the end of his tale, his dream came right evilly to paſs; and indeed the boatſwain in like ſort held him by one hand, having hold on a rope with the other, until his force failed, and the maſter drowned. We at this time reckoned ourſelves to be about two hundred leagues from the Queen's Cape.

The laſt of Auguſt, about midnight, we had two or three ſudden and great flaws or ſtorms.

The firſt of September, the ſtorm was grown very great, and continued almoſt the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarry for the barks, our ſhip was much beaten with the ſeas, every ſea almoſt overtaking our poop, ſo that we were conſtrained with a bunt of our ſail to try it out, and eaſe the rolling of our ſhip. And ſo the Gabriel, not able to bear any ſail to keep company with us, and our ſhip being higher in the poop, and a tall ſhip, whereon the wind had more force to drive, went ſo faſt away that we loſt ſight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of ſea. The ſecond day of September, in the morning, it pleaſed God of his goodneſs to ſend us a calm, whereby we perceived the rudder of our ſhip torn in twain, and almoſt ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefit of the time, we ſlung half a dozen of our beſt men over-board, who taking great pains under water, driving planks and binding with ropes, did well ſtrengthen and mend the matter, who returned the moſt part more than half dead out of the water, and, as God's pleaſure was, the ſea was calm until the work was finiſhed. In this voyage commonly we took the latitude of the place by the height of the ſun, becauſe the long day taketh away the light, not only of the polar, but alſo of all other fixed ſtars. And here the north ſtar is ſo much elevated above the horizon, that with the ſtaff it is hardly to be well obſerved, and the degrees in the aſtrolabe are too ſmall to obſerve minutes. Therefore we always uſed the ſtaff and the ſun, as fitteſt inſtruments for this uſe.

Having ſpent four or five days in traverſe of the ſeas with contrary wind, making our ſoutherly way good as near as we could, to raiſe our degrees to bring ourſelves with the latitude of Scilly, the 11th of September, about ſix o'clock at night, the wind came good S. W. we veered ſheet, and ſet our courſe S. E.

The 13th, being in the latitude of Scilly, the wind W. S. W. we kept our courſe E. to run in with the Sleeve, or channel ſo called, being our narrow ſeas, and reckoned us ſhort of Scilly twelve leagues.

Monday,

Monday, the 15th, about four o'clock, we began to ſound with our lead, and had ground at ſixty-one fathoms depth, white ſmall ſandy ground, and reckoned us upon the back of Scilly, and ſet our courſe E. by N., E. N. E., and N. E. among.

The 16th, about eight o'clock in the morning ſounding, we had ſixty fathoms oozy ſand, and thought ourſelves thwart of St. George's Channel a little within the banks; and bearing a ſmall ſail all night, we made many ſoundings, which were about forty fathoms, and ſo ſhallow that we could not tell well where we were.

The 17th we ſounded, and had forty fathoms, and were not far off the land's-end, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the point with a S. by E. way, but were fain to make another board, the wind being at S. W. by W. and yet could not double the point to come clear of the land's-end, to bear along the Channel, and the weather cleared up when we were hard aboard the ſhore, and we made the land's-end perfect, and ſo put up along St. George's Channel; and the weather being very foul at ſea, we coveted ſome harbour, becauſe our ſteerage was broken, and ſo came to anchor in Padſtow-road in Cornwall. But riding there a very dangerous road, we were adviſed by the country to put to ſea again, and of the two evils to chooſe the leſs, for there was nothing but preſent peril where we rode; whereupon we plied along the channel to get to Londy, from whence we were again driven; but being an open road, where our anchor came home, and with force of weather put to ſea again, and about the 23d of September arrived at Milford Haven in Wales, which being a very good harbour, made us happy men, that we had received ſuch long-deſired ſafety.

About one month after our arrival here, by order from the Lords of the Council, the ſhip came up to Briſtow, where the ore was committed to keeping in the caſtle there. Here we found the Gabriel, one of the barks, arrived in good ſafety, who having never a man within board very ſufficient to bring home the ſhip, after the maſter was loſt, by good fortune, when ſhe came upon the coaſt, met with a ſhip of Briſtow at ſea, which conducted her in ſafety thither.

Here we heard good tidings of the other bark alſo, called the Michael, in the north parts, which was not a little joyful unto us, that it pleaſed God ſo to bring us to a ſafe meeting again; and we loſt in all the voyage only one man, beſides one that died at ſea, who was ſick before he came aboard, and was ſo deſirous to follow this enterprize, that he rather choſe to die therein, than not to be one to attempt ſo notable a voyage.

# THE THIRD VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN FROBISHER.

## PRETENDED FOR THE DISCOVERY OF CATAYA.

## BY META INCOGNITA, ANNO DOM. 1578.

THE general being returned from the ſecond voyage, immediately after his arrival in England, repaired with all haſte to the Court, being then at Windſor, to advertiſe Her Majeſty of his proſperous proceeding and good ſucceſs in this laſt voyage, and of the plenty of gold ore, and other matters of importance which he had in theſe ſeptentrional parts diſcovered. He was courteouſly entertained, and heartily welcomed of many noblemen; but eſpecially for his great adventure commended of Her Majeſty, at whoſe hands he received great thanks, and moſt gracious countenance according to his deſerts. Her Highneſs alſo greatly commended the reſt of the gentlemen in this ſervice, for their great forwardneſs in this ſo dangerous an attempt; but eſpecially ſhe rejoiced very much, that among them was ſo good order of government, ſo good agreement, every man ſo ready in his calling, to do whatever the general ſhould command; which due commendation graciouſly of Her Majeſty remembered, gave ſo great encouragement to all the captains and gentlemen, that they, to continue Her Highneſs ſo good and honourable opinion of them, have ſince neither ſpared labour, limb, nor life, to bring this matter (ſo well begun) to a happy and proſperous end. And finding that the matter of the gold ore had appearance, and made ſhew of great riches and profit, and the hope of the paſſage to Cataya by this laſt voyage greatly increaſed, Her Majeſty appointed ſpecial commiſſioners choſen for this purpoſe, gentlemen of great judgment, art, and ſkill, to look thoroughly into the cauſe, for the true trial and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And becauſe that place and country hath never heretofore been diſcovered, and therefore had no ſpecial name by which it might be called and known, Her Majeſty named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a mark and bound utterly hitherto unknown. The commiſſioners, after ſufficient trial and proof made of the ore, and having underſtood by ſundry reaſons, and ſubſtantial grounds, the poſſibility and likelihood of the paſſage, advertiſed Her Highneſs that the cauſe was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be advanced again. Whereupon preparation was made of ſhips and all other things neceſſary, with ſuch expedition as the time of the year then required. And becauſe it was aſſuredly made account of, that the commodity of mines there already diſcovered, would at the leaſt countervail in all reſpects the adventurers' charge, and give further hope and likelihood of greater matters to follow, it was thought needful, both for the better guard of thoſe parts already found, and for the further diſcovery of the inland and ſecrets of thoſe countries, and alſo for further ſearch of the paſſage to Cataya (whereof the hope contiunally more and more increaſeth), that certain numbers of choſen ſoldiers and diſcreet men for thoſe purpoſes ſhould be aſſigned to inhabit there. Whereupon there was a ſtrong fort or houſe of timber, artificially framed and cunningly deviſed, by a notable learned man here at home, in ſhips to be carried there, whereby thoſe men that were appointed to winter and ſtay there the whole winter, might as well be defended from

the danger of the ſnow and cold air, as alſo fortified from the force or offence of thoſe country people, which perhaps otherwiſe with too great multitudes might oppreſs them. And to this great adventure and notable exploit many well-minded and forward young gentlemen of our country willingly have offered themſelves. And firſt, Captain Fenton, lieutenant-general for Captain Frobiſher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captain Beſt and Captain Philpot, unto whoſe good diſcretions the government of that ſervice was chiefly commended; who, as men not regarding peril in reſpect of the profit and common wealth of their country, were willing to abide the firſt brunt and adventure of thoſe dangers among a ſavage and brutal kind of people, in a place hitherto ever thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabit Meta Incognita all the year, were one hundred perſons, whereof forty ſhould be mariners for the uſe of the ſhips, thirty miners for gathering the gold ore together for the next year, and thirty ſoldiers for the better guard of the reſt, within which laſt number are included the gentlemen, gold-finers, bakers, carpenters, and all neceſſary perſons. To each of the captains was aſſigned one ſhip, as well for the further ſearching of the coaſt and country there, as for to return and bring back their companies again, if the neceſſity of the place ſo urged, or, by miſcarrying of the fleet the next year, they might be diſappointed of their further proviſion. Being therefore thus furniſhed with all neceſſaries, there were ready to depart upon the ſaid voyage fifteen ſail of good ſhips, whereof the whole number was to return again with their lading of gold ore in the end of the ſummer, except thoſe three ſhips which ſhould be left for the uſe of thoſe captains which ſhould inhabit there the whole year. And being in ſo good readineſs, the general with all the captains came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leave of Her Majeſty, at whoſe hands they all received great encouragement and gracious countenance. Her Highneſs, beſides other good gifts and greater promiſes, beſtowed on the general a fair chain of gold, and the reſt of the captains kiſſed her hand, took their leave, and departed every man towards their charge.

The Names of the Ships, with their ſeveral Captains.

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|---|---|---|
| 1. | In the Aide, being Admiral, was the General, | Captain Frobiſher. |
| 2. | The Thomas Allen, Vice-admiral, | Yorke. |
| 3. | The Judith, Lieutenant-general, | Fenton. |
| 4. | The Anne Francis | Beſt. |
| 5. | The Hopewell | Carew. |
| 6. | The Beare | Philpot. |
| 7. | The Thomas of Ipſwich | Tanfield. |
| 8. | The Emanuel of Exeter | Courtney. |
| 9. | The Francis of Foy | Moyles. |
| 10. | The Moon | Upcot. |
| 11. | Emanuel of Bridgewater | Newton. |
| 12. | Salomon of Weymouth | Randal. |
| 13. | The Bark Dennis | Kendal. |
| 14. | The Gabriel | Harvey. |
| 15. | The Michael | Kinnerſley. |

The ſaid fifteen ſail of ſhips arrived and met together at Harwich the 27th of May, anno 1578, where the general and the other captains made view and muſtered their companies.

companies. And every ſeveral captain received from the general certain articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way; which articles are as followeth:

Imprimis, to baniſh ſwearing, vice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to ſerve God twice a day, with the ordinary ſervice uſual in the Church of England, and to clear the glaſs, according to the old order of England.

The admiral ſhall carry the light, and after his light be once put out, no man to go a-head of him, but every man to ſet his ſails to follow as near as they may, without endangering one another.

That no man ſhall, by day or by night, depart further from the admiral than the diſtance of one Engliſh mile, and as near as they may, without danger one of another.

If it chance to grow thick and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the admiral be forced to caſt about, before her caſting about ſhe ſhall give warning, by ſhooting off a piece, and to her ſhall anſwer the vice-admiral, and the rear-admiral, each of them with a piece, if it be by night or in a fog; and that the vice-admiral ſhall anſwer firſt, and the rear-admiral laſt.

That no man in the fleet deſcrying any ſail or ſails, give upon any occaſion any chace before he have ſpoken with the admiral.

That every evening all the fleet come up and ſpeak with the admiral at ſeven o'clock, or between that and eight; and if the weather will not ſerve them all to ſpeak with the admiral, then ſome ſhall ſpeak with the vice-admiral, and receive the order of their courſe of Maſter Hall, chief pilot of the fleet, as he ſhall direct them.

If to any man in the fleet there happen any miſchance, they ſhall preſently ſhoot off two pieces by day, and if it be by night, two pieces, and ſhew two lights.

If any man in the fleet come up in the night, and hail his fellow, knowing him not, he ſhall give him this watch-word, "Before the world was God." The other ſhall anſwer him (if he be one of our fleet), "After God came Chriſt his Son." So that if any be found amongſt us, not of our own company, he that firſt deſcrieth any ſuch ſail or ſails, ſhall give warning to the admiral by himſelf or any other that he can ſpeak to, that ſails better than he, being neareſt unto him.

That every ſhip in the fleet, in time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and moſt part calms, ſhall keep a reaſonable noiſe with trumpet, drum, or otherwiſe, to keep themſelves clear one of another.

If it fall out ſo thick or miſty that we lay it to hull, the admiral ſhall give warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one over another, to the end that every man may take in his ſails; and at his ſetting of ſails again do the like, if it be not clear.

If any man diſcover land by night, that he give the like warning that he doth for miſchances, two lights, and two pieces; if it be by day one piece, and put out his flag, and ſtrike all his ſails he hath abroad.

If any ſhip happen to loſe company by force of weather, then any ſuch ſhip or ſhips ſhall get her into the latitude of ———, and ſo keep that latitude until they get Friſland; and after they be paſt the weſt parts of Friſland, they ſhall get them into the latitude of —— and ——, and not to the northward of ——; and being once entered within the ſtreights, all ſuch ſhips ſhall every watch ſhoot off a good piece, and look out well for ſmoke and fire, which thoſe that get in firſt, ſhall make every night, until all the fleet be come together.

That upon the ſight of an enſign on the maſt of the admiral (a piece being ſhot off), the whole fleet ſhall repair to the admiral, to underſtand ſuch conference as the general is to have with them.

If

If we chance to meet with any enemies, that four ſhips ſhall attend upon the admiral, viz. the Francis of Foy, the Moon, the bark Dennis, and the Gabriel; and four upon my lieutenant-general in the Judith, viz. the Hopewell, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon; and the other four upon the vice-admiral, viz. the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich, the Emanuel, and the Michael.

If there happen any diſordered perſon in the fleet, that he be taken and kept in ſafe cuſtody until he may conveniently be brought on board the admiral, and there to receive ſuch puniſhment as his or their offences ſhall deſerve,

By me, MARTIN FROBISHER.

Having received theſe articles of direction, we departed from Harwich the 31ſt of May, and ſailing along the ſouth part of England weſtward, we at length came by the coaſt of Ireland, at Cape Clear, the 6th of June, and gave chace there to a ſmall bark which was ſuppoſed to be a pirate, or rover on the ſeas; but it fell out indeed that they were poor men of Briſtow, who had met with ſuch company of Frenchmen, as had ſpoiled and ſlain many of them, and left the reſt ſo ſore wounded, that they were like to periſh in the ſea, having neither hand nor foot whole to help themſelves with, nor victuals to ſuſtain their hungry bodies. Our general, who well underſtood the office of a ſoldier and an Engliſhman, and knew well what the neceſſity of the ſea meaneth, pitying much the miſery of the poor men, relieved them with ſurgery and ſalves to relieve their hurts, and with meat and drink to comfort their pining hearts; ſome of them having neither eaten nor drank more than olives and ſtinking water in many days before, as they reported. And after this good deed done, having a large wind, we kept our courſe upon the ſaid voyage, without ſtaying to take in freſh water, or any other proviſion, whereof many of the fleet were not thoroughly furniſhed; and ſailing towards the N. W. parts from Ireland, we met with a great current from out of the S. W. which carried us, by our reckoning, one point to the northward of our ſaid courſe; which current ſeemed to us to continue itſelf towards Norway, and other the N. E. parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to believe, that this is the ſame which the Portugals meet at Capo de Buona Sperança, where ſtriking over from thence to the Streights of Magellan, and finding no paſſage there for the narrowneſs of the ſaid ſtreights, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico; where alſo having a let of land, it is forced to ſtrike back again towards the N. E. as we not only here, but in another place alſo, further to the north-ward, by good experience this year have found, as ſhall be hereafter in its place more at large declared.

Now had we ſailed about fourteen days without ſight of any land, or any other living thing except certain fowls, as wilmots, noddies, gulls, &c. which there ſeem only to live by ſea.

The 20th of June, at two o'clock in the morning, the general deſcried land, and found it to be Weſt Friſland, now named Weſt England. Here the general and other gentlemen went aſhore; being the firſt known Chriſtians that we have true notice of, that ever ſet foot upon that ground. And therefore the general took poſſeſſion thereof to the uſe of our ſovereign Lady the Queen's Majeſty, and diſcovered here a goodly harbour for the ſhips, where were alſo certain little boats of that country. And being there landed, they eſpied certain tents, and people of the country, which were (as they judged) in all ſorts very like thoſe of Meta Incognita, as by the apparel and other things which we found in their tents appeared.

The ſavage and ſimple people, ſo ſoon as they perceived our men coming toward them (ſuppoſing there had been no other world but theirs), fled fearfully away, as men

much amazed at ſo ſtrange a ſight, and creatures of human ſhape, ſo far in apparel, complexion, and other things, different from themſelves. They left in their tents all their furniture for haſte behind them, where amongſt other things were found a box of ſmall nails, and certain red herrings, boards of fir-tree well cut, with divers other things artificially wrought, whereby it appeareth that they have trade with ſome civil people, or elſe are, indeed, themſelves artificial workmen.

Our men brought away with them only two of their dogs, leaving in recompence bells, looking-glaſſes, and divers of our country toys behind them.

The country, no doubt, promiſeth good hope of great commodity and riches, if it may be well diſcovered. Some are of opinion that this Weſt England is firm land with the north-eaſt parts of Meta Incognita, or elſe with Greenland. And their reaſon is, becauſe the people, apparel, boats, and other things, are ſo like to theirs. And another reaſon is, the multitude of iſlands of ice, which lay between it and Meta Incognita; both argue that on the north ſide there is a bay, which cannot be but by the conjoining of the two lands together.

And having a fair and large wind, we departed from thence towards Frobiſher's Streights, the 23d of June. But firſt we gave name to a high cliff in Weſt England, the laſt that was in our ſight, and for a certain ſimilitude, we called it Charing Croſs. Then we bare ſoutherly towards the ſea, becauſe to the northwards of this coaſt, we met with much driving ice, which by reaſon of the thick miſts and weather might have been ſome trouble unto us.

On Monday the laſt of June, we met with many great whales, as they had been porpoiſes.

This ſame day the Salamander, being under both her courſes and bonnets, happened to ſtrike a great whale with her full ſtem, with ſuch a blow that the ſhip ſtood ſtill, and ſtirred neither forward nor backward. The whale thereat made a great and ugly noiſe, and caſt up his body and tail, and ſo went under water; and within two days after, there was found a great whale dead, ſwimming above water, which we ſuppoſed was that which the Salamander ſtruck.

The 2d day of July, early in the morning, we had ſight of the Queen's Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and paſſing through great quantity of ice, by night were entered ſomewhat within the ſtreights; perceiving no way to paſs further in, the whole place being frozen over from the one ſide to the other, and as it were, with many walls, mountains, and bulwarks of ice, choaked up the paſſage and denied us entrance. And yet do I not think that this paſſage or ſea hereabouts is frozen over at any time of the year; albeit it ſeemed ſo unto us by the abundance of ice gathered together, which occupied the whole place; but I do rather ſuppoſe theſe ice to be bred in the hollow ſounds and freſhets thereabouts, which by the heat of the ſummer's ſun, being looſe, do empty themſelves with the ebbs into the ſea, and ſo gather in great abundance there together.

And to ſpeak ſomewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen ſea in theſe parts; I do think it to be rather a bare conjecture of men, than that ever any man hath made experience of any ſuch ſea; and that which they ſpeak of Mare Glaciale, may be truly thought to be ſpoken of theſe parts, for this may well be called indeed the icy ſea, but not the frozen ſea, for no ſea conſiſting of ſalt-water can be frozen; as I have more at large herein ſhewed my opinion in my ſecond voyage, for it ſeemeth impoſſible for any ſea to be frozen which hath its courſe of ebbing and flowing, eſpecially in thoſe places where the tides do ebb and flow above ten fathoms. And alſo all theſe aforeſaid ice, which we ſometimes met one hundred miles from land, being gathered

out

out of the ſalt ſea, are in taſte freſh, and being diſſolved, become ſweet and wholeſome water.

And the cauſe why this year we have been more cumbered with ice, than at other times before, may be by reaſon of the eaſterly and ſoutherly winds, which brought us more timely hither than we looked for; which blowing from the ſea directly upon the place of our ſtreights, have kept in the ice, and not ſuffered them to be carried out to the main ſea, where they would in more ſhort time have been diſſolved. And all theſe fleeting ice are not only ſo dangerous in that they wind and gather ſo near together, that a man may paſs ſometimes ten or twelve miles as it were upon one firm iſland of ice; but alſo for that they open and ſhut together in ſuch ſort with the tides and ſea-gate, that whilſt one ſhip followeth the other with full ſails, the ice which was open to the foremoſt, will join and cloſe again before the latter can follow the firſt, whereby many times our ſhips were brought into great danger, as being not able ſo ſuddenly to take in our ſails, or ſtay the ſwift way of our ſhips.

We were forced many times to ſtem and ſtrike great rocks of ice, and ſo as it were make way through mighty mountains. By ſuch means ſome of the fleet, where they found the ice open, entered in, and paſſed ſo far within the danger thereof with continual deſire to recover their port, that it was the greateſt wonder of the world that they ever eſcaped ſafe, or were ever heard of again; for even at this preſent time we miſſed two of the fleet, that is, the Judith, wherein was the lieutenant-general, Captain Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we ſuppoſed had been utterly loſt, having not heard any tidings of them in more than twenty days before.

And one of our fleet, named the bark Denis, being of one hundred tons burthen, ſeeking way in amongſt theſe ice, received ſuch a blow with a rock of ice, that ſhe ſunk down therewith in ſight of the whole fleet; howbeit having ſignified her danger, by ſhooting off a piece of great ordnance, new ſuccour of other ſhips came ſo readily unto them, that the men were all ſaved with boats.

Within this ſhip that was drowned, there was parcel of our houſe, which was to be erected for them that ſhould ſtay all the winter in Meta Incognita.

This was a more fearful ſpectacle for the fleet to behold, for that the outrageous ſtorm that preſently followed, threatened them the like fortune and danger; for the fleet being thus compaſſed (as foreſaid) on every ſide with ice, having left much behind them, through which they paſſed, and finding more before them through which it was not poſſible to paſs, there aroſe a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at the S.E. which blowing from the main ſea directly upon the place of the ſtreights, brought together all the ice a ſea-board of us upon our backs, and thereby debarred us of returning back to recover ſea-room again; ſo that being thus compaſſed with danger on every ſide, ſundry men, with ſundry deviſes, ſought the beſt way to ſave themſelves. Some of the ſhips, where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a little birth of ſea-room, did take in their ſails, and there lay adrift. Other ſome faſtened and moored anchor upon a great iſland of ice, and rode under the lee thereof, ſuppoſing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the leſſer fleeting ice. And again ſome were ſo faſt ſhut up, and compaſſed in among an infinite number of great countries and iſlands of ice, that they were fain to commit themſelves and their ſhips to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and ſtrengthened the ſides of their ſhips with junks of cable, beds, maſts, planks, and ſuch like, which being hanged over-board on the ſides of their ſhips, might the better defend them from the outrageous ſway and ſtrokes of the ſaid ice. But as in greateſt diſtreſs men of beſt valour are beſt to be diſcerned, ſo it is greatly worthy commendation and noting, with what invincible mind every captain

encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painful mariners and poor miners (unacquainted with ſuch extremities), to the everlaſting renown of our nation, did overcome the brunt of theſe great and extreme dangers: for ſome, even without board upon the ice, and ſome within board upon the ſides of their ſhips, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and oars in their hands, ſtood almoſt day and night without any reſt, bearing off the force and breaking the ſway of the ice with ſuch incredible pain and peril, that it was wonderful to behold; which otherwiſe no doubt had ſtricken quite through and through the ſides of their ſhips, notwithſtanding our former proviſion; for planks of timber, of more than three inches thick, and other things of greater force and bigneſs, by the ſurging of the ſea and billow, with the ice were ſhivered and cut in ſunder, at the ſides of our ſhips; ſo that it will ſeem more than credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainly to be proved, and that by many ſubſtantial witneſſes, that our ſhips, even thoſe of greateſt burthens, with the meeting of the contrary waves of the ſea, were heaved up between iſlands of ice, a foot well near out of the ſea, above their water-mark, having their knees and timbers within board both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidſt theſe extremes, whilſt ſome laboured for defence of the ſhips, and ſought to ſave their bodies, other ſome, of more mild ſpirit, ſought to ſave their ſouls by devout prayer and meditation to the Almighty, thinking, indeed, by no other means poſſible than by a divine miracle to have their deliverance; ſo that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that held himſelf in beſt ſecurity had (God knoweth) but only bare hope remaining for his beſt ſafety.

Thus all the gallant fleet and miſerable men, without hope of ever getting forth again, diſtreſſed with theſe extremities, remained here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting four ſhips; that is, the Anne Francis, the Moon, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriel, which being ſomewhat a ſea-board of the fleet, and being faſt ſhips by a wind, having a more ſcope of clear, tried it out all the time of the ſtorm under ſail, being hardly able to bear a coaſt of each.

And albeit, by reaſon of the fleeting ice, which were diſperſed here almoſt the whole ſea over, they were brought many times to the extremeſt point of peril, mountains of ice ten thouſand times eſcaping them ſcarce one inch, which to have ſtricken had been their preſent deſtruction, conſidering the ſwift courſe and way of the ſhips, and the unwieldineſs of them to ſtay and turn as a man would wiſh; yet they eſteemed it their better ſafety, with ſuch peril to ſeek ſea-room, than without hope of ever getting liberty, to lie ſtriving againſt the ſtream, and beating amongſt the icy mountains, whoſe bigneſs and monſtrous greatneſs was ſuch, that no man would credit, but ſuch as to their pains ſaw and felt it. And theſe four ſhips, by the next day at noon, got out to ſea, and were firſt clear of the ice, who now enjoying their own liberty, began anew to ſorrow and fear for their fellows' ſafeties; and devoutly kneeling about their main-maſt, they gave unto God humble thanks, not only for themſelves, but beſought Him likewiſe highly for their friends' deliverance: and even now, whilſt amidſt theſe extremities, this gallant fleet and valiant men were altogether overlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearful continuance of the foreſaid dangers, it pleaſed God with His eyes of mercy to look down from heaven to ſend them help in good time, giving them, the next day, a more favourable wind at W. N. W. which did not only diſperſe and drive forth the ice before them, but alſo gave them liberty of more ſcope and ſea-room, and they were by night of the ſame day following perceived of the other four ſhips, where, to their greateſt comfort, they enjoyed again the fellowſhip one of another. Some in mending the ſides of their ſhips; ſome in ſetting up their topmaſts, and mend-

ing their ſails and tacklings; again, ſome complaining of their falſe ſtem borne away; ſome in ſtopping their leaks; ſome in recounting their dangers paſt, ſpent no ſmall time and labour: ſo that I dare well avouch, there were never men more dangerouſly diſtreſſed, nor more mercifully by God's providence delivered; and hereof both the torn ſhips, and the wearied bodies of the men arrived, do bear moſt evident mark and witneſs. And now the whole fleet plied off to ſea-ward, reſolving there to abide until the ſun might conſume, or the force of the wind diſperſe, theſe ice from the place of their paſſage; and being a good birth off the ſhore, they took in their ſails and lay adrift.

The 7th of July, as men nothing yet diſmayed, we caſt about towards the inward, and had ſight of land, which roſe in form like the northerland of the ſtreights, which ſome of the fleet, and thoſe not the worſt mariners, judged to be the north foreland; howbeit, other ſome were of contrary opinion; but the matter was not well to be diſcerned, by reaſon of the thick fog which for a long time hung upon the coaſt, and the new falling ſnow which yearly altereth the ſhape of the land, and taketh away, oftentimes, the mariners' marks; and by reaſon of the dark miſts which continued by the ſpace of twenty days together, this doubt grew the greater and the longer perilous: for whereas, indeed, we thought ourſelves to be upon the N. E. ſide of Frobiſher's Streights, we were now carried to the ſouth-weſtwards of the Queen's Foreland, and being deceived by a ſwift current coming from the N. E. were brought to the ſouth-weſtward of our ſaid courſe many miles more than we did think poſſible could come to paſs; the cauſe whereof we have ſince found, and it ſhall be at large hereafter declared.

Here we made a point of land, which ſome miſtook for a place in the ſtreights called Mount Warwick; but how we ſhould be ſo far ſhot up ſo ſuddenly within the ſaid ſtreights, the experteſt mariners began to marvel, thinking it a thing impoſſible that they could be ſo far overtaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceive them here which they had not by former experience proved and found out. Howbeit, many confeſſed that they found a ſwifter courſe of flood than before time they had obſerved; and truly it was wonderful to hear and ſee the ruſhing and noiſe that the tides do make in this place, with ſo violent a force, that our ſhips, lying a-hull, were turned ſometimes round about, even in a moment, after the manner of a whirlpool, and the noiſe of the ſtream no leſs to be heard afar off than the water-fall of London-bridge.

But whilſt the fleet lay thus doubtful amongſt great ſtore of ice, in a place they knew not, without ſight of ſun whereby to take the height, and ſo to know the true elevation of the pole, and without any clear of light to make perfect the coaſt; the general, with the captains and maſters of his ſhips, began doubtfully to queſtion of the matter, and ſent his pinnace aboard to hear each man's opinion, and eſpecially of James Beare, maſter of the Anne Francis, who was known to be a ſufficient and ſkilful mariner, and having been there the year before, had well obſerved the place, and drawn out cards of the coaſt. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtful, for that Chriſtopher Hall, chief pilot of the voyage, delivered a plain and public opinion, in the hearing of the whole fleet, that he had never ſeen the aforeſaid coaſt before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobiſher's Streights, as ſome of the fleet ſuppoſed, and yet the land doth lie and trend ſo like, that the beſt mariners may be therein deceived.

The 10th of July, the weather ſtill continuing thick and dark, ſome of the ſhips, in the fog, loſt ſight of the admiral and the reſt of the fleet, and wandering to and fro, with doubtful opinion whether it were beſt to ſeek back again to ſeaward, through

great ſtore of ice, or to follow on a doubtful courſe in a ſea-bay, or ſtreights they knew not, or along a coaſt, whereof, by reaſon of the dark miſts, they could not diſcern the dangers, if by chance any rock or broken ground ſhould lie off the place, as commonly in theſe parts it doth.

The vice-admiral, Captain Yorke, conſidering the foreſaid opinion of the pilot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, having loſt ſight of the fleet, turned back to ſea again, having two other ſhips in company with him.

Alſo, the captain of the Anne Francis, having alſo loſt company of the fleet, and being all alone, held it for beſt to turn it out again to ſea, until they might have clear weather to take the ſun's altitude, and with incredible pain and peril got out of the doubtful place into the open ſea again, being ſo narrowly diſtreſſed by the way, by means of continual fog and ice, that they were many times ready to leap upon an iſland of ice to avoid the preſent danger, and ſo hoping to prolong life a while, meant rather to die a pining death.

Some hoped to ſave themſelves on cheſts, and ſome determined to tie the hatches of the ſhip together, and to bind themſelves, with their furniture, faſt thereon, and ſo to be towed with the ſhip-boat aſhore, which otherwiſe could not receive half of the company; by which means, if happily they had arrived, they ſhould either have periſhed for lack of food to eat, or elſe ſhould themſelves have been eaten of thoſe ravenous, bloody, and men-eating people.

The reſt of the fleet following the courſe of the general, which led them the way, paſſed up above 60 leagues within the ſaid doubtful and ſuppoſed ſtreights, having always a fair continent upon their ſtarboard ſide, and a continuance ſtill of an open ſea before them.

The general, albeit with the firſt perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the old ſtreights; yet he perſuaded the fleet always that they were in their right courſe, and known ſtreights. Howbeit, I ſuppoſe, he rather diſſembled his opinion therein than otherwiſe, meaning by that policy (being himſelf led with an honourable deſire of further diſcovery) to induce the fleet to follow him, to ſee a further proof of that place; and, as ſome of the company reported, he hath ſince confeſſed, that if it had not been for the charge and care he had of the fleet and fraughted ſhips, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, and diſſolved the long doubt of the paſſage which we ſeek to find to the rich country of Cataya.

1. Of which miſtaken ſtreights, conſidering the circumſtance, we have great cauſe to confirm our opinion, to like and hope well of the paſſage in this place; for the foreſaid bay or ſea, the further we ſailed therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endleſs continuance: and where in other places we were much troubled with ice, as in the entrance of the ſame, ſo, after we had ſailed 50 or 60 leagues therein, we had no let of ice, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

2. Alſo this place ſeemeth to have a marvellous great indraft, and draweth unto it moſt of the drift ice, and other things which do float in the ſea, either to the north or eaſtward of the ſame, as by good experience we have found.

3. For here alſo we met with boards, laths, and divers other things, driving in the ſea, which was of the wreck of the ſhip called the bark Denis, which periſhed amongſt the ice as foreſaid, being loſt at the firſt attempt of the entrance, overthwart the Queen's Foreland, in the mouth of Frobiſher's Streights, which could by no means have been ſo brought thither, neither by wind nor tide, being loſt ſo many leagues off, if by force of the ſaid current the ſame had not been violently brought; for if the ſame had been brought thither by tide of flood, look how far the ſaid flood had carried it,

the ebb would have recarried it as far back again; and by the wind it could not ſo come to paſs, becauſe it was then ſometime calm, and moſt times contrary.

And ſome mariners do affirm, that they have diligently obſerved, that there runneth in this place nine hours flood to three ebb; which may thus come to paſs by force of the ſaid current: for whereas the ſea, in moſt places of the world, doth more or leſs ordinarily ebb and flow once every twelve hours, with ſix hours ebb and ſix hours flood; ſo alſo would it do there, were it not for the violence of this haſtening current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to begin before his ordinary time one hour and a half, and alſo to continue longer than his natural courſe by another hour and a half, until the force of the ebb be ſo great, that it will no longer be reſiſted; according to the ſaying, *Naturam expellas furcâ licèt, uſque recurrit.* Although nature and natural courſe be forced and reſiſted never ſo much, yet at laſt they will have their own ſway again.

Moreover, it is not poſſible that ſo great courſe of floods and current, ſo high ſwelling tides, with continuance of ſo deep waters, can be digeſted here without unburdening themſelves into ſome open ſea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the paſſage to be hereabouts: alſo we ſuppoſe theſe great indrafts do grow and are made up by the reverberation and reflection of that ſame current, which, at our coming by Ireland, met and croſſed us, of which, in the firſt part of this diſcourſe, I ſpake; which coming from the bay of Mexico, paſſing by and waſhing the S.W. parts of Ireland, reboundeth over to the N.E. parts of the world, ſuch as Norway, Iſland, &c. where not finding any paſſage to an open ſea, but rather being there increaſed by a new acceſs, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian ſea, paſſing the bay of St. Nicholas weſtward, it doth once again rebound back, by the coaſts of Greenland, and from thence upon Frobiſher's Streights, being to the ſouth-weſtwards of the ſame.

5. And if that principle of philoſophy be true, that *Inferiora corpora reguntur à ſuperioribus;* that is, if inferior bodies be governed, ruled, and carried after the manner and courſe of the ſuperiors, then the water, being an inferior element, muſt needs be governed after the ſuperior heaven, and ſo follow the courſe of *primum mobile* from eaſt to weſt.

6. But every man that hath written or conſidered any thing of this paſſage, hath more doubted the return by the ſame way, by reaſon of a great downfall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we alſo by experience partly find), than any miſtruſt they have of the ſame paſſage at all; for we find (as it were) a great downfall in this place, but yet not ſuch but that we may return, although with much ado; for we were eaſier carried in one hour, than we could get forth again in three. Alſo, by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceive us in this ſort; that whereas we ſuppoſed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the ſhore, contrary to all expectation.

Our men that ſailed furtheſt in the ſame miſtaken ſtreights (having the main land upon their ſtarboard ſide), affirm that they met with the outlet or paſſage of water, which cometh through Frobiſher's Streights, and followeth as all one into this paſſage.

Some of our company alſo affirm, that they had ſight of a continent upon their larboard ſide, being 60 leagues within the ſuppoſed ſtreights; howbeit, except certain iſlands in the entrance hereof, we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foreſaid tract of land ſeemeth to be more fruitful, and better ſtored of graſs, deer, wild fowl, as partridges, larks, ſea-mews, owls, wilmots, falcons, and taſſel gentils, ravens, bears,

bears, hares, foxes, and other things, than any other part we have yet diſcovered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a gentleman of the company, traded merchandiſe, and did exchange knives, bells, looking-glaſſes, &c. with thoſe country people, who brought him fowl, fiſh, bear-ſkins, and ſuch like, as their country yieldeth, for the ſame. Here alſo they ſaw of thoſe greater boats of the country, with twenty perſons in a-piece.

Now after the general had beſtowed theſe many days here, not without many dangers, he returned back again. And by the way of ſailing along this coaſt (being the backſide of the ſuppoſed continent of America), and the Queen's Foreland, he perceived a great ſound to go through into Frobiſher's Streights. Whereupon he ſent the Gabriel, the 21ſt of July, to prove whether they might go through and meet again with him in the ſtreights, which they did, and, as we imagined before, the Queen's Foreland proved an iſland, as I think moſt of theſe ſuppoſed continents will. And ſo he departed towards the ſtreights, thinking it were high time now to recover his port, and to provide the fleet of their lading, whereof he was not a little careful, as ſhall by the proceſs and his reſolute attempts appear. And in his return with the reſt of the fleet, he was ſo entangled, by reaſon of the dark fog, amongſt a number of iſlands and broken ground that lie off this coaſt, that many of the ſhips came over the top of rocks, which preſently after they might perceive to lie dry, having not half a foot water more than ſome of their ſhips did draw. And by reaſon they could not with a ſmall gale of wind ſtem the force of the flood, whereby to go clear off the rocks, they were fain to let an anchor fall with two bent of cable together, at an hundred and odd fathom depth, where otherwiſe they had been by the force of the tides carried upon the rocks again and periſhed: ſo that if God in theſe fortunes, as a merciful guide, beyond the expectation of man, had not carried us through, we had ſurely periſhed amidſt theſe dangers; for being many times driven hard aboard the ſhore, without any ſight of land, until we were ready to make ſhipwreck thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to ſound before our ſhips, leſt we might light thereon before we could diſcern the ſame; it pleaſed God to give us a clear of ſun and light for a ſhort time, to ſee and avoid thereby the danger, having been continually dark before, and preſently after. Many times alſo, by means of fogs and currents, being driven near upon the coaſt, God lent us, even at the very pinch, one proſperous breath of wind or other, whereby to double the land and avoid the peril; and when that we were all without hope of help, every man recommending himſelf to death, and crying out, "Lord, now help or never; now, Lord, look down from heaven, and ſave us ſinners, or elſe our ſafety cometh too late;" even then the mighty Maker of heaven, and our merciful God, did deliver us; ſo that they who have been partakers of theſe dangers, do even in their ſouls confeſs, that God even by miracle hath ſought to ſave them, whoſe name be praiſed evermore.

Long time now the Anne Francis had lain beating off and on all alone before the Queen's Foreland, not being able to recover their port for ice, albeit they many times dangerouſly attempted it, for yet the ice choaked up the paſſage, and would not ſuffer them to enter; and having never ſeen any of the fleet ſince twenty days paſt, when, by reaſon of the thick miſts, they were ſevered in the miſtaken ſtreights, they did now, this preſent 23d of July, overthwart a place in the ſtreights called Hatton's Headland, where they met with ſeven ſhips of the fleet again: which good hap did not only rejoice them of themſelves, in reſpect of the comfort which they received from ſuch good company, but eſpecially that by this means they were put out of doubt of their dear friends, whoſe ſafeties long time they did not a little ſuſpect and fear.

At

At their meeting they hailed the admiral after the manner of the ſea, and with great joy welcomed one another with a thundering volley of ſhot. And now every man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had paſſed.

The 24th of July we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much ado fought way back again through the ice, from out of the miſtaken ſtreights, where, to their great peril, they proved to recover their port. They brought the firſt news of the vice-admiral, Captain York, who many days, with themſelves and the Buſſe of Bridgewater, was miſſing. They reported, that they left the vice-admiral reaſonably clear of the ice, but the other ſhip they greatly feared, whom they could not come to help, being themſelves ſo hardly diſtreſſed as never men more. Alſo they told us of the Gabriel, who, having got through from the backſide and weſtern point of the Queen's Foreland into Frobiſher's Streights, fell into their company about the Cape of Good Hope.

And upon the 27th of July, the ſhip of Bridgewater got out of the ice, and met with the fleet which lay off and on under Hatton's Headland. They reported of their marvellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ſhip to be ſo leaky, that they muſt of neceſſity ſeek harbour, having their ſtem ſo beaten within their huddings, that they had much ado to keep themſelves above water. They had (as they ſay) 500 ſtrokes at the pump in leſs than half a watch, being ſcarce two hours; their men being ſo overwearied therewith, and with the former dangers, that they deſired help of men from the other ſhips. Moreover, they declared that there was nothing but ice and danger where they had been, and that the ſtreights within were frozen up, and that it was the moſt impoſſible thing of the world to paſs up unto the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, which was the place of our port.

The report of theſe dangers by theſe ſhips thus publiſhed among the fleet, with the remembrance of the perils paſt, and thoſe preſent before their face, brought no ſmall fear and terror into the hearts of many conſiderate men; ſo that ſome began privily to murmur againſt the general for this wilful manner of proceeding. Some deſired to diſcover ſome harbour thereabouts, and to refreſh themſelves, and reform their broken veſſels for a while, until the north and north-weſt winds might diſperſe the ice, and make the place more free to paſs. Other ſome, forgetting themſelves, ſpake more undutifully in this behalf, ſaying, that they had as lieve be hanged when they came home, as without hope of ſafety to ſeek to paſs, and ſo to periſh amongſt the ice.

The general not opening his cares to the peeviſh paſſion of any private perſon, but chiefly reſpecting the accompliſhment of the cauſe he had undertaken (wherein the chief reputation and fame of a general and captain conſiſteth), and calling to his remembrance the ſhort time he had in hand to provide ſo great a number of ſhips their loading, determined with this reſolution to paſs and recover his port, or elſe there to bury himſelf with his attempt.

Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat to appeaſe the feeble paſſions of the fearfuller ſort, and the better to entertain time for a ſeaſon, whilſt the ice might the better be diſſolved, he hailed on the fleet with belief that he would put them into harbour. Thereupon, whilſt the ſhips lay off and on under Hatton's Headland, he ſought to go in with his pinnaces amongſt the iſlands there, as though he meant to ſearch for harbour, where indeed he meant nothing leſs, but rather ſought if any ore might be found in that place, as by the ſequel appeared.

In the mean time, whilſt the fleet lay thus doubtful, without any certain reſolution what to do, being hard aboard the lee ſhore, there aroſe a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at the S. S. E. whereby the ice began marvellouſly to gather about us.

Whereupon

Whereupon every man, as in ſuch caſe of extremity he thought beſt, ſought the wiſeſt way for his own ſafety. The moſt part of the fleet, which were farther ſhot up within the ſtreights, and ſo far to the leeward, as that they could not double the land, following the courſe of the general, who led them the way, took in their ſails, and laid it a-hull amongſt the ice, and ſo paſſed over the ſtorm, and had no extremity at all, but for a ſhort time in the ſame place.

Howbeit the other ſhips, which plied out to ſeaward, had an extreme ſtorm for a longer ſeaſon; and the nature of the place is ſuch, that it is ſubject diverſly to divers winds, according to the ſundry ſituations of the great Alps and mountains there, every mountain cauſing a ſeveral blaſt, and pirrie, after the manner of a levant.

In this ſtorm, being the 26th of July, there fell ſo much ſnow with ſuch bitter cold air, that we could ſcarce ſee one another for the ſame, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and ſails, the ſnow being about half a foot deep upon the hatches of our ſhip, which did ſo wet through our poor mariners' clothes, that he that had five or ſix ſhifts of apparel, had ſcarce one dry thread to his back; which kind of wet and coldneſs, together with the overlabouring of the poor men amongſt the ice, bred no ſmall ſickneſs amongſt the fleet, which ſomewhat diſcouraged ſome of the poor men, who had not experience of the like before, every man perſuading himſelf that the winter there muſt needs be extreme, where they found ſo unſeaſonable a ſummer.

And yet notwithſtanding this cold air, the ſun many times hath a marvellous force of heat amongſt thoſe mountains, inſomuch that when there is no breath of wind to bring the cold air from the diſperſed ice upon us, we ſhall be weary of the bloming heat, and then ſuddenly with a perry of wind, which cometh down from the hollowneſs of the hills, we ſhall have ſuch breath of heat brought upon our faces, as though we were entered within ſome bath-ſtove or hot-houſe, and when the firſt of the perry and blaſt is paſt, we ſhall have the wind ſuddenly anew blow cold again.

In this ſtorm the Anne Francis, the Moon, and the Thomas of Ipſwich, who found themſelves able to hold it up with a ſail, and could double about the cape of the Queen's Foreland, plied out to the ſeaward, holding it for better policy and ſafety to ſeek ſea-room, than to hazard the continuance of the ſtorm, the danger of the ice, and the lee ſhore.

And being uncertain at this time of the general's private determinations, the weather being ſo dark that they could not diſcern one another, nor perceive which way he wrought, betook themſelves to this courſe for the beſt and ſafeſt.

The general, notwithſtanding the great ſtorm, following his own former reſolution, ſought by all means poſſible by a ſhorter way to recover his port, and where he ſaw the ice never ſo little open, he got in at one gap and out at another, and ſo himſelf valiantly led the way through before, to induce the fleet to follow after, and with incredible pain and peril at length got through the ice, and upon the 31ſt of July recovered his long wiſhed port, after many attempts and ſundry times being put back, and came to anchor in the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all peril paſt, he encountered a great iſland of ice, which gave the Aide ſuch a blow, having a little before weighed her anchor a cockbill, that ſhe ſtruck the anchor fluke through the ſhip's ſides under the water, which cauſed ſo great a leak, that with much ado they preſerved the ſhip from ſinking.

At their arrival here they perceived two ſhips at anchor within the harbour, whereat they began much to marvel and greatly to rejoice, for thoſe they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the lieutenant-general Captain Fenton, and the ſmall bark called the Gabriel, who ſo long time were miſſing, and never heard of before, whom every man made the laſt reckoning never to hear of again.

Here

Habitations at Nootha Sound.

Chas. Hutchinson, Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Oct. 1.1812.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

Here every man greatly rejoiced of their happy meeting, and welcomed one another after the ſea manner, with their great ordnance. And when each party had ripped up their ſundry fortunes and perils paſt, they highly praiſed God, and altogether upon their knees gave him due, humble, and hearty thanks; and maſter Wolfall, a learned man, appointed by her Majeſty's council to be their miniſter and preacher, made unto them a godly ſermon, exhorting them eſpecially to be thankful to God for their ſtrange and miraculous deliverance in theſe ſo dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the uncertainty of man's life, willed them to make themſelves always ready as reſolute men, to enjoy and accept thankfully whatſoever adventure his divine Providence ſhould appoint. This maſter Wolfall being well ſeated and ſettled at home in his own country, with a good and large living, having a good honeſt woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the beſt, refuſed not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the only care he had to ſave ſouls, and to reform thoſe infidels, if it were poſſible, to Chriſtianity; and alſo partly for the great deſire he had that this notable voyage, ſo well begun, might be brought to perfection; and therefore he was contented to ſtay there the whole year, if occaſion had ſerved, being in every neceſſary action as forward as the reſoluteſt men of all. Wherefore in this behalf he may rightly be called a true paſtor and miniſter of God's word, which for the profit of his flock ſpared not to venture his own life.

But to return again to Captain Fenton's company, and to ſpeak ſomewhat of their dangers (albeit they be more than by writing can be expreſſed), they reported that from the night of the firſt ſtorm, which was about the firſt of July, until ſeven days before the general's arrival, which was the 26th of the ſame, they never ſaw one day or hour wherein they were not troubled with continual danger and fear of death, and were 20 days almoſt together faſt amongſt the ice. They had their ſhip ſtricken through and through on both ſides, their falſe ſtem borne quite away, and could go from their ſhips in ſome places very many miles, and might eaſily have paſſed from one iſland of ice to another, even to the ſhore; and if God had not wonderfully provided for them and their neceſſity, and time had not made them more cunning to ſeek ſtrange remedies for ſtrange kinds of dangers, it had been impoſſible for them ever to have eſcaped: for among other devices, whereſoever they found any iſland of ice of greater bigneſs than the reſt, (as there be ſome of more than half a mile compaſs about, and almoſt 40 fathom high,) they commonly coveted to recover the ſame, and thereof to make a bulwark for their defence, whereon having moored anchor, they rode under the lee thereof for a time, being thereby guarded from the danger of the leſſer driving ice; but when they muſt needs forego this new found fort by means of other ice, which at length would undermine and compaſs them round about, and when that by heaving of the billow they were therewith likely to be bruiſed in pieces, they uſed to make faſt the ſhip unto the moſt firm and broad piece of ice they could find, and binding her noſe faſt thereunto, would fill all their ſails, whereon the wind having great power, would force forward the ſhip, and ſo the ſhip bearing before her the ice, and ſo one ice driving forward another, ſhould at length get ſcope and ſea room; and having by this means at length put their enemies to flight, they occupied the clear place for a pretty ſeaſon among ſundry mountains and alps of ice. One there was found by meaſure to be 65 fathom above water, which for a kind of ſimilitude was called Salomon's Porch. Some think thoſe iſlands eight times ſo much under water as they are above, becauſe of their monſtrous weight. But now I remember I ſaw very ſtrange wonders, men walking, running, leaping, and ſhooting upon the main ſea, 40 miles from any land, without any ſhip or other veſſel under them. Alſo I ſaw freſh rivers running amidſt

the ſalt ſea 100 miles from land, which if any man will not believe, let him know that many of our company leaped out of their ſhip upon iſlands of ice, and running there up and down, did ſhoot at butts upon the ice, and with their calivers did kill great ſeals, which uſe to lie and ſleep upon the ice, and this ice melting above at top by reflection of the ſun, came down in ſundry ſtreams, which uniting together, made a pretty brook able to drive a mill.

The ſaid Captain Fenton recovered his port ten days before any man, and ſpent good time in ſearching for mine, and he found good ſtore thereof. He alſo diſcovered about ten miles up into the country, where he perceived neither town, village, nor likelihood of habitation; but it ſeemeth (as he ſaith) barren, as the other parts which as yet we have entered upon; but their victuals and proviſions went ſo ſcant with them, that they had determined to return homeward within ſeven days after, if the fleet had not then arrived.

The general, after his arrival in the Counteſs's Sound, ſpent no time in vain, but immediately at his firſt landing called the chief captains of his council together, and conſulted with them for the ſpeedier execution of ſuch things as then they had in hand. As firſt, for ſearching and finding out good mineral for the miners to be occupied on. Then, to give good orders to be obſerved of the whole company aſhore. And laſtly, to conſider for the erecting up the fort and houſe for the uſe of them which were to abide there the whole year. For the better handling of theſe and all other important cauſes in this ſervice, it was ordained from her Majeſty and the council, that the general ſhould call unto him certain of the chief captains and gentlemen in council, to confer, conſult, and determine of all occurrents in this ſervice, whoſe names are as they here follow:

Captains { Fenton. Yorke. Beſt. Carew. Philpot.

And in ſea cauſes to have as aſſiſtants, Chriſtopher Hall and Charles Jackman, being both very good pilots, and ſufficient mariners, whereof the one was chief pilot of the voyage, and the other for the diſcovery. From the place of our habitation weſtward, maſter Selman was appointed notary, to regiſter the whole manner of proceeding in theſe affairs, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleaſed her Majeſty to require it.

The firſt of Auguſt, every captain, by order from the general and his council, was commanded to bring aſhore unto the Counteſs's Iſland, all ſuch gentlemen, ſoldiers, and miners, as were under their charge, with ſuch proviſion as they had of victuals, tents, and things neceſſary for the ſpeedy getting together of mine, and freight for the ſhips.

The muſter of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and conſidered, every man was ſet to his charge, as his place and office required. The miners were appointed where to work, and the mariners diſcharged their ſhips.

Upon the 2d of Auguſt, were publiſhed and proclaimed upon the Counteſs of Warwick's Iſland, with ſound of trumpet, certain orders by the general and his council, appointed to be obſerved of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the mean time, whilſt the mariners plied their work, the captains ſought out new mines, the gold-finers made trial of the ore, the mariners diſcharged their ſhips, the gentlemen for example ſake laboured heartily, and honeſtly encouraged the inferior ſort to work. So that the ſmall time of that little leiſure that was left to tarry was not ſpent in vain.

The

The 2d of Auguſt, the Gabriel arrived, who came from the vice-admiral, and being diſtreſſed ſore with ice, put into harbour near unto Mount Oxford, and now was the whole fleet arrived ſafely at their port, excepting four, beſides the ſhip that was loſt; that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Moon, whoſe abſence was ſome let unto the works and other proceedings, as well for that theſe ſhips were furniſhed with the better ſort of miners, as with other proviſion for the habitation.

The 9th of Auguſt, the general, with the captains of his council, aſſembled together, and began to conſider and take order for the erecting up of the houſe or fort for them that were to inhabit there the whole year, and that preſently the maſons and carpenters might go in hand therewith. Firſt, therefore, they peruſed the bills of lading, that every man received into his ſhip, and found that there was arrived only the eaſt ſide and the ſouth ſide of the houſe, and yet not that perfect and entire, for many pieces thereof were uſed for fenders in many ſhips, and ſo broken in pieces, whilſt they were diſtreſſed in the ice. Alſo after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drink and fuel to ſerve one hundred men, which was the number appointed firſt to inhabit there, becauſe their greateſt ſtore was in the ſhips which were not yet arrived. Then Captain Fenton, ſeeing the ſcarcity of the neceſſary things aforeſaid, was contented, and offered himſelf to inhabit there with 60 men. Whereupon they cauſed the carpenters and maſons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take upon them to erect up a leſs houſe for ſixty men. They required eight or nine weeks, if there were timber ſufficient, whereas now they had but 26 days in all to remain in that country. Wherefore it was fully agreed upon, and reſolved by the general and his council, that no habitation ſhould be there that year. And therefore they willed maſter Selman the regiſter, to ſet down this decree, with all their conſents, for the better ſatisfying of her Majeſty, the lords of the council, and the adventurers.

The Anne Francis, ſince ſhe was parted from the fleet, in the laſt ſtorm before ſpoken of, could never recover above five leagues within the ſtreights, the wind being ſometime contrary, and moſt times the ice compaſſing of them round about; and from that time, being about the 27th of July, they could neither hear nor have ſight of any of the fleet, until the 3d of Auguſt, when they deſcried a ſail near unto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had ſpoken, they could underſtand no news of any of the fleet at all; and this was the Thomas of Ipſwich, who had lain beating off and on at ſea with very foul weather and contrary winds ever ſince that foreſaid ſtorm, without ſight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to loſe one another again; the Moon being conſort always with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company, plied up together into the ſtreights, with great deſire to recover their long wiſhed port. And they attempted as often, and paſſed as far as poſſible the wind, weather, and ice gave them leave, which commonly they found very contrary; for when the weather was clear and without fog, then commonly the wind was contrary; and when it was either eaſterly or ſoutherly, which would ſerve their turns, then had they ſo great a fog and dark miſt therewith, that either they could not diſcern way through the ice, or elſe the ice lay ſo thick together, that it was impoſſible for them to paſs; and on the other ſide, when it was calm, the tides had force to bring the ice ſo ſuddenly about them, that commonly then they were moſt diſtreſſed therewith, having no wind to carry them from the danger thereof.

By the 6th of Auguſt, being with much ado got up as high as Leiceſter Point, they had good hope to find the ſouthern ſhore clear, and ſo paſs up toward their poſt; but being there becalmed, and lying a hull openly upon the great bay which cometh

out of the miſtaken ſtreights before ſpoken of, they were ſo ſuddenly compaſſed with ice round about, by means of the ſwift tides which run in that place, that they were never afore ſo hardly beſet as now; and in ſeeking to avoid theſe dangers in the dark weather, the Anne Francis loſt ſight of the other two ſhips, who being likewiſe hardly diſtreſſed, ſignified their danger, as they ſince reported, by ſhooting off their ordnance, which the other could not hear, nor if they had heard could have given them any remedy, being ſo buſily occupied to wind themſelves out of their own troubles.

The fleeboat called the Moon, was here heaved above the water with the force of the ice, and received a great leak thereby. Likewiſe the Thomas of Ipſwich and the Anne Francis were ſorely bruiſed at that inſtant, having their falſe ſtems borne away, and their ſhips ſide ſtricken quite through.

Now, conſidering the continual dangers and contraries, and the little leiſure that they had to tarry in theſe parts, beſides that every night the ropes of their ſhips were ſo frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his hands, together with the great doubt they had of the fleet's ſafety, thinking it an impoſſibility for them to paſs into their port, as well for that they ſaw themſelves, as for that they heard by the former report of the ſhips which had proved before, who affirmed that the ſtreights were all frozen over within; they thought it now very high time to conſider of their eſtates and ſafeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the captains and maſters of theſe ſhips deſired the captain of the Anne Francis to enter into conſideration with them of theſe matters. Wherefore Captain Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipſwich, with his pilot Richard Cox, and Captain Upcote of the Moon, with his maſter John Lakes, came aboard the Anne Francis the 8th of Auguſt, to conſult of theſe cauſes; and being aſſembled together in the captain's cabin, ſundry doubts were there alledged; for the fearfuller ſort of mariners being overtired with the continual labour of the former dangers, coveted to return homeward, ſaying that they would not again tempt God ſo much, who had given them ſo many warnings, and delivered them from ſo wonderful dangers; that they rather deſired to loſe wages, freight, and all, than to continue and follow ſuch deſperate fortunes. Again, their ſhips were ſo leaky, and the men ſo weary, that to amend the one and refreſh the other, they muſt of neceſſity ſeek into harbour.

But on the other ſide it was argued again to the contrary, that to ſeek into harbour thereabouts, was but to ſubject themſelves to double dangers, if happily they eſcaped the dangers of rocks in their entering, yet being in, they were nevertheleſs ſubject there to the danger of the ice, which with the ſwift tides and currents is carried in and out in moſt harbours thereabouts, and may thereby gall their cables aſunder, drive them upon the ſhore, and bring them to much trouble. Alſo, the coaſt is ſo much ſubject to broken ground and rocks, eſpecially in the mouth and entrance of every harbour, that albeit the channel be ſounded over and over again, yet are you never the nearer to diſcern the dangers; for the bottom of the ſea holding like ſhape and form as the land, being full of hills, dales, and ragged rocks, ſuffereth you not by your ſoundings to know and keep a true gueſs of the depth: for you ſhall found upon the ſide or hollowneſs of one hill or rock under water, and have 100, 50, or 40 fathom depth, and before the next caſt, ere you ſhall be able to heave your lead again, you ſhall be upon the top thereof, and come aground to your utter confuſion.

Another reaſon againſt going to harbour was, that the cold air did threaten a ſudden freezing up of the ſounds, ſeeing that every ice there was new congealed ice, even of that water which remained within their ſhips; and therefore it ſhould ſeem to be more ſafe to lie off and on at ſea, than for lack of wind to bring them forth from harbour, to hazard by ſudden froſts to be ſhut up the whole year.

After many ſuch dangers and reaſons alledged, and large debating of theſe cauſes on both ſides, the Captain of the Anne Francis delivered his opinion unto the company to this effect:—Firſt, concerning the queſtion of returning home, he thought it ſo much diſhonourable, as not to grow in any further queſtion; and again to return home, at length (as at length they muſt needs), and not to be able to bring a certain report of the fleet, whether they were living or loſt, or whether any of them had recovered their port or not, in the Counteſs's Sound, (as it was to be thought moſt part would if they were living); he ſaid it would be ſo great an argument either of want of courage or diſcretion in them, as he reſolved rather to fall into any danger, than ſo ſhamefully conſent to return home, proteſting that it ſhould never be ſpoken of him, that he would ever return without doing his endeavour to find the fleet, and know the certainty of the general's ſafety. He put his company in remembrance of a pinnace of five ton burthen, which he had within his ſhip, which was carried in pieces, and unmade up, for the uſe of thoſe which ſhould inhabit there the whole year, the which if they could find means to join together, he offered himſelf to prove before therewith, whether it were poſſible for any boat to paſs for ice, whereby the ſhip might be brought in after, and might alſo thereby give true notice if any of the fleet were arrived at their port or not.

But notwithſtanding, for that he well perceived that the moſt part of his company were addicted to put into harbour, he was willing the rather for theſe cauſes ſomewhat to incline thereto. As firſt, to ſearch along the ſame coaſt, and the ſounds thereabouts, he thought it to be to good purpoſe, for that it was likely to find ſome of the fleet there, which being leaky, and ſore bruiſed with the ice, were the rather thought likely to be put into an ill harbour, being diſtreſſed with foul weather in the laſt ſtorm, than to hazard their uncertain ſafeties amongſt the ice; for about this place they loſt them, and left the fleet then doubtfully queſtioning of harbour.

It was likely alſo, that they might find ſome fit harbour thereabouts, which might be behoveful for them againſt another time. It was not likewiſe impoſſible to find ſome ore or mine thereabouts, wherewithal to freight their ſhips, which would be more commodious in this place, for the nearneſs to ſeaward, and for a better outlet, than farther within the ſtreights, being likely here always to load in a ſhorter time, howſoever, the ſtreight ſhould be peſtered with ice within; ſo that if it might come to paſs that thereby they might either find the fleet, mine, or convenient harbour, any of theſe three would ſerve their preſent turns, and give ſome hope and comfort unto their companies, which now were altogether comfortleſs. But if that all fortune ſhould fall out ſo contrary, that they could neither recover their port, nor any of theſe aforeſaid helps, that yet they would not depart the coaſt, as long as it was poſſible for them to tarry there, but would lie off and on at ſea athwart the place: therefore his final concluſion was ſet down thus; firſt, that the Thomas of Ipſwich and the Moon ſhould conſort and keep company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as near as they could, and as true Engliſhmen and faithful friends, ſhould ſupply one another's wants in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, every ſhip to ſend off his boat, with a ſufficient pilot, to ſearch out and found the harbours for the ſafe bringing in of their ſhips; and being arrived in harbour, where they might find convenient place for the purpoſe, they reſolved forthwith to join and ſet together the pinnace, wherewithal the Captain of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, diſcover up into the ſtreights.

After theſe determinations thus ſet down, the Thomas of Ipſwich the night following loſt company of the other ſhips, and afterward ſhaped a contrary courſe homeward, which fell out, as it manifeſtly appears, very much againſt their captain Maſter Tanfield's mind,

mind, as by due examination before the lords of her Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council it hath ſince been proved, to the great diſcredit of the pilot Cox, who ſpecially perſuaded his company, againſt the opinion of his ſaid captain, to return home.

And as the captain of the Anne Francis doth witneſs, even at their conference together, Captain Tanfield told him, that he did not a little ſuſpect the ſaid pilot Cox, ſaying that he had opinion in the man neither of honeſt duty, manhood, nor conſtancy. Notwithſtanding the ſaid ſhip's departure, the captain of the Anne Francis being deſirous to put in execution his former reſolutions, went in his ſhip's boat (being accompanied alſo with the Moon's ſkiff), to prove amongſt the iſlands which lie under Hatton's headland, if any convenient harbour, or any knowledge of the fleet, or any good ore were there to be found. The ſhips lying off and on at ſea the while under ſail, ſearching through many ſounds, they ſaw them all full of many dangers and broken ground; yet one there was, which ſeemed an indifferent place to harbour in, and which they did very diligently ſound over, and ſearched again.

Here the ſaid captain found a great black iſland, whereunto he had a good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were ſomewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his words, rowed cheerfully unto that place; where when they arrived, they found ſuch plenty of black ore of the ſame ſort which was brought into England this laſt year, that if the goodneſs might anſwer the great plenty thereof, it was thought that it might reaſonably ſuffice all the gold-gluttons of the world. This iſland, the captain for cauſe of this good hap, called after his own name, Beſt's Bleſſing; and with theſe good tidings returning aboard his ſhip the 9th of Auguſt, about 10 o'clock at night, he was joyfully welcomed of his company, who before were diſcomforted, and greatly expected ſome better fortune at his hands.

The next day, being the 10th of Auguſt, the weather reaſonably fair, they put into the foreſaid harbour, having their boat, for their better ſecurity, ſounding before their ſhip. But for all the care and diligence that could be taken in ſounding the channel over and over again, the Anne Francis came aground upon a ſunken rock within the harbour, and lay thereon more than half dry until the next flood, when by God's almighty Providence, contrary almoſt to all expectation, they came afloat again, being forced all that time to underſet their ſhip with their main-yard, which otherwiſe was likely to overſet, and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had above two thouſand ſtrokes together at the pump, before they could make their ſhip free of the water again, ſo ſore ſhe was bruiſed by lying upon the rocks. The Moon came ſafely, and rode at anchor by the Anne Francis, whoſe help in their neceſſity they could not well have miſſed.

Now whilſt the mariners were rummaging their ſhips, and mending that which was amiſs, the miners followed their labour for getting together a ſufficient quantity of ore, and the carpenters endeavoured to do their beſt for the making up of the boat or pinnace; which to bring to paſs they wanted two ſpecial and moſt neceſſary things, that is, certain principal timbers that are called knees, which are the chiefeſt ſtrength of any boat, and alſo nails, wherewithal to join the planks together; whereupon, having by chance a ſmith amongſt them, (and yet unfurniſhed of his neceſſary tools to work and make nails withal,) they were fain of a gun-chamber to make an anvil to work upon, and to uſe a pickaxe inſtead of a ſledge to beat withal, and alſo to occupy two pair of ſmall bellows inſtead of one pair of great ſmith's bellows; and for lack of ſmall iron for the eaſier making of the nails, they were forced to break their tongs, gridiron, and fire-ſhovel in pieces.

The

The 11th of Auguſt the captain of the Anne Francis, taking the maſter of his ſhip with him, went up to the top of Hatton's headland, which is the higheſt land of all the ſtreights, to the end to deſcry the ſituation of the country underneath, and to take a true plot of the place, whereby alſo to ſee what ſtore of ice was yet left in the ſtreights, and alſo to ſearch what mineral matter or fruit that ſoil might yield; and the rather for the honour the ſaid captain doth owe to that honourable name which himſelf gave thereunto the laſt year, in the higheſt part of this headland, he cauſed his company to make a column or croſs of ſtone in token of Chriſtian poſſeſſion. In this place there is plenty of black ore, and divers pretty ſtones.

The 17th of Auguſt, the captains with their companies chaſed and killed a white bear, which adventured and gave a fierce aſſault upon 20 men, being weaponed; and he ſerved them for good meat many days.

The 18th, with much ado the pinnace being ſet together, the ſaid Captain Beſt determined to depart up the ſtreights, to prove and make trial as before was pretended, ſome of his company greatly perſuading him to the contrary, and ſpecially the carpenter that ſet the ſame together, who ſaid that he would not adventure himſelf therein for 500 *l.* for that the boat hung together but only by the ſtrength of the nails, and lacked ſome of her principal knees and timbers.

Theſe words ſomewhat diſcouraged ſome of the company which ſhould have gone therein; whereupon the captain, as one not altogether adviſed to his own ſelf-will, but ſomewhat foreſeeing how it might be afterward ſpoken, if contrary fortune ſhould happen him, ("Lo! he hath followed his own opinion and deſperate reſolutions, and ſo thereafter it is befallen him,") calling the maſter and mariners of beſt judgment together, declared unto them how much the cauſe imported him in his credit to ſeek out the general, as well to confer with him of ſome cauſes of weight, as otherwiſe to make due examination and trial of the goodneſs of the ore, whereof they had no aſſurance but by the gueſs of the eye, and it was well like the other; which ſo to carry home, not knowing the goodneſs thereof, might be as much as if they ſhould bring ſo many ſtones; and therefore he deſired them to deliver their plain and honeſt opinion, whether the pinnace were ſufficient for him ſo to adventure in or no. It was anſwered, that by careful heed taken thereunto amongſt the ice, and the foul weather, the pinnace might ſuffice; and hereupon the maſter's mate of the Anne Francis, called John Gray, manfully and honeſtly offering himſelf unto his captain in this adventure and ſervice, gave cauſe to others of his mariners to follow the attempt.

And upon the 19th of Auguſt, the ſaid captain being accompanied with Captain Upcote of the Moon, and 18 perſons, in the ſmall pinnace, having convenient portion of victuals and things neceſſary, departed upon the ſaid pretended voyage, leaving their ſhip at anchor in good readineſs for the taking in of their freight. And having little wind to ſail withal, they plied along the ſouthern ſhore, and paſſed above 30 leagues, having the only help of man's labour with oars, and ſo intending to keep that ſhore aboard until they were got up to the fartheſt and narroweſt of the ſtreights, minded there to croſs over, and to ſearch likewiſe along the northland unto the Counteſs's Sound, and from thence to paſs all that coaſt along, whereby if any of the fleet had been diſtreſſed by wreck of rock or ice, by that means they might be perceived of them, and ſo they thereby to give them ſuch help and relief as they could. They did greatly fear, and ever ſuſpect that ſome of the fleet were ſurely caſt away, and driven to ſeek ſour ſalads among the cold cliffs.

And being ſhot up about 40 leagues within the ſtreights, they put over towards the north ſhore, which was not a little dangerous for their ſmall boats; and by means

of a ſudden flaw were driven, and fain to ſeek harbour in the night, amongſt all the rocks and broken ground of Gabriels Iſlands, a place ſo named within the ſtreights above the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound; and by the way where they landed, they did find certain great ſtones ſet up by the country people, as it ſeemed for marks, where they alſo made many croſſes of ſtone, in token that Chriſtians had been there.

The 22d they had ſight of the Counteſs's Sound, and made the place perfect from the top of a hill, and keeping along the northern ſhore, perceived the ſmoke of a fire under a hill's ſide; whereupon they diverſely deemed. When they came nearer the place, they perceived people which wafted unto them, as it ſeemed, with a flag or enſign. And becauſe the country people had uſed to do the like, when they perceived any of our boats to paſs by, they ſuſpected them to be the ſame; and coming ſomewhat nearer, they might perceive certain tents, and obſerve this enſign to be of mingled colours, black and white, after the Engliſh faſhion. But becauſe they could ſee no ſhip, nor likelihood of harbour within five or ſix leagues about, and knew that none of our men were wont to frequent thoſe parts, they could not tell what to judge thereof, but imagined that ſome of the ſhips being carried ſo high with the ſtorm and miſts, had made ſhipwreck amongſt the ice or broken iſlands there, and were ſpoiled by the country people, who might uſe the ſundry coloured flag for a policy, to bring them likewiſe within their danger. Whereupon the ſaid captain with his companies, reſolved to recover the ſame enſign, if it were ſo, from thoſe baſe people, or elſe to loſe their lives, and all together. In the end they diſcerned them to be their countrymen, and then they deemed them to have loſt their ſhips, and ſo to be gathered together for their better ſtrength. On the other ſide, the company aſhore feared that the captain having loſt his ſhip, came to ſeek forth the fleet for his relief in his poor pinnace, ſo that their extremities cauſed each part to ſuſpect the worſt.

The captain now with his pinnace being come near the ſhore, commanded his boat carefully to be kept afloat, leſt in their neceſſity they might win the ſame from him, and ſeek firſt to ſave themſelves; for every man in that caſe is next himſelf. They hailed one another according to the manner of the ſea, and demanded what cheer; and either party anſwered the other, that all was well; whereupon there was a ſudden and joyful outſhoot, with great flinging up of caps, and a brave volley of ſhot to welcome one another. And truly it was a moſt ſtrange caſe to ſee how joyful and glad every party was to ſee themſelves meet in ſafety again, after ſo ſtrange and incredible dangers; yet to be ſhort, as their dangers were great, ſo their God was greater.

And here the company were working upon new mines, which Captain York, being here arrived not long ago, had found out in this place, and it is named the Counteſs of Suſſex mine.

After ſome conference with our friends here, the captain of the Anne Francis departed towards the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, to ſpeak with the general, and to have trial made of ſuch metal as he had brought thither, by the gold-finers. And ſo he determined to diſpatch again towards his ſhip. And having ſpoken with the general, he received order for all cauſes, and direction as well for the bringing up of his ſhip to the Counteſs's Sound, as alſo to freight his ſhip with the ſame ore, which he himſelf had found, which upon trial made was ſuppoſed to be very good.

The 23d of [illegible] the ſaid captain met together with the other captains (commiſſioners in council with the general) aboard the Aide, where they conſidered and conſulted of ſundry cauſes, which being particularly regiſtered by the notary, were appointed where and how to be done againſt another year.

The

Engraved by George Cooke

Natives of Oonalashka, and their Habitations.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY

The 24th, the general, with two pinnaces and good number of men, went to Beare's Sound, commanding the ſaid captain with his pinnace to attend the ſervice, to ſee if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people, for ſundry times they ſhewed themſelves buſy thereabouts, ſometimes with ſeven or eight boats in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company, which were working there at the mines in no great numbers. But when they perceived any of our ſhips to ride in that road (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a ſhip, and a more number of men,) they did never ſhew themſelves again there at all. Wherefore our men ſought with their pinnaces to compaſs about the iſland where they did uſe, ſuppoſing there ſuddenly to intercept ſome of them. But before our men could come near, having belike ſome watch in the top of the mountains, they conveyed themſelves privily away, and left (as it ſhould ſeem) one of their great darts behind them for haſte, which we found near to a place of their caves and houſing. Therefore, though our general were very deſirous to have taken ſome of them to have brought into England, they being now grown more wary by their former loſſes, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the ſame day, the captain of the Anne Francis departed thence, and ſet his courſe over the ſtreights towards Hatton's Headland, being about 15 leagues over, and returned aboard his ſhip the 25th of Auguſt, to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his coming, where he found his ſhips ready rigged and loaden. Wherefore he departed from thence again the next morning towards the Counteſs's Sound, where he arrived the 28th of the ſame. By the way he ſet his miners aſhore at Beare's Sound, for the better diſpatch and gathering the ore together, for that ſome of the ſhips were behind-hand with their freight, the time of the year paſſing ſuddenly away.

The 30th of Auguſt the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had eight great leaks mended, which ſhe had received by means of the rocks and ice. This day the maſons finiſhed a houſe, which Captain Fenton cauſed to be made of lime and ſtone upon the Counteſs of Warwick's Iſland, to the end we might prove againſt the next year, whether the ſnow could overwhelm it, the froſt break it up, or the people diſmember the ſame; and the better to allure thoſe brutiſh and uncivil people to courteſy againſt other times of our coming, we left therein divers of our country toys, as bells and knives, wherein they ſpecially delight, one for neceſſary uſe, and the other for the great pleaſure thereof; alſo pictures of men and women in lead, men on horſeback, looking-glaſſes, whiſtles, and pipes; alſo in the houſe was made an oven, and bread left baked therein for them to ſee and taſte.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort; alſo here we ſowed peaſe, corn, and other grain, to prove the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil againſt the next year.

The fleet now being in ſome good readineſs for their lading, the general calling together the gentlemen and captains to conſult, told them that he was very deſirous that ſome further diſcovery ſhould be attempted, and that he would not only, by God's help, bring home his ſhips laden with ore, but alſo meant to bring ſome certificate of further diſcovery of the country, which thing to bring to paſs (having ſometime therein conſulted) they found very hard, and almoſt invincible. And conſidering, that already they had ſpent ſome time in ſearching out the trending and faſhion of the miſtaken ſtreights, therefore it could not be ſaid, but that by this voyage they had notice of a further diſcovery, and that the hope of the paſſage thereby is much furthered and increaſed, as appeared before in the diſcourſe thereof. Yet, notwithſtanding, if any means might be further deviſed, the captains were contented and willing, as the general ſhould appoint and command, to take any enterpriſe in hand; which after long debating was found, a thing very impoſſible, and that rather conſultation was to be had of returning homeward,

homeward, eſpecially for theſe cauſes following:—firſt, the dark foggy miſts, the continual falling ſnow and ſtormy weather, which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily more and more increaſed, have no ſmall argument of the winter's drawing near; and alſo the froſt every night was ſo hard and congealed without the ſound, that if by evil hap they ſhould be long kept in by contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared that they ſhould be ſhut up there faſt the whole year, which, being utterly unprovided, would be their utter deſtruction. Again, drink was ſo ſcant throughout all the fleet, by reaſon of the great leakage, that not only the proviſion that was laid in for the habitation was wanting and waſted, but alſo each ſhip's ſeveral proviſion ſpent and loſt, which many of our company to their great grief found in their return ſince, for all the way homewards they drank nothing but water. And the great cauſe of this leakage and waſting was, for that the great timber and ſea-coal, which lay ſo weighty upon the barrels, brake, bruiſed, and rotted the hoops inſunder. Yet notwithſtanding theſe reaſons alledged, the general himſelf (willing the reſt of the gentlemen and captains every man to look to his charge and lading, that againſt a day appointed they ſhould be all in readineſs to ſet homeward) went in a pinnace, and diſcovered further northwards in the ſtreights, and found that by Beare's Sound and Hall's Iſland, the land was not firm, as it was firſt ſuppoſed, but all broken iſlands in manner of an archipelagus, and ſo with other ſecret intelligence to himſelf he returned to the fleet. Where preſently upon his arrival at the Counteſs's Sound, he began to take order for their returning homewards, and firſt cauſed certain articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of order and courſes in their return; which articles were delivered to every captain.

Having now received articles and directions for our return homewards, all other things being in forwardneſs and good order, the laſt day of Auguſt the fleet departed from the Counteſs's Sound, except the Judith and the Anne Francis, who ſtayed for the taking in of freſh water, and came the next day, and met the fleet lying off and on, athwart Beare's Sound, who ſtayed for the general, who then was gone aſhore to diſpatch the two barks and the Buſſe of Bridgewater for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboard. The captain of the Anne Francis having moſt part of his company aſhore, the 1ſt of September went alſo to Beare's Sound in his pinnace, to fetch his men aboard; but the wind grew ſo great immediately upon their landing, that the ſhips at ſea were in great danger, and ſome of them forcibly put from their anchors, and greatly feared to be utterly loſt, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captain Carew and others, who could not tell on which ſide their danger was moſt; for having mighty rocks threatening on the one ſide, and driving iſlands of cutting ice on the other ſide, they greatly feared to make ſhipwreck, the ice driving ſo near them that it touched their bolt-ſprit; and by means of the ſea that was grown ſo high, they were not able to put to ſea with their ſmall pinnaces to recover their ſhips; and again, the ſhips were not able to tarry or lie athwart for them, by means of the outrageous winds and ſwelling ſeas. The general willed the captain of the Anne Francis, with his company, for that night to lodge aboard the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and went himſelf, with the reſt of his men, aboard the barks; but their numbers were ſo great, and the proviſion of the barks ſo ſcant, that they peſtered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be fair, whereby they might recover their ſhips; but in the morning following it was much worſe, for the ſtorm continued greater, the ſea being more ſwollen, and the fleet gone quite out of ſight: ſo that now their doubts began to grow great for the ſhip of Bridgewater, which was of greateſt receipt, and whereof they had beſt hope and made moſt account, rode ſo far to leeward of the

harbour's mouth, that they were not able for the rocks that lay between the wind and them, to lead it out to ſea with a ſail; and the barks were already ſo peſtered with men and ſo ſlenderly furniſhed with proviſion, that they had ſcarce meat for ſix days for ſuch numbers.

The general in the morning departed to ſea in the Gabriel, to ſeek the fleet, leaving the Buſſe of Bridgewater and the Michael behind in Beare's Sound. The Buſſe ſet ſail, and thought by turning in the narrow channel in the harbour to get to windward, but being put to leeward more, by that means was fain to come to anchor for her better ſafety amongſt a number of rocks, and there left in great danger of ever getting forth again. The Michael ſet ſail to follow the general, and could give the Buſſe no relief, although they earneſtly deſired the ſame. And the captain of the Anne Francis was left in the hard election of two evils; either to abide his fortune with the Buſſe of Bridgewater, which was doubtful of ever getting forth, or elſe to be towed in his ſmall pinnace at the ſtern of the Michael through the raging ſeas, for that the bark was not able to receive or relieve half his company, wherein his danger was not a little perilous.

So after he reſolved to commit himſelf with all his company unto that fortune of God and ſea, and was dangerouſly towed at the ſtern of the bark for many miles, until at length they eſpied the Anne Francis under ſail hard under their lee, which was no ſmall comfort unto them; for no doubt both theſe and a great number more had periſhed for lack of victuals and convenient room in the barks, without the help of the ſaid ſhip. But the honeſt care that the maſter of the Anne Francis had of his captain, and the good regard of duty toward his general, ſuffered him not to depart, but honeſtly abode to hazard a dangerous road all the night long, and notwithſtanding all the ſtormy weather, when all the fleet beſides departed. And the pinnace came no ſooner aboard the ſhip, and the men entered, but ſhe preſently ſhivered and ſunk in pieces at the ſhip's ſtern, with all the poor men's furniture, ſo weak was the boat with towing, and ſo forcible was the ſea to bruiſe her in pieces. But as God would, the men were all ſaved.

At this preſent in this ſtorm many of the fleet were dangerouſly diſtreſſed, and were ſevered almoſt all aſunder; but thanks be to God, all the fleet arrived ſafely in England about the firſt of October, ſome in one place and ſome in another. But amongſt other, it was moſt marvellous how the Buſſe of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the fleet in great danger of never getting forth, was forced to ſeek a way northward through an unknown channel full of rocks, upon the back ſide of Beare's Sound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North Sea; a very dangerous attempt, ſave that neceſſity, which hath no law, forced them to try maſteries. This aforeſaid North Sea is the ſame which lieth upon the back ſide of Frobiſher's Streights, where firſt the general himſelf in his pinnace, and after ſome other of our company have diſcovered (as they affirmed) a great foreland, where they would have alſo a great likelihood of the greateſt paſſage toward the South Sea.

The Buſſe of Bridgewater, as ſhe came homeward, to the ſouthward of Friſeland diſcovered a great iſland in the latitude of fifty-ſeven degrees and a half, which was never yet found before, and ſailed three days along the coaſt, the land ſeeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a champain country.

There died in the whole fleet in all this voyage not above forty perſons, which number is not great, conſidering how many ſhips were in the fleet, and how ſtrange fortunes we paſſed.

*A general and brief Deſcription of the Country, and Condition of the People, which are found in Meta Incognita.*

Having now ſufficiently and truly ſet forth the whole circumſtance and particular handling of every occurrent in the three voyages of our worthy general, Captain Frobiſher, it ſhall not be from the purpoſe to ſpeak ſomewhat in general of the nature of the country called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the ſavages there inhabiting.

Firſt, therefore, touching the topographical deſcription of the place, it is now found in the laſt voyage, that Queen Elizabeth's Cape, being ſituate in latitude 61 degrees and a half, which before was ſuppoſed to be part of the firm land with America, and alſo all the reſt of the ſouth ſide of Frobiſher's Streights, are all ſeveral iſlands and broken land, and likewiſe ſo will all the north ſide fall out to be, as I think. And ſome of our company being entered above 60 leagues within the miſtaken ſtreights, in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainly that they had deſcried the firm land of America towards the ſouth, which I think will fall out ſo to be.

Theſe broken lands and iſlands being very many in number, do ſeem to make there an archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatneſs, form, and faſhion, one from another, ſo are they in goodneſs, colour, and ſoil, much unlike. They all are very high lands, mountains, and in moſt parts covered with ſnow even all the ſummer long. The norther lands have leſs ſtore of ſnow, more graſs, and are more plain countries, the cauſe whereof may be, for that the ſouther iſlands receive all the ſnow, that the cold winds and piercing air bring out of the north; and contrarily, the north parts receive more warm air from the milder blaſts of the ſouth, whereupon may grow the cauſe why the people covet to inhabit more upon the north parts than the ſouth, as far as we can yet by our experience perceive they do. Theſe people I judge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed of the ſame ſort and condition of life that the Samoeds be to the north-eaſtwards towards Muſcovy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to ſay in the Muſcovy tongue, as eaters of themſelves, and ſo the Ruſſians their borderers do name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did ſometime travel in Muſcovy) who hath great experience of thoſe Samoeds, and people of the north-eaſt, I find that in all their manner of living, thoſe people of the north-eaſt, and theſe of the north-weſt are alike. They are of the colour of a ripe olive, which how it may come to paſs, being born in ſo cold a climate, I refer to the judgment of others, for they are naturally born children of the ſame colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell under the equinoctial line.

They are men very active and nimble. They are a ſtrong people and very warlike, for in our fight upon the tops of the hills they would often muſter themſelves, and after the manner of a ſkirmiſh trace their ground very nimbly, and manage their bows and darts with great dexterity. They go clad in coats made of the ſkins of beaſts, as of ſeals, deer, bears, foxes, and hares. They have alſo ſome garments of feathers, being made of the caſes of fowls, finely ſewed and compact together; of all which ſorts we brought home ſome with us into England, which we found in their tents. In ſummer they uſed to wear the hair ſide of their coats outward, and ſometime go naked for too much heat; and in winter (as by ſigns they have declared) they wear four or five fold upon their bodies with the hair for warmth turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the air there is not indifferent; but either it is fervent hot, or elſe extreme cold, and far more exceſſive in both qualities than the reaſon of the climate ſhould yield;

for there it is colder, being under 62 degrees in latitude than it is at Wardhouſe in the voyage to St. Nicholas in Muſcovy, being at about 72 degrees in latitude. The reaſon hereof perhaps may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with eaſtern and north-eaſtern winds, which from the ſea and ice bringeth often an intolerable cold air; which was alſo the cauſe that this year our ſtreights were ſo long ſhut up with ſo great ſtore of ice; but there is great hope and likelihood, that further within the ſtreights it will be more conſtant and temperate weather.

Theſe people are in nature very ſubtle and ſharp-witted, ready to conceive our meaning by ſigns, and to make anſwer well to be underſtood again; and if they have not ſeen the thing whereof you aſk them, they will wink and cover their eyes with their hands, as who would ſay, it hath been hid from their ſight. If they underſtand you not whereof you aſked them, they will ſtop their ears. They will teach us the name of each thing in their language which we deſire to learn, and are apt to learn any thing of us. They delight in muſic above meaſure, and will keep time and ſtroke, to any tune you ſhall ſing, both with their voice, head, hand, and foot, and will ſing the ſame tune aptly after you. They will row with our oars in our boats, and keep a true ſtroke with our mariners, and ſeem to take great delight therein.

They live in caves of the earth, and hunt for their dinners and prey, even as the bear or other wild beaſt do; they eat raw fleſh and fiſh, and refuſe no meat, howſoever it be ſtinking. They are deſperate in their fight, ſullen of nature, and ravenous in their manner of feeding.

Their ſullen and deſperate nature doth herein manifeſtly appear, that a company of them being environed by our men on the top of a high cliff, ſo that they could by no means eſcape our hands, finding themſelves in this caſe diſtreſſed, choſe rather to caſt themſelves headlong down the rocks into the ſea, and ſo be bruiſed and drowned, rather than to yield themſelves to our men's mercies.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withal, they have darts, ſlings, bows, and arrows headed with ſharp ſtones, bones, and ſome with iron. They are exceeding friendly and kind-hearted one to the other, and mourn greatly at the loſs or harm of their fellows, and expreſs their grief of mind, when they part one with another, with a mournful ſong and dirges. They are very ſhamefaced in bewraying the ſecrets of nature, and very chaſte in the manner of their living: for when the man which we brought from thence into England the laſt voyage, ſhould put off his coat or diſcover his whole body for change, he would not ſuffer the woman to be preſent, but put her forth of his cabin. And in all the ſpace of two or three months, while the man lived in company with the woman, there was never any thing ſeen or perceived between them, more than might have paſſed between brother and ſiſter. But the woman was in all things very ſerviceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was ſick, and he likewiſe, in all the meats which they did eat together, would carve unto her of the ſweeteſt, fatteſt, and beſt morſels they had. They wondered much at all our things, and were afraid of our horſes and other beaſts out of meaſure. They began to grow more civil, familiar, pleaſant, and docible amongſt us in very ſhort time.

They have boats made of leather, and covered clean over, ſaving one place in the middle to ſit in, planked within with timber; and they uſe to row them with one oar, more ſwiftly a great deal, than we in our boats can do with twenty. They have one ſort of greater boats wherein they carry about twenty perſons, and have a maſt with a ſail thereon, which ſail is made of thin ſkins or bladders, ſewed together with the ſinews of fiſhes.

They

They are good fiſhermen, and in their ſmall boats being diſguiſed in their coats of ſeal ſkins, they deceive the fiſh, who take them rather for their fellow ſeals, than for deceiving men. They are good markſmen; with their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a duck, or any other fowl, in the head, and commonly in the eye. When they ſhoot at a great fiſh with any of their darts, they uſe to tie a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them again, and the fiſh not able to carry it ſo eaſily away (for that the bladder doth buoy the dart) will at length be weary and die therewith.

They uſe to traffick and exchange their commodities with ſome other people, of whom they have ſuch things as their miſerable country, and ignorance of art to make, denieth them to have, as bars of iron, heads of iron for their darts, needles made four ſquare, certain buttons of copper, which they uſe to wear upon their foreheads for ornament, as our ladies in the court of England do uſe great pearl.

Alſo they have made ſigns unto us, that they have ſeen gold, and ſuch bright plates of metals, which are uſed for ornaments among ſome people with whom they have conference.

We found alſo in their tents a guinea bean of red colour, the which do uſually grow in the hot countries. Whereby it appeareth that they trade with other nations which dwell far off, or elſe themſelves are great travellers.

They have nothing in uſe among them to make fire withal, ſaving a kind of heath and moſs which groweth there; and they kindle their fire with continual rubbing and fretting one ſtick againſt another, as we do with flints.

They draw with dogs in ſleds upon the ice, and remove their tents therewithal, wherein they dwell in ſummer, when they go a hunting for their prey and proviſion againſt winter. They do ſometime parboil their meat a little and ſeethe the ſame in kettles made of ſeals ſkins; they have alſo pans, cut and made of ſtone very artificially: they uſe pretty gins wherewith they take fowl.

The women carry their ſucking children at their backs, and do feed them with raw fleſh, which firſt they do a little chew in their own mouths. The women have their faces marked or painted over with ſmall blue ſpots. They have black and long hair on their heads, and trim the ſame in a decent order. The men have but little hair on their faces, and very thin beards. For their common drink, they eat ice to quench their thirſt withal. Their earth yieldeth no grain or fruit of ſuſtenance for man, or almoſt for beaſt to live upon; and the people will eat graſs or ſhrubs of the ground, even as our kine do. They have no wood growing in their country thereabouts, and yet we find they have ſome timber among them, which we think doth grow far off to the ſouthwards of this place, about Canada or ſome other part of Newfoundland: for there belike, the trees ſtanding on the cliffs of the ſea-ſide, by the weight of ice and ſnow in winter overcharging them with weight, when the ſummer's thaw cometh about, and alſo the ſea underfretting them beneath, which winneth daily of the land, they are undermined and fall down from thoſe cliffs into the ſea, and with the tides and currents are driven to and fro upon the coaſts further off; and by conjecture are taken up here by theſe country people, to ſerve them to plank and ſtrengthen their boats withal, and to make darts, bows, and arrows, and ſuch other things neceſſary for their uſe. And of this kind of drift-wood we find all the ſeas over great ſtore, which being cut or ſawed aſunder, by reaſon of long driving in the ſea is eaten of worms, and full of holes, of which ſort theirs is found to be.

We have not yet found any venomous ſerpent, or other hurtful thing in theſe parts, but there is a kind of ſmall fly or gnat, that ſtingeth and offendeth ſorely, leaving many

many red ſpots in the face and other places where ſhe ſtingeth. They have ſnow and hail in the beſt time of their ſummer, and the ground frozen three fathom deep.

Theſe people are great enchanters, and uſe many charms of witchcraft; for when their heads do ake, they tie a great ſtone with a ſtring unto a ſtick, and with certain prayers and words done to the ſtick, they liſt up the ſtone from ground, which ſometimes with all a man's force they cannot ſtir, and ſometime again they lift as eaſily as a feather; and hope thereby with certain ceremonious words to have eaſe and help. And they made us by ſigns to underſtand, lying grovelling with their faces upon the ground, and making a noiſe downward, that they worſhip the devil under them.

They have great ſtore of deer, bears, hares, foxes, and innumerable numbers of ſundry ſorts of wild fowl, as ſea-mews, gulls, wilmots, ducks, &c. whereof our men killed in one day fifteen hundred. They have alſo ſtore of hawks, falcons, taſſels, &c. whereof two alighted on one of our ſhips at their return, and were brought into England, which ſome think will prove very good: there are alſo great ſtore of ravens, larks, and partridges, whereof the country people feed. All theſe fowls are far thicker cloathed with down and feathers, and have thicker ſkins than any in England have; for as that country is colder, ſo nature hath provided a remedy thereunto.

Our men have eaten of their bears, hares, partridges, larks, and of their wild-fowl, and find them reaſonable good meat, but not ſo delectable as ours. Their wild-fowl muſt be all flean, their ſkins are ſo thick, and they taſte beſt fried in pans.

The country ſeemeth to be much ſubject to earthquakes. The air is very ſubtile, piercing and ſearching, ſo that if any corrupted or infected body, eſpecially with the diſeaſe called *morbus gallicus* come there, it will preſently break forth and ſhew itſelf, and cannot there by any kind of ſalve or medicine be cured.

Their longeſt ſummer's day is of great length, without any dark night, ſo that in July all the night long we might perfectly and eaſily write and read whatſoever had pleaſed us; which lightſome nights were very beneficial unto us, being ſo diſtreſſed with abundance of ice as we were.

The ſun ſetteth to them in the evening at a quarter of an hour after ten of the clock, and riſeth again in the morning, at three quarters of an hour after one of the clock, ſo that in ſummer their ſun ſhineth to them twenty hours and a half, and in the night is abſent three hours and a half: and although the ſun be abſent theſe three hours and a half, yet it is not dark that time, for that the ſun is never above three or four degrees under the edge of their horizon. The cauſe is, that the Tropic of Cancer doth cut their horizon at very uneven and oblique angles. But the moon at any time of the year being in Cancer, having north latitude, doth make a full revolution above their horizon, ſo that ſometimes they ſee the moon above twenty-four hours together. Some of our company of the more ignorant ſort, thought we might continually have ſeen the ſun and moon, had it not been for two or three high mountains.

The people are now become ſo wary and ſo circumſpect by reaſon of their former loſſes, that by no means we can apprehend any of them, although we attempted often in this laſt voyage. But to ſay truth, we could not beſtow any great time in purſuing them, becauſe of our great buſineſs in lading, and other things.

THE

# THE VOYAGES AND NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO VIRGINIA,

## AND THE SEVERAL DISCOVERIES THEREOF;

CHIEFLY AT THE CHARGES OF

THE HONOURABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT,

From 33 to 40 Degrees of Latitude:

TOGETHER WITH THE SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES THERE PLANTED;

AS LIKEWISE A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, WITH THE INHABITANTS, AND THE MANIFOLD COMMODITIES.

Whereunto are annexed the Patents, Letters, Diſcourſes, &c. to this Part belonging. *

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*The Letters Patents, granted by the Queen's Majeſty to M. Walter Ralegh, now Knight, for the diſcovering and planting of new Lands and Countries, to continue the Space of Six Years, and no more.*

"ELIZABETH by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all people to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Know ye that of our ſpecial grace, certain ſcience, and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by theſe preſents for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give and grant to our truſty and well beloved ſervant Walter Ralegh Eſquire, and to his heirs and aſſigns for ever, free liberty and licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to diſcover, ſearch, find out, and view ſuch remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian prince, nor inhabited by Chriſtian people, as to him, his heirs and aſſigns, and to every or any of them ſhall ſeem good; and the ſame to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and aſſigns for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, juriſdictions, royalties, privileges, franchiſes, and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabouts both by ſea and land, whatſoever we by our letters patent may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate: and the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and all ſuch as from time to time, by licence of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall go or travel thither to inhabit or remain, there to build and fortify, at the diſcretion of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, the ſtatutes or acts of parliament made againſt fugitives, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remain, or continue out of our realm of England without licence, or any other ſtatute, act, law, or any ordinance whatſoever to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

* Hakluyt, iii. 243.

"And

"And we do likewiſe by theſe preſents, of our eſpecial grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give and grant full authority, liberty, and power, to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, ſhall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the ſaid voyage, and travel thitherward, or to inhabit there with him or them, and every or any of them, ſuch and ſo many of our ſubjects, as ſhall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them; and to whom alſo we do by theſe preſents, give full liberty and authority in that behalf, and alſo to have, take, and employ, and uſe ſufficient ſhipping and furniture for the tranſportations and navigations in that behalf, ſo that none of the ſame perſons, or any of them, be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be reſtrained by us, our heirs or ſucceſſors.

"And further, that the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every of them, ſhall have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and aſſigns, and every of them for ever, all the ſoil of all ſuch lands, territories, and countries, ſo to be diſcovered and poſſeſſed as aforeſaid, and of all ſuch cities, caſtles, towns, villages, and places in the ſame, with the rights, royalties, franchiſes, and juriſdictions, as well marine as other within the ſaid lands or countries, or the ſeas thereunto adjoining, to be had or uſed, with full power to diſpoſe thereof, and of every part, in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the order of the laws of England, as near as the ſame conveniently may be, at his and their will and pleaſure, to any perſons then being, or that ſhall remain within the allegiance of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors: reſerving always to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, for all ſervices, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and ſilver, that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch diſcovery, ſubduing and poſſeſſing, ſhall be there gotten and obtained: all which lands and territories ſhall for ever be holden of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, by homage, and by the ſaid payment of the ſaid fifth part, reſerved only for all ſervices.

"And moreover, we do by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give and grant licence to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulſe, repel and reſiſt, as well by ſea as by land, and by all other ways whatſoever, all and every ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoever, as without the eſpecial liking and licence of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, and of his heirs and aſſigns, ſhall attempt to inhabit within the ſaid countries, or any of them, or within the ſpace of two hundred leagues near to the place or places within ſuch countries as aforeſaid, (if they ſhall not be before planted or inhabited within the limits, as aforeſaid, with the ſubjects of any Chriſtian prince being in amity with us,) where the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs or aſſigns, or any of them, or his or their or any of their aſſociates or company, ſhall within ſix years (next enſuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by ſea or land the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs or aſſigns, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giving and granting by theſe preſents, further power and authority to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and ſurpriſe by all manner of means whatſoever, all and every thoſe perſon or perſons, with their ſhips, veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, or his heirs, or aſſigns, as aforeſaid, ſhall be found trafficking into any harbour or harbours, creek or creeks, within the limits aforeſaid, (the ſubjects of our realms and dominions, and all other perſons in amity with us trading to the Newfoundlands for fiſhing, as heretofore they have commonly uſed, or being driven by force of a tempeſt, or ſhip-

wreck only excepted:) and thoſe perſons, and every of them, with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and furniture, to detain and poſſeſs as of good and lawful prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amity, of ſuch countries, lands and territories ſo to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaid, with our realms of England and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to theſe enterpriſes; we do by theſe preſents grant and declare, that all ſuch countries, ſo hereafter to be poſſeſſed and inhabited, as is aforeſaid, from thenceforth ſhall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors. And we do grant to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and to all and every of them, and to all and every other perſon and perſons, being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be noted or entered in ſome of our courts of record within our realm of England, that with the aſſent of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs or aſſigns, ſhall in his journies for diſcovery, or in the journies for conqueſt, hereafter travel to ſuch lands, countries, and territories, as aforeſaid, and to their, and to every of their heirs, that they, and every or any of them, being either born within our ſaid realms of England or Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabiting within any the lands, countries, and territories, with ſuch licence (as aforeſaid), ſhall and may have all the privileges of free denizens, and perſons native of England, and within our allegiance, in ſuch like ample manner and form, as if they were born and perſonally reſident within our ſaid realm of England, any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

"And foraſmuch as upon the finding out, diſcovering, or inhabiting of ſuch remote lands, countries, and territories, as aforeſaid, it ſhall be neceſſary for the ſafety of all men, that ſhall adventure themſelves in thoſe journies or voyages, to determine to live together in Chriſtian peace and civil quietneſs, each with other, whereby every one may with more pleaſure and profit enjoy that whereunto they ſhall attain with great pain and peril; We, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, are likewiſe pleaſed and contented, and by theſe preſents do give and grant to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, ſhall and may, from time to time, for ever hereafter, within the ſaid mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the ſeas thither, and from thence, have full and mere power and authority to correct, puniſh, pardon, govern, and rule, by their and every or any of their good diſcretions and policies, as well in cauſes capital or criminal, as civil, both marine and other, all ſuch our ſubjects as ſhall from time to time adventure themſelves in the ſaid journies or voyages, or that ſhall at any time hereafter inhabit ſuch lands, countries, or territories, as aforeſaid, or that ſhall abide within 200 leagues of any of the ſaid place or places, where the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs or aſſigns, or any of them, or any of his or their aſſociates or companies, ſhall inhabit within ſix years next enſuing the date hereof, according to ſuch ſtatutes, laws, and ordinances, as ſhall be by him the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every or any of them, deviſed or eſtabliſhed for the better government of the ſaid people, as aforeſaid. So always as the ſaid ſtatutes, laws, and ordinances may be, as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the form of the laws, ſtatutes, government, or policy of England, and alſo ſo as they be not againſt the true Chriſtian faith, now profeſſed in the Church of England; nor in anywiſe to withdraw any of the ſubjects or people of thoſe lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, as their immediate Sovereign, under God.

"And further, we do by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give and grant full power and authority to our truſty and well beloved counſellor Sir William Cecill, Knight; Lord Burleigh, our High Treaſurer of England; and to the Lord Treaſurer

of

of England for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, for the time being, and to the privy council of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, or any four or more of them, for the time being, that he, they, or any four or more of them, ſhall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their hands or ſeals, by virtue of theſe preſents, authoriſe and licenſe the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every or any of them, by him, and by themſelves, or by their or any of their ſufficient attornies, deputies, officers, miniſters, factors, and ſervants, to imbark and tranſport out of our realm of England and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their aſſociates and companies, and every or any of them, with ſuch other neceſſaries and commodities of any of our realms, as to the ſaid lord treaſurer, or four or more of the privy council, of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, for the time being (as aforeſaid) ſhall be, from time to time, by his or their wiſdoms or diſcretions, thought meet and convenient, for the better relief and ſupportation of him the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their aſſociates and companies, any act, ſtatute, law, or any thing to the contrary in anywiſe notwithſtanding.

"Provided always, and our will and pleaſure is, and we do hereby declare to all Chriſtian kings, princes, and ſtates, that if the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs or aſſigns, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, ſhall at any time or times hereafter rob or ſpoil, by ſea or by land, or do any act of unjuſt or unlawful hoſtility, to any of the ſubjects of us, our heirs or ſucceſſors, or to any of the ſubjects of the kings, princes, rulers, governors, or eſtates, being then in perfect league and amity with us, our heirs and ſucceſſors; and that upon ſuch injury, or upon juſt complaint of any ſuch prince, ruler, governor, or eſtate, or their ſubjects, We, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall make open proclamation within any of the ports of our realm of England, that the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and adherents, or any to whom theſe our letters patents may extend, ſhall, within the terms to be limited by ſuch proclamation, make full reſtitution and ſatisfaction of all ſuch injuries done; ſo as both we and the ſaid princes, or other ſo complaining, may hold us and themſelves fully contented: and that if the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, ſhall not make, or cauſe to be made, ſatisfaction accordingly, within ſuch time to be limited, that then it ſhall be lawful to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, to put the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs and aſſigns, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the ſaid places to be diſcovered (as is aforeſaid), or any of them, out of our allegiance and protection; and that from and after ſuch time of putting out of protection of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heirs, aſſigns, and adherents, and others ſo to be put out, and the ſaid places within their habitation, poſſeſſion, and rule, ſhall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all princes and others to purſue with hoſtility, as being not our ſubjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging; for that expreſs mention of the clear yearly value of the certainty of the premiſſes, or any part thereof, or of any other gift or grant by us, or any our progenitors or predeceſſors to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, before this time made, in theſe preſents be not expreſſed, or any other grant, ordinance, proviſion, proclamation, or reſtraint, to the contrary thereof, before this time given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoever, in anywiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſs ourſelves, at Weſtminſter, the five and twentieth day of March, in the ſix and twentieth year of our reign."

*The Firſt Voyage made to the Coaſts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captains M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who diſcovered Part of the Country now called Virginia, Anno* 1584. *Written by one of the ſaid Captains, and ſent to Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, at whoſe Charge and Direction the ſaid Voyage was ſet forth.*

THE 27th day of April, in the year of our Redemption 1584, we departed the weſt of England, with two barks well furniſhed with men and victuals, having received our laſt and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former inſtructions and commandments delivered by yourſelf at our leaving the river of Thames. And I think it a matter both unneceſſary for the manifeſt diſcovery of the country, as alſo for tedioufneſs ſake, to remember unto you the diurnal of our courſe, ſailing thither and returning; only I have preſumed to preſent unto you this brief diſcourſe, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to ſucceed, as well to yourſelf (by whoſe direction and charge, and by whoſe ſervants this our diſcovery hath been performed), as alſo to her Highneſs, and the commonwealth, in which we hope your wiſdom will be ſatisfied, conſidering that as much by us hath been brought to light, as by thoſe ſmall means and number of men we had, could any way have been expected or hoped for.

The 10th of May we arrived at the Canaries; and the 10th of June, in this preſent year, we were fallen with the iſlands of the Weſt Indies, keeping a more ſouth-eaſterly courſe than was needful, becauſe we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, diſboguing between the Cape of Florida and Havanna, had been of greater force than afterward we found it to be. At which iſlands we found the air very unwholeſome, and our men grew for the moſt part ill-diſpoſed; ſo that having refreſhed ourſelves with ſweet water and freſh victual, we departed the twelfth day of our arrival there. Theſe iſlands, with the reſt adjoining, are ſo well known to yourſelf, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The 2d of July we found ſhoal water, where we ſmelt ſo ſweet and ſo ſtrong a ſmell, as if we had been in the midſt of ſome delicate garden, abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers, by which we were aſſured that the land could not be far diſtant; and keeping good watch, and bearing but ſlack ſail, the 4th of the ſaid month we arrived upon the coaſt, which we ſuppoſed to be a continent and firm land, and we ſailed along the ſame 120 Engliſh miles, before we could find any entrance, or river iſſuing into the ſea. The firſt that appeared unto us we entered, though not without ſome difficulty, and caſt anchor about three harquebuz-ſhots within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the ſame; and after thanks given to God for our ſafe arrival thither, we manned our boats and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take poſſeſſion of the ſame in the right of the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, as rightful Queen and Princeſs of the ſame, and after delivered the ſame over to your uſe, according to her Majeſty's grant and letters patents under her Highneſs' great ſeal. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies uſed in ſuch enterpriſes, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we firſt landed, very ſandy and low towards the water ſide, but ſo full of grapes, as the very beating and ſurge of the ſea overflowed them, of which we found ſuch plenty, as well there as in all places elſe, both on the ſand and on the green ſoil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little ſhrub, as alſo climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not

to

to be found; and myſelf having ſeen thoſe parts of Europe that moſt abound, find ſuch difference as were incredible to be written.

We paſſed from the ſea-ſide towards the tops of thoſe hills next adjoining, being but of mean height, and from thence we beheld the ſea on both ſides, to the north and to the ſouth, finding no end any of both ways. This land lay ſtretching itſelf to the weſt, which after we found to be but an iſland of twenty miles long, and not above ſix miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we ſtood, we beheld the valleys repleniſhed with goodly cedar trees, and having diſcharged our harquebuz-ſhot, ſuch a flock of cranes (the moſt part white) aroſe under us, with ſuch a cry, redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had ſhouted all together.

This iſland had many goodly woods full of deer, conies, hares, and fowl, even in the midſt of ſummer, in incredible abundance. The woods are not ſuch as you find in Bohemia, Moſcovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitleſs, but the higheſt and reddeſt cedars of the world, far bettering the cedars of the Azores, of the Indies, or Lybanus; pines, cypreſſes, ſaſſafras, the lentiſk, or the tree that beareth the maſtick, the tree that beareth the rind of black cinnamon, of which Maſter Winter brought from the Streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent ſmell and quality.

We remained by the ſide of this iſland two whole days before we ſaw any people of the country; the third day we eſpied one ſmall boat rowing towards us, having in it three perſons: this boat came to the iſland ſide, four harquebuz-ſhot from our ſhips, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the ſhore ſide towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us; then the maſter and the pilot of the admiral, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captain Philip Amadas, myſelf, and others, rowed to the land, whoſe coming this fellow attended, never making any ſhew of fear or doubt. And after he had ſpoken of many things not underſtood by us, we brought him, with his own good liking, aboard the ſhips, and gave him a ſhirt, a hat, and ſome other things, and made him taſte of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well; and after having viewed both barks, he departed and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining: as ſoon as he was two bow-ſhots into the water, he fell to fiſhing, and in leſs than half an hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could ſwim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fiſh into two parts, pointing one part to the ſhip, and the other to the pinnace; which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefits received, departed out of our ſight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the king's brother, accompanied with 40 or 50 men, very handſome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her Majeſty Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this ſort: he left his boats altogether, as the firſt man did, a little from the ſhips, by the ſhore, and came along to the place over againſt the ſhips, followed with 40 men. When he came to the place, his ſervants ſpread a long mat upon the ground, on which he ſat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like; the reſt of his men ſtood round about him, ſomewhat afar off. When we came to the ſhore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor ever miſtruſted any harm to be offered from us; but ſitting ſtill, he beckoned us to come and ſit by him, which we performed; and being ſet, he made all ſigns of joy and welcome, ſtriking on his head and his breaſt, and afterwards on ours, to ſhew we were all one, ſmiling and making ſhew, the beſt he could, of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long

ſpeech unto us, we preſented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durſt ſpeak one word all the time; only the four which were at the other end ſpake one in the other's ear very ſoftly.

The king is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced. The king himſelf, in perſon, was, at our being there, ſore wounded in a fight which he had with the king of the next country, called Wingina, and was ſhot in two places through the body, and once clean through the thigh; but yet he recovered; by reaſon whereof, and for that he lay at the chief town of the country, being ſix days' journey off, we ſaw him not at all.

After we had preſented this his brother with ſuch things as we thought he liked, we likewiſe gave ſomewhat to the other that ſat with him on the mat; but preſently he aroſe and took all from them, and put it into his own baſket, making ſigns and tokens, that all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the reſt were but his ſervants and followers.

A day or two after this we fell to trading with them, exchanging ſome things that we had, for chamoys, buff, and deer-ſkins: when we ſhewed him all our packet of merchandiſe, of all things that he ſaw, a bright tin diſh moſt pleaſed him, which he preſently took up and clapt it before his breaſt, and after made a hole in the brim thereof, and hung it about his neck, making ſigns, that it would defend him againſt his enemies' arrows; for thoſe people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and king adjoining. We exchanged our tin diſh for 20 ſkins, worth 20 crowns, or 20 nobles; and a copper kettle for 50 ſkins, worth 50 crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for ſwords; but we would not depart with any.

After two or three days the king's brother came on board the ſhips, and drank wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof; and after a few days overpaſſed, he brought his wife with him to the ſhips, his daughter, and two or three children: his wife was very well favoured, of mean ſtature and very baſhful: ſhe had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur ſide next to her body, and before her a piece of the ſame: about her forehead ſhe had a band of white coral, and ſo had her huſband many times: in her ears ſhe had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, (whereof we delivered your worſhip a little bracelet,) and thoſe were of the bigneſs of good peas. The reſt of her women of the better ſort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and ſome of the children of the king's brother, and other noblemen, have five or ſix in either ear: he himſelf had upon his head a broad plate of gold or copper; for being unpoliſhed, we knew not what metal it ſhould be, neither would he ſuffer us by any means to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very eaſily: his apparel was as his wife's, only the women wear their hair long on both ſides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowiſh, and their hair black for the moſt part; and yet we ſaw children that had very fine auburn and cheſnut coloured hair.

After that theſe women had been there, there came down from all parts great ſtore of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dies very excellent, and exchanged with us; but when Granganimeo the king's brother was preſent, none durſt trade but himſelf; except ſuch as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himſelf, for that is the difference between the noblemen, and the governors of countries, and the meaner ſort. And we both noted there, and you have underſtood ſince by theſe men which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more reſpect to their king, nobility, and governors, than theſe do. The king's brother's wife, when

ſhe came to us (as ſhe did many times), was followed by 40 or 50 women always, and when ſhe came into the ſhip, ſhe left them all on land, ſaving her two daughters, her nurſe, and one or two more. The king's brother always kept this order, as many boats as he would come withal to the ſhips, ſo many fires would he make on the ſhore afar off, to the end we might underſtand with what ſtrength and company he approached.

Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine, or of pitch trees, a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tools to make them withal; if they have any they are very few, and thoſe it ſeems they had twenty years ſince, which, as thoſe two men declared, was out of a wreck which happened upon their coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſhip, being beaten that way by ſome ſtorm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were ſaved, but only the ſhip or ſome part of her being caſt upon the ſand, out of whoſe ſides they drew the nails and the ſpikes, and with thoſe they made their beſt inſtruments. The manner of making their boats is thus; they burn down ſome great tree, or take ſuch as are wind-fallen, and putting gum and roſin upon one ſide thereof, they ſet fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their ſhells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider, they lay on gums, which burn away the timber; and by this means they faſhion very fine boats, and ſuch as will tranſport 20 men: their oars are like ſcoops, and many times they ſet with long poles, as the depth ſerveth.

The king's brother had great liking of our armour, a ſword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them; but we refuſed it for this time, becauſe we would not make them know that we eſteemed thereof, until we had underſtood in what places of the country the pearl grew; which now your worſhip doth very well underſtand.

He was very juſt of his promiſe; for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promiſe. He ſent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, conies, hares, fiſh the beſt of the world. He ſent us divers kinds of fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn, which is very white, fair, and well taſted, and groweth three times in five months: in May they ſow, in July they reap; in June they ſow, in Auguſt they reap; in July they ſow, in September they reap; only they caſt the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the ſoft turf with a wooden mattock or pickaxe. Ourſelves proved the ſoil, and put ſome of our peaſe in the ground, and in ten days they were of 14 inches high. They have alſo beans very fair, of divers colours, and wonderful plenty; ſome growing naturally, and ſome in their gardens; and ſo have they both wheat and oats.

The ſoil is the moſt plentiful, ſweet, fruitful, and wholeſome of all the world; there are above 14 ſeveral ſweet ſmelling timber trees, and the moſt part of their underwoods are bays and ſuch like; they have thoſe oaks that we have, but far greater and better.

After they had been divers times on board our ſhips, myſelf with ſeven more went twenty miles into the river that runneth towards the city of Skicoak, which river they call Occam; and on the evening following we came to an iſland, which they call Raonoak, diſtant from the harbour by which we entered ſeven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houſes, built of cedar, and fortified round about with ſharp trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially. When we came towards it, ſtanding near unto the water ſide, the wife of Granganimeo, the king's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and

and friendly; her husband was not then in the village; some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow; others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground; and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again; some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them; some washed our feet in warm water; and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house, some wheat like fermenty; sodden venison and roasted; fish sodden, boiled, and roasted; melons, raw and sodden; roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits: their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable herbs and trees.

We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile, and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth: their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gate two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons; but as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat-side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women, to sit all night on the bank-side by us, and sent us into our boats fine mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses; but because we were few men, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not venture any thing, although there was no cause of doubt, for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

Beyond this island there is the main land, and overagainst this island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which standeth a town called Pomeiock, and six days journey from the same is situate their greatest city called Skicoak, which this people affirm to be very great; but the savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard it affirm to be above one hour's journey about.

Into this river falleth another great river called Cipo, in which there is found great store of muscles, in which there are pearls; likewise there descendeth into this Occam another river called Nomapana, on the one side whereof standeth a great town called Chawanook, and the lord of that town and country is called Pooneno: this Pooneno

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is not ſubject to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free lord. Beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and theſe three kings are in league with each other. Towards the S. W. four days journey, is ſituate a town called Sequotan, which is the ſouthernmoſt town of Wingandacoa, near unto which 26 years paſt, there was a ſhip caſt away, whereof ſome of the people were ſaved, and thoſe were white people, whom the country people preſerved.

And after ten days remaining in an out iſland uninhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of ſome of the dwellers of Sequotan, faſtened two boats of the country together, and made maſts unto them, and ſails of their ſhirts, and having taken into them ſuch victuals as the country yielded, they departed, after they had remained in this out iſland three weeks: but ſhortly after it ſeemed they were caſt away, for the boats were found upon the coaſt, caſt a-land in another iſland adjoining; other than theſe, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either ſeen or heard of among theſe people, and theſe aforeſaid were ſeen only of the inhabitants of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondered marvelouſly when we were amongſt them at the whiteneſs of our ſkins, ever coveting to touch our breaſts, and to view the ſame. Beſides, they had our ſhips in marvellous admiration, and all things elſe were ſo ſtrange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever ſeen the like. When we diſcharged any piece, were it but an harquebuz, they would tremble thereat for very fear, and for the ſtrangeneſs of the ſame; for the weapons which themſelves uſe are bows and arrows: the arrows are but of ſmall canes, headed with a ſharp ſhell or tooth of a fiſh, ſufficient enough to kill a naked man; their ſwords be of wood hardened; likewiſe they uſe wooden breaſt-plates for their defence; they have beſide a kind of club, in the end whereof they faſten the ſharp horns of a ſtag or other beaſt. When they go to wars, they carry about with them their idol, of whom they aſk counſel, as the Romans were wont of the Oracle of Apollo. They ſing ſongs as they march towards the battle, inſtead of drums and trumpets: their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reaſon whereof, and of their civil diſſenſions which have happened of late years amongſt them, the people are marvelouſly waſted, and in ſome places the country left deſolate.

Adjoining to this country aforeſaid called Secotan, beginneth a country called Pomouick, belonging to another king whom they call Piemacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoining towards the ſetting of the ſun, and the country Newſiok, ſituate upon a goodly river called Neus: theſe kings have mortal war with Wingina a king of Wingandacoa: but about two years paſt there was a peace made between the king Piemacum, and the lord of Secotan, as theſe men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to underſtand: but there remaineth a mortal malice in the Secotans, for many injuries and ſlaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men and thirty women of the beſt of his country to their town to a feaſt, and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their idol (which is nothing elſe but a mere illuſion of the devil), the captain or lord of the town came ſuddenly upon them, and ſlew them every one, reſerving the women and children: and theſe two have oftentimes ſince perſuaded us to ſurprize Piemacum his town, having promiſed and aſſured us, that there will be found in it great ſtore of commodities: but whether their perſuaſion be to the end they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they bear to us, we leave that to the trial hereafter.

Beyond this iſland called Roanoak, are main iſlands very plentiful of fruits and other natural increaſes, together with many towns and villages, along the ſide of the continent, ſome bounding upon the iſlands, and ſome ſtretching up further into the land.

When we firſt had ſight of this country, ſome thought the firſt land we ſaw to be the continent: but after we entered into the haven, we ſaw before us another mighty long ſea; for there lyeth along the coaſt a tract of iſlands, 200 miles in length, adjoining to the ocean ſea, and between the iſlands two or three entrances: when you are entered between them (theſe iſlands being very narrow for the moſt part, as in moſt places ſix miles broad, in ſome places leſs, in few more), then there appeareth another great ſea, containing in breadth in ſome places 40, and in ſome 50, in ſome 20 miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this incloſed ſea there are above an hundred iſlands of divers bigneſſes, whereof one is 16 miles long, at which we were, finding it a moſt pleaſant and fertile ground, repleniſhed with goodly cedars, and divers other ſweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leiſure to view. Beſides this iſland there are many, as I have ſaid, ſome of two, of three, of four, of five miles, ſome more, ſome leſs, moſt beautiful and pleaſant to behold, repleniſhed with deer, conies, hares, and divers beaſts, and about them the goodlieſt and beſt fiſh in the world, and in greateſt abundance.

Thus, Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our diſcovery made this preſent voyage, as far forth as the ſhortneſs of the time we there continued would afford us to take view of: and ſo contenting ourſelves with this ſervice at this time, which we hope hereafter to enlarge, as occaſion and aſſiſtance ſhall be given, we reſolved to leave the country, and to apply ourſelves to return for England, which we did accordingly, and arrived ſafely in the weſt of England about the midſt of September.

And whereas we have above certified you of the country taken in poſſeſſion by us to her Majeſty's uſe, and ſo to yours by her Majeſty's grant; we thought good for the better aſſurance thereof to record ſome of the particular gentlemen, and men of account, who then were preſent, as witneſſes of the ſame; that thereby all occaſion of cavil to the title of the country, in her Majeſty's behalf, may be prevented, which otherwiſe, ſuch as like not the action, may uſe and pretend; whoſe names are:

Captains - - { Maſter Philip Amadas.
Maſter Arthur Barlow.

Of the Company { William Greenevile.
John Wood.
James Browewich.
Henry Greene.
Benjamin Wood.
Simon Ferdinando.
Nicholas Petman.
John Hewes.

We brought home alſo two of the ſavages, being luſty men, whoſe names were Wancheſe and Manteo.

Engraved by George Cooke.

# View of Roseau, in the Island of Dominica.

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*The Voyage made by Sir Richard Greenvile, for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the Year 1585.*

THE ninth day of April, in the year aforeſaid, we departed from Plymouth, our fleet conſiſting of the number of ſeven ſails, to wit, the Tiger, of the burthen of ſeven ſcore tons, a fly-boat called the Roe-buck, of the like burden, the Lion of 100 tons or thereabouts, the Elizabeth of 50 tons, and the Dorothy, a ſmall bark: whereunto were alſo adjoined for ſpeedy ſervices, two ſmall pinnaces. The principal gentlemen of our company were theſe, M. Ralph Lane, M. Thomas Candiſh, M. John Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. John Clarke, and divers others, whereof ſome were captains, and other ſome aſſiſtants for counſel, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14th day of April we fell with Lancerota and Forteventura, iſles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our courſe for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the weſt India, wherewith we fell the 7th day of May, and the 10th day following we came to anchor at Coteſa, a little iſland ſituated near to the Iſland of S. John, where we landed and refreſhed ourſelves all that day.

The 12th day of May we came to an anchor in the bay of Moſkito, in the Iſland of S. John, within a faulcon ſhot of the ſhore; where our general, Sir Richard Greenevile, and the moſt part of our company landed, and began to fortify very near to the ſea ſide; the river ran by the one ſide of our fort, and the other two ſides were environed with woods.

The 13th day, we began to build a new pinnace within the fort, with the timber that we then felled in the country, ſome part whereof we fetcht three miles up in the land, and brought it to our fort upon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer reſiſtance.

The 16th day, there appeared unto us out of the woods, eight horſemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our fort, ſtaying about half an hour in viewing our forces; but as ſoon as they ſaw ten of our ſhot marching towards them, they preſently retired into the woods.

The 19th day, Maſter Candiſh, who had been ſeparated from our fleet in a ſtorm in the bay of Portugal, arrived at Coteſa, within the ſight of the Tiger; we thinking him afar off to be either a Spaniard or a French man of war, thought it good to weigh anchors, and to go room with him, which the Tiger did, and diſcerned him at laſt to be one of our conſorts; for joy of whoſe coming, our ſhips diſcharged their ordnance, and ſaluted him according to the manner of the ſeas.

The 22d day, 20 other Spaniſh horſemen ſhewed themſelves to us upon the other ſide of the river, who being ſeen, our general diſpatched 20 footmen toward them, and two horſemen of ours, mounted on Spaniſh horſes, which we before had taken in the time of our being on the iſland: they ſhewed to our men a flag of truce, and made ſigns to have a *parle* with us; whereupon two of our men went half of the way upon the ſands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great ſalutations to our men, but began, according to their Spaniſh proud humours, to expoſtulate with them about their arrival and fortifying in their country, who notwithſtanding by our men's diſcreet anſwers were ſo cooled, that (whereas they were told, our principal intention was only to furniſh ourſelves with water and victuals, and other neceſſaries, whereof we ſtood in need, which we craved might be yielded us with fair and friendly means, otherwiſe our reſolution was to practiſe force, and to relieve our-

[illegible]s by the ſword,) the Spaniards in concluſion ſeeing our men ſo reſolute, yielded to our requeſt with large promiſes of all courteſy and great favour, and ſo our men and theirs departed.

The 23d day, our pinnace was finiſhed and launched; which being done, our general with his captains and gentlemen marched up into the country about the ſpace of four miles, where in a plain marſh, they ſtayed expecting the coming of the Spaniards according to their promiſe, to furniſh us with victuals, who keeping their old cuſtom for perjury and breach of promiſe, came not; whereupon our general fired the woods thereabout, and ſo retired to our fort, which the ſame day was fired alſo, and each man came aboard to be ready to ſet ſail the next morning.

The 26th day, we ſet ſail from S. John's, being many of us ſtung before upon ſhore by the muſkitos; but the ſame night we took a Spaniſh frigate, which was forſaken by the Spaniards upon the ſight of us, and the next day in the morning very early we took another frigate, with good and rich freight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards we ranſomed for good round ſums, and landed them in S. John's.

The 29th day, our lieutenant, M. Ralph Lane, went in one of the frigates which we had taken, to Roxo Bay, upon the S. W. ſide of S. John's, to fetch ſalt, being thither conducted by a Spaniſh pilot: as ſoon as he arrived there, he landed with his men to the number of 20, and intrenched themſelves upon the ſands immediately, compaſſing one of their ſalt hills within the trench; who being ſeen of the Spaniards, there came down towards him two or three troops of horſemen and footmen, who gave him the looking and gazing on, but durſt not come near him to offer any reſiſtance; ſo that Maſter Lane, maugre their troops, carried their ſalt aboard, and laded his frigate, and ſo returned again to our fleet the 29th day, which rode at S. German's Bay. The ſame day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the iſland of Hiſpaniola.

The firſt day of June, we anchored at Iſabella on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola.

The 3d day of June, the governor of Iſabella, and the captain of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of ſundry Spaniards, who had been well entertained aboard our ſhips by our general, that in our fleet were many brave and gallant gentlemen, who greatly deſired to ſee the governor aforeſaid, he thereupon ſent gentle commendations to our general, promiſing within few days to come to him in perſon, which he performed accordingly.

The 5th day, the aforeſaid governor, accompanied with a luſty friar, and 20 other Spaniards, with their friends and negroes, came down to the ſea ſide, where our ſhips rode at anchor; who being ſeen, our general manned immediately the moſt part of his boats with the chief men of our fleet, every man appointed and furniſhed in the beſt ſort. At the landing of our general, the Spaniſh governor received him very courteouſly, and the Spaniſh gentlemen ſaluted our Engliſh gentlemen, and their inferior ſort did alſo ſalute our ſoldiers and ſeamen, liking our men, and likewiſe their qualities, although at the firſt they ſeemed to ſtand in fear of us, and of ſo many of our boats, whereof they deſired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courteſies that paſſed on both ſides were ſo great, that all fear and miſtruſt on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the mean time, while our Engliſh general and the Spaniſh governor diſcourſed betwixt them of divers matters, as of the ſtate of the country, the multitude of the towns and people, and the commodities of the iſland; our men provided two banqueting houſes covered with green boughs, the one for the gentlemen, the other for the ſervants, and a ſumptuous banquet was brought in, ſerved by us all in plate,

with the ſound of trumpets, and concert of muſic, wherewith the Spaniards were more than delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniards in recompence of our courteſy, cauſed a great herd of white bulls and kine to be brought together from the mountains, and appointed for every gentleman and captain that would ride, a horſe ready ſaddled, and then ſingled out three of the beſt of them, to be hunted by horſemen after their manner, ſo that the paſtime grew very pleaſant for the ſpace of three hours, wherein all three of the beaſts were killed, whereof one took the ſea, and there was ſlain with a muſket. After this ſport many rare preſents and gifts were given and beſtowed on both parts, and the next day we played the merchants with them by way of truck and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horſes, mares, kine, bulls, goats, ſwine, ſheep, bull-hides, ſugar, ginger, pearl, tobacco, and ſuch like commodities of the iſland.

The 7th day we departed, with great good will from the Spaniards, from the iſland of Hiſpaniola: but the wiſer ſort do impute this great ſhew of friendſhip and courteſy uſed towards us by the Spaniards, rather to the force that we were of, and the vigilance and watchfulneſs that was amongſt us, than to any hearty good will, or ſure friendly entertainment; for doubtleſs if they had been ſtronger than we, we might have looked for no better courteſy at their hands, than maſter John Hawkins received at S. John de Ulva, or John Oxnam near the Streights of Darien, and divers others of our countrymen in other places.

The 8th day, we anchored at a ſmall iſland to take ſeals, which in that place we underſtood to have been in great quantity, where the general and certain others with him in the pinnace were in very great danger to have been all caſt away, but by the help of God, they eſcaped the hazard, and returned aboard the Admiral in ſafety.

The 9th day, we arrived and landed in the Iſle of Caycos, in which iſland we ſearched for ſalt ponds, upon the advertiſement and information of a Portugal: who indeed abuſed our general and us, deſerving a halter for his hire, if it had ſo pleaſed us.

The 12th, we anchored at Guanima, and landed.

The 15th and 16th, we anchored and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20th, we fell in with the main of Florida.

The 23d, we were in great danger of a wreck on a beach called the Cape of Fear.

The 24th, we came to anchor in a harbour, where we caught in one tide ſo much fiſh as would have yielded us 20 pounds in London: this was our firſt landing in Florida.

The 26th, we came to anchor at Wococon.

The 29th, we weighed anchor to bring the Tiger into the harbour, where through the unſkilfulneſs of the maſter, whoſe name was Fernando, the Admiral ſtruck on ground and ſunk.

The 3d of July, we ſent word of our arriving at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6th, M. John Arundell was ſent to the main, and Manteo with him; and Captain Aubrey and Captain Boniten the ſame day were ſent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30 other, by Captain Raymond, ſome 20 days before.

The 8th, Captain Aubrey and Captain Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to us at Wococon.

The 11th day, the general accompanied in his tilt boat with Maſter John Arundell, Maſter Stukeley, and divers other gentlemen, Maſter Lane, Maſter Candiſh, Maſter Hariot, and 20 others in the new pinnace, Captain Amadas, Captain Clarke, with 10 others in a ſhip boat, Francis Brook and John White in another ſhip boat, paſſed over the water from Wococon to the main land, victualled for eight days, in which voyage we firſt diſcovered the towns of Pomeiok, Aquaſcogoc, and Secotan, and alſo the great lake called by the ſavages Paquipe, with divers other places, and ſo returned with that diſcovery to our fleet.

The

The 12th, we came to the town of Pomeiok.

The 13th, we paſſed by water to Aquaſcogok.

The 15th, we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the ſavages.

The 16th, we returned thence, and one of our boats with the Admiral was ſent to Aquaſcogok, to demand a ſilver cup which one of the ſavages had ſtolen from us, and receivingit according to his promiſe, we burnt and ſpoiled their corn and town, all people being fled.

The 18th, we returned from the diſcovery of Secotan, and the ſame day came aboard our fleet riding at Wococon.

The 21ſt, our fleet anchoring at Wococon, we weighed anchor for Hatoraſke.

The 27th, our fleet anchored at Hatoraſke, and there we reſted.

The 29th, Grangino, brother to king Wingina, came on board the Admiral, and Manteo with him.

Auguſt the 2d, the Admiral was ſent to Weapomeiok.

The 5th, M. John Arundell was ſent for England.

The 25th, our general weighed anchor, and ſet ſail for England.

About the 31ſt, he took a Spaniſh ſhip of 300 ton, richly loaden, boarding her with a boat made with boards of cheſts, which fell aſunder and ſunk at the ſhip's ſide, as ſoon as ever he and his men were out of it.

The 10th of September, by foul weather, the general then ſhipped in the prize, loſt ſight of the Tiger.

The 6th of October, the Tiger fell with the Lands-end, and the ſame day came to anchor at Falmouth.

The 18th, the general came with the prize to Plymouth, and was courteouſly received by divers of his worſhipful friends.

The Names of thoſe as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole year in Virginia, under the government of Maſter Ralph Lane.

Maſter Philip Amadas, Admiral of the country.
Maſter Hariot.
Maſter Acton.
Maſter Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Maſter Marvyn.
Maſter Gardiner.
Captain Vaughan.
Maſter Kendall.
Maſter Pridcox.
Robert Holecroft.
Riſe Courtney.
Maſter Hugh Rogers.
Maſter Thomas Harvie.
Maſter Snelling.
Maſter Anthony Ruſſe.
Maſter Allyne.
Maſter Michael Poliſon.
John Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Geoffrey Churchman.
William Farthow.
John Taylor.
Philip Robyns.
Thomas Philips.
Valentine Beale.
Thomas Foxe.
Darby Glande.
Edward Nugen.
Edward Kelley.
John Goſtigo.
Eraſmus Clefs.
Edward Ketchenan.
John Linſey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
John Harris.
Francis Norris.
Mathew Lyne.
Edward Kettell.

Thomas

Thomas Wiſſe.
Robert Biſcombe.
William Backhouſe.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Joſeph Borges.
Dougham Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Mill.
Richard Gilbert.
Steven Pomarie.
John Brocke.
Bennett Harrie.
James Stevenſon.
Charles Stevenſon.
Chriſtopher Lowde.
Jeremy Man.
James Maſon
David Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philips.
Randal Mayne.
James Skinner.
George Eſeven.
John Chandeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Conſtable.
Thomas Heſkett.
William Waſſe.
John Fever.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
John Wright.
Gabriel North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
James Lacie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert.
John Evans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Francis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
John Twit.
Edward Seclemore.
John Anwike.
Chriſtopher Marſhall.
David Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Silveſter Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Hance Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skevelabs.
William Walters.

## An Extract of Maſter Ralph Lane's Letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Eſquire, and another Gentleman of the Middle Temple, from Virginia.

" In the mean while you ſhall underſtand, that ſince Sir Richard Greenvil's departure from us, as alſo before, we have diſcovered the main to be the goodlieſt ſoil under the cope of heaven, ſo abounding with ſweet trees, that bring ſuch ſundry rich and pleaſant gums, grapes of ſuch greatneſs, yet wild, as France, Spain, nor Italy have no greater; ſo many ſorts of apothecary drugs, ſuch ſeveral kinds of flax, and one kind like ſilk, the ſame gathered of a graſs, as common there as graſs is here. And now within theſe few days we have found here maize or Guinea wheat, whoſe ear yieldeth corn for bread 400 upon one ear, and the cane maketh very good and perfect ſugar, alſo *terra Samia*, otherwiſe *terra ſigillata*. Beſides that, it is the goodlieſt and moſt pleaſing territory of the world; for the continent is of an huge and unknown greatneſs, and very well peopled and towned, though ſavagely, and the climate ſo wholeſome, that we had not one ſick ſince we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horſes and kine in ſome reaſonable proportion, I dare aſſure myſelf, being inhabited

habited with Engliſh, no realm in Chriſtendom were comparable to it. For this already found, that what commodities ſoever France, Spain, Italy, or the eaſt parts do yield unto us, in wines of all ſorts, in oils, in flax, in roſins, pitch, frankincenſe, currants, ſugars, and ſuch like, theſe parts do abound with the growth of them all; but being ſavages that poſſeſs the land, they know no uſe of the ſame. And ſundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they Weſt or Eaſt Indies, have, here we find great abundance of. The people naturally are moſt courteous, and very deſirous to have cloaths, but eſpecially of coarſe cloth rather than ſilk, coarſe canvaſs they alſo like well of, but copper carrieth the price of all, ſo it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt, and M. H. I have joined you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well, and commending me moſt heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty. From the new fort in Virginia, this 3d of September, 1585.

Your moſt aſſured friend,

"RALPH LANE."

*An Account of the Particularities of the Employments of the Engliſhmen left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenvile under the charge of Maſter Ralph Lane, General of the ſame, from the 17th Auguſt 1585, until the 18th of June 1586, at which time they departed the Country; ſent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.*

THAT I may proceed with order in this diſcourſe, I think it requiſite to divide it into two parts. The firſt ſhall declare the particularities of ſuch parts of the country within the main, as our weak number and ſupply of things neceſſary did enable us to enter into the diſcovery of.

The ſecond part ſhall ſet down the reaſons generally moving us to reſolve on our departure at the inſtant with the General Sir Francis Drake, and our common requeſt for paſſage with him, when the barks, pinnaces, and boats with the maſters and mariners, meant by him to be left in the country for the ſupply of ſuch, as for a further time meant to have ſtayed there, were carried away with tempeſt and foul weather. In the beginning whereof ſhall be declared the conſpiracy of Pemiſapan with the ſavages of the main, to have cut us off, &c.

*The Firſt Part, declaring the Particularities of the Country of Virginia.*

Firſt therefore touching the particularities of the country, you ſhall underſtand that our diſcovery of the ſame hath been extended from the iſland of Roanoak (the ſame having been the place of our ſettlement or inhabitation) into the ſouth, into the north, into the N. W. and into the weſt.

The uttermoſt place to the ſouthward of any diſcovery was Secotan, being by eſtimation four-ſcore miles diſtant from Roanoak. The paſſage from thence was through a broad ſound within the main, the ſame being without kenning of land, and yet full of flats and ſhoals: we had but one boat with four oars to paſs through the ſame, which boat could not carry above fifteen men, with their furniture, baggage, and victual for ſeven days at the moſt; and as for our pinnace, beſides that ſhe drew too deep water for that ſhallow ſound, ſhe would not ſtir for an oar: for theſe and other reaſons (winter alſo being at hand) we thought good wholly to leave the diſcovery of thoſe parts until our ſtronger ſupply.

To the northward our fartheſt diſcovery was to the Cheſepians, diſtant from Roanoak, about 130 miles, the paſſage to it was very ſhallow and moſt dangerous, by reaſon of the breadth of the ſound, and the little ſuccour that upon any flaw was there to be had.

But

But the territory and ſoil of the Cheſepians (being diſtant 15 miles from the ſhore), was for pleaſantneſs of ſeat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of ſoil, and for the commodity of the ſea, beſides multitude of bears (being an excellent good victual), with great woods of ſaſſafras, and walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatſoever.

There be ſundry kings whom they call Weroances, and countries of great fertility adjoining to the ſame, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opoſſians, which all came to viſit the colony of the Engliſh, which I had for a time appointed to be reſident there.

To the N. W. the fartheſt place of our diſcovery was to Chawanook diſtant from Roanoak about 130 miles. Our paſſage thither lyeth through a broad ſound, but all freſh water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for good ſhipping, but out of the channel full of ſhoals.

The towns about the waters ſide ſituated by the way are theſe following: Paſſaquenoke, the Woman's Town, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muſcamunge, and Metackwem; all theſe being under the juriſdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okiſco: from Muſcamunge we enter into the river, and juriſdiction of Chawanook. There the river beginneth to ſtraighten until it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames between Weſtminſter and Lambeth.

Between Muſcamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as we paſs thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a town which we called The Blind Town, but the ſavages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corn field belonging unto it; it is ſubject to Chawanook.

Chawanook itſelf is the greateſt province and ſeigniory lying upon that river, and the very town itſelf is able to put 700 fighting men into the field, beſides the forces of the province itſelf.

The king of the ſaid province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwiſe for a ſavage, a very grave and wiſe man, and of a very ſingular good diſcourſe in matters concerning the ſtate, not only of his own country, and the diſpoſition of his own men, but alſo of his neighbours round about him as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yieldeth. When I had him priſoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more underſtanding and light of the country, than I had received by all the ſearches and ſavages, that before I or any of my country had had conference with: it was in March laſt paſt, 1586. Amongſt other things he told me, that going three days journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanook, and then deſcending to the land, you are within four days journey to paſs over land N. E. to a certain's king's country, whoſe province lyeth upon the ſea, but his place of greateſt ſtrength is an iſland ſituated, as he deſcribed unto me, in a bay, the water round about the iſland very deep.

Out of this bay he ſignified unto me, that this king had ſo great quantity of pearl, and doth ſo ordinarily take the ſame, as that not only his own ſkins that he weareth, and the better ſort of his gentlemen and followers are full ſet with the ſaid pearl, but alſo his beds and houſes are garniſhed with them; and that he hath ſuch quantity of them, that it is a wonder to ſee.

He ſhewed me that the ſaid king was with him at Chawanook two years before, and brought him certain pearl, but the ſame of the worſt ſort, yet was he fain to buy them of him for copper at a dear rate, as he thought. He gave me a rope of the ſame pearl, but they were black and nought, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongſt a number very orient and round; all which I loſt with other things of mine, coming aboard Sir Francis Drake his fleet: yet he told me that the ſaid king had great ſtore of pearl that were white, great, and round, and that his black pearl his men did take out of ſhallow water, but the white pearl his men fiſhed for in very deep water.

It ſeemed to me by his ſpeech, that the ſaid king had traffick with white men that had cloaths as we have, for theſe white pearl, and that was the reaſon that he would not depart with other than with black pearls, to thoſe of the ſame country.

The king of Chawanook promiſed to give me guides to go over land into that king's country whenſoever I would; but he adviſed me to take good ſtore of men with me, and good ſtore of victuals, for he ſaid that the king would be loth to ſuffer any ſtrangers to enter into his country, and eſpecially to meddle with the fiſhing for any pearl there, and that he was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he ſaid would fight very well.

Hereupon I reſolved with myſelf, that if your ſupply had come before the end of April, and that you had ſent any ſtore of boats or men, to have had them made in any reaſonable time, with a ſufficient number of men and victuals to have found us until the new corn were come in, I would have ſent a ſmall bark with two pinnaces about by ſea to the northward to have found out the bay he ſpake of, and to have ſounded the bar if there were any, which ſhould have ridden there in the ſaid bay about that iſland, while I with all the ſmall boats I could make, and with 200 men, would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have been aſſured ſhould have been of his beſt men (for I had his beſt beloved ſon priſoner with me) who alſo ſhould have kept me company in an handlock with the reſt, foot by foot, all the voyage over land.

My meaning was further at the head of the river in the place of my deſcent where I would have left my boats, to have raiſed a ſconſe with a ſmall trench, and a paliſado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boats I would have left 25 or 30 men; with the reſt would I have marched with as much victual as every man could have carried, with their furniture, mattocks, ſpades and axes, two days journey. In the end of my march, upon ſome convenient plot would I have raiſed another ſconſe according to the former, where I would have left 15, or 20. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way I would have raiſed my ſaid ſconſe upon ſome corn field, that my company might have lived upon it.

And ſo I would have holden this courſe of inſconſing every two days march, until I had been arrived at the bay or port he ſpake of; which finding to be worth the poſſeſſion, I would there have raiſed a main fort, both for the defence of the harbour, and our ſhipping alſo, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Ronaoak, and from the harbour and port there (which by proof is very naught), unto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the four days march before ſpecified, could I at all times return with my company back unto my boats riding under my ſconſe, very near whereunto directly from the weſt, runneth a moſt notable river, and in all thoſe parts moſt famous, called the river of Moratoc. This river openeth into the broad ſound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the river of Chawanook, and all the other ſound sand bays, ſalt and freſh, ſhew no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind: this river of Moratoc hath ſo violent a current from the weſt and S. W. that it made me almoſt of opinion that with oars it would ſcarce be navigable: it paſſeth with many creeks and turnings, and for the ſpace of thirty miles rowing and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Iſle of Dogs, in ſome place more, and in ſome leſs: the current runneth as ſtrong, being entered ſo high into the river, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

And for that not only Menatonon, but alſo the ſavages of Moratoc themſelves do report ſtrange things of the head of that river, and that from Moratoc itſelf, which is a principal town upon that river, it is thirty days as ſome of them ſay, and ſome ſay

forty days voyage to the head thereof, which head they ſay ſpringeth out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a moſt violent ſtream; and further, that this huge rock ſtandeth ſo near unto a ſea, that many times in ſtorms (the wind coming outwardly from the ſea) the waves thereof are beaten into the ſaid freſh ſtream, ſo that the freſh water for a certain ſpace groweth ſalt and brackiſh. I took a reſolution with myſelf, having diſmiſſed Menatonon upon a ranſom agreed for, and ſent his ſon into the pinnace to Roanoak, to enter preſently ſo far into that river with two double wherries, and forty perſons one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of ſavages, dwelling more to the weſtward of the ſaid river: but the hope of recovering more victual from the ſavages made me and my company as narrowly to eſcape ſtarving in that diſcovery before our return, as ever men did, that miſſed the ſame.

For Pemiſapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choaniſts and Mangoaks word of my purpoſe touching them, I having been enforced to make him privy to the ſame, to be ſerved by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet he did never reſt to ſolicit continually my going upon them, certifying me of a general aſſembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of 3000 bows, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks were alſo joined in the ſame confederacy, who were able of themſelves to bring as many more to the enterprize. And true it was that at that time the aſſembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my coming thither, which being unlooked for, did ſo diſmay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacy againſt us of the Choaniſts and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemiſapan himſelf, as Menatonon confeſſed unto me, who ſent them continual word, that our purpoſe was fully bent to deſtroy them: on the other ſide he told me, that they had the like meaning towards us.

He in like ſort having ſent word to the Mangoaks of my intention to paſs up into their river, and to kill them (as he ſaid), both they and the Moratoks, with whom before we were entered into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their towns along the river, and retired themſelves with their women, and their corn within the main; inſomuch as having paſſed three days voyage up the river, we could not meet a man, nor find a grain of corn in any their towns: whereupon conſidering with myſelf that we had but two days victual left, and that we were then 160 miles from home, beſides caſualty of contrary winds or ſtorms, and ſuſpecting treaſon of our own ſavages in the diſcovery of our voyage intended, though we had no intention to be hurtful to any of them, otherwiſe than for our copper to have had corn of them: I at night upon the corps of guard, before the putting forth of centinels, advertiſed the whole company of the caſe we ſtood in for victual, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our own ſavages, and of purpoſe drawn forth by them upon vain hope to be in the end ſtarved, ſeeing all the country fled before us, and therefore while we had thoſe two days victual left, I thought it good for us to make our return homeward, and that it were neceſſary for us to get the other ſide of the ſound Weapomeiok in time, where we might be relieved upon the wears of Chypanum, and the Women's Town, although the people were fled.

Thus much I ſignified unto them, as the ſafeſt way: nevertheleſs I did refer it to the greater number of voices, whether we ſhould adventure the ſpending of our whole victual in ſome further view of that moſt goodly river, in hope to meet with ſome better

hap, or otherwiſe to retire ourſelves back again. And for that they might be the better adviſed, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aboard to ſet our courſe according to the deſires of the greater part. Their reſolution fully and wholly was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one half pint of corn for a man, we ſhould not leave the ſearch of that river, and that there were in the company two maſtiffs, upon the pottage of which with ſaſſafras leaves (if the worſt fell out) the company would make ſhift to live two days, which time would bring them down the current to the mouth of the river, and to the entry of the ſound, and in two days more at the furtheſt they hoped to croſs the ſound, and to be relieved by the weares, which two days they would faſt rather than be drawn back a foot till they had ſeen the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes. This reſolution of theirs did not a little pleaſe me, ſince it came of themſelves, although for miſtruſt of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to have been rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me moſt deſirous to have ſome doings with the Mangoaks either in friendſhip, or otherwiſe to have had one or two of them priſoners, was, for that it is a thing moſt notorious to all the country, that there is a province, to the which the ſaid Mangoaks have recourſe, and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which hath a marvellous and moſt ſtrange mineral. This mine is ſo notorious amongſt them, as not only to the ſavages dwelling up the ſaid river, and alſo to the ſavages of Chawanook, and all them to the weſtard, but alſo to all them of the main: the country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The mineral they ſay is Waſſador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Waſſador every metal whatſoever: they ſay it is the colour of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs; and the reaſon is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan, is very ſoft and pale: they ſay that they take the ſaid metal out of a river, that falleth very ſwift from high rocks and hills, and they take it in ſhallow water; the manner is this. They take a great bowl, by their deſcription as great as one of our targets, and wrap a ſkin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral: that done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then ſuddenly chop down the bowl with the ſkin, and receive into the ſame as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which preſently they caſt into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doth yield in five parts, at the firſt melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore. Of this metal the Mangoaks have ſo great ſtore, by report of all the ſavages adjoining, that they beautify their houſes with great plates of the ſame: and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the king of Chawanook's ſon, my priſoner, who alſo himſelf had been priſoner with the Mangoaks, and ſet down all the particularities to me before mentioned: but he had not been to Chaunis Temoatan himſelf; for he ſaid it was twenty days journey over land from the Mangoaks to the ſaid mineral country, and that they paſſed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the ſaid country.

Upon report of the premiſes, which I was very inquiſitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the ſavages that dwelt towards thoſe parts, and eſpecially of Menatonon himſelf, who in every thing did very particularly inform me, and promiſed me guides of his own men, who ſhould go over with me, even to the ſaid country of Chaunis Temoatan, (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from ſun riſing to ſun ſetting, whereas by water it

is

is ſeven days with the ſooneſt): theſe things, I ſay, made me very deſirous by all means poſſible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get ſome of that their copper for an eſſay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their reſolution: but it fell out very contrary to all expectation and likelihood; for after two days travel, and our whole victual ſpent, lying on ſhore all night, we could never ſee man, only fires we might perceive made alongſt the ſhore where we were to paſs, and up into the country, until the very laſt day: in the evening whereof, about three of the clock, we heard certain ſavages call, as we thought, Manteo, who was alſo at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of ſome friendly conference with them, and making him to anſwer them, they preſently began a ſong, as we thought in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo preſently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us: which word was not ſo ſoon ſpoken by him, and the light-horſemen ready to put to ſhore, but there alighted a volley of their arrows amongſt them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediately the other boat lying ready with their ſhot to ſcour the place for our hand weapons to land upon, which was preſently done, although the land was very high and ſteep, the ſavages forthwith quitted the ſhore, and betook themſelves to flight: we landed, and having fair and eaſily followed for a ſmall time after them, who had wooded themſelves we know not where; the ſun drawing then towards the ſetting, and being then aſſured that the next day if we would purſue them, though we might happen to meet with them, yet we ſhould be aſſured to meet with none of their victual, which we then had good cauſe to think of: therefore chooſing for the company a convenient ground in ſafety to lodge in for the night, making a ſtrong corps of guard, and putting out good centinels, I determined the next morning before the riſing of the ſun, to be going back again, if poſſibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad ſound, which at my firſt motion I found my whole company ready to aſſent unto: for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had beſpoken for themſelves, if that befell them which did, and I therefore did miſtruſt we ſhould hardly eſcape. The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth within four or five miles of the ſame, having rowed in one day down the current, as much as in four days we had done againſt the ſame: we lodged upon an iſland, where we had nothing to eat but pottage of ſaſſafras leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never uſed before as I think.

The broad ſound we had to paſs the next day all freſh and faſting: that day the wind blew ſo ſtrongly, and the billow ſo great, that there was no poſſibility of paſſage without ſinking of our boats. This was upon an Eaſter eve, which was faſted very truly. Upon Eaſter-day in the morning the wind coming very calm, we entered the ſound, and by four of the clock were at Chipanum, whence all the ſavages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yield us ſome fiſh, as God was pleaſed not utterly to ſuffer us to be loſt; for ſome of our company of the light-horſemen were far ſpent. The next morning we arrived at our home Roanoak.

I have ſet down this voyage ſomewhat particularly, to the end that it may appear unto you (as true it is) that there wanted no great good-will from the moſt to the leaſt amongſt us, to have perfected this diſcovery of the mine: for that the diſcovery of a good mine, by the goodneſs of God, or a paſſage to the South Sea, or ſome way to it, and nothing elſe can bring this country in requeſt to be inhabited by our nation. And with the diſcovery of either of the two above ſhewed, it will be the moſt ſweet and healthfuleſt climate, and therewithal the moſt fertile ſoil (being manured) in the world:

and,

and then with ſaſſafras, and many other roots and gums there found, make good merchandize and lading for ſhipping, which otherwiſe will not of themſelves be worth the fetching.

Provided alſo that there be found out a better harbour than yet there is, which muſt be to the northward if any there be, which was my intention to have ſpent this ſummer in the ſearch of, and of the mine Chaunis Temoatan. The one I would have done, if the barks that I ſhould have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courteſy, had not been driven away by ſtorm, the other if your ſupply of more men and ſome other neceſſaries had come to us in any convenient ſufficiency: for this river of Moratico promiſeth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots, the head of it by the deſcription of the country, either riſeth from the Bay of Mexico, or elſe from very near unto the ſame, that openeth out into the South Sea.

And touching the mineral, thus doth M. Youghan affirm, that though it be but copper, ſeeing the ſavages are able to melt it, it is one of the richeſt minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harbour found to the northward, as before is ſaid, and from thence four days over land, to the river of Choanoak ſconces being raiſed, from whence again over land through the province of Choanoak one day's voyage to the firſt town of the Mangoaks up the river Moratico by the way, as alſo upon the ſaid river for the defence of our boats like ſconſes being ſet, in this courſe of proceeding you ſhall clear yourſelf from all thoſe dangers and broad ſhallow ſounds before mentioned, and again within four days travel into the heart of the main 200 miles at the leaſt, and ſo paſs your diſcovery into that moſt notable country, and to the likelieſt parts of the main, with far greater felicity than otherwiſe can be performed.

Thus, Sir, I have though ſimply, yet truly ſet down unto you, what my labour with the reſt of the gentlemen, and poor men of our company (not without both pain and peril, which the Lord in his mercy many ways delivered us from) could yield unto you, which might have been performed in ſome more perfection, if the Lord had been pleaſed that only that which you had provided for us, had at the firſt been left with us, or that he had not in his eternal Providence now at the laſt ſet ſome other courſe in theſe things, than the wiſdom of man could look into; which truly the carrying away by a moſt ſtrange and unlooked-for ſtorm of all our proviſion, with barks, maſter, mariners, with ſundry alſo of mine own company, all having been ſo courteouſly ſupplied by the General Sir Francis Drake, the ſame having been moſt ſufficient to have performed the greateſt part of the premiſes, muſt ever make me to think the hand of God only (for ſome his good purpoſe to myſelf yet unknown) to have been in the matter.

*The Second Part, touching the Conſpiracy of Pemiſapan, the Diſcovery of the ſame, and at the laſt, of our Requeſt to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.*

Enſenore, a ſavage, father to Pemiſapan, being the only friend to our nation that we had amongſt them and about the king, died the 20th of April 1586. He alone had before oppoſed himſelf in their conſultations againſt all matters propoſed againſt us, which both the king and all the reſt of them after Grangemoe's death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not only by the mere Providence of God during his life, a mean to ſave us from hurt, as poiſonings and ſuch like, but alſo to do us very great good, and ſingularly in this.

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The king was adviſed and of himſelf diſpoſed, as of a ready mean to have aſſuredly brought us to ruin in the month of March 1586, himſelf alſo with all his ſavages to have run away from us, and to have left his ground in the iſland unſowed: which if he had done, there had been no poſſibility in common reaſon (but by the immediate hand of God) that we could have been preſerved from ſtarving out of hand. For at that time we had no weares for fiſh, neither could our men ſkill of the making of them, neither had we one grain of corn for ſeed to put into the ground.

In mine abſence on my voyage that I had made againſt the Chaoniſts and Mangoaks, they had raiſed a bruit among themſelves, that I and my company were part ſlain, and part ſtarved by the Chaoniſts and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be ſtarved, but the other falſe.

Nevertheleſs until my return it took ſuch effect, and in thoſe againſt us, that they grew not only into contempt of us, but alſo (contrary to their former reverend opinion in ſhew, of the Almighty God of heaven, and Jeſus Chriſt whom we ſerve and worſhip, whom before they would acknowledge and confeſs the only God) now they began to blaſpheme, and flatly to ſay, that our Lord God was not God, ſince he ſuffered us to ſuſtain much hunger, and alſo to be killed of the Renapoaks, for ſo they call by that general name all the inhabitants of the whole main, of what province ſoever. Inſomuch as old Enſenore, neither any of his fellows could for his ſake have no more credit for us; and it came ſo far that the king was reſolved to have preſently gone away as is aforeſaid.

But even in the beginning of this bruit I returned, which when he ſaw contrary to his expectation, and the advertiſement that he had received, that not only my life, and my company were all ſafe, but alſo by report of his own three ſavages which had been with me beſides Manteo in that voyage, that is to ſay Tetepano, his ſiſter's huſband Eracano, and Coſſine, that the Chaoniſts and Mangoaks (whoſe name and multitude beſides their valour is terrible to all the reſt of the provinces) durſt not for the moſt part of them abide us, and that thoſe that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon priſoner, and brought his ſon that he beſt loved to Roanoak with me, it did not a little aſſuage all deviſes againſt us: on the other ſide, it made Enſenore's opinion to ber eceived again with greater reſpects. For he had often before told them, and then renewed thoſe his former ſpeeches, both to the king and the reſt, that we were the ſervants of God, and that we were not ſubject to be deſtroyed by them; but contrary-wiſe, that they amongſt them that ſought our deſtruction, ſhould find their own, and not be able to work ours, and that we being dead men were able to do them more hurt, than now we could do being alive, an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wiſeſt amongſt them, and of their old men, as alſo, that they have in the night, being 100 miles from any of us, in the air been ſhot at, and ſtrucken by ſome men of ours, that by ſickneſs had died among them, and many of them hold opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world again, and that we do not remain dead but for a certain time, and then we return again.

All theſe ſpeeches then again grew in full credit with them, the king, and all, touching us, when he ſaw the ſmall troop returned again, and in that ſort from thoſe whoſe very names were terrible unto them: but that which made up the matter at that time was an accident; yea rather (as all the reſt was) the good Providence of the Almighty for the ſaving of us; which was this.

Within certain days after my return from the ſaid journey, Menatonon ſent a meſſenger to viſit his ſon the priſoner with me, and ſent me certain pearl for a preſent, or rather

rather, as Pemiſapan told me, for the ranſom of his ſon, and therefore I refuſed them: but the greateſt cauſe of his ſending them was to ſignify unto me, that he had commanded Okiſko king of Weapomiok, to yield himſelf ſervant and homager to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Ralegh; to perform which commandment received from Menatonon, the ſaid Okiſko jointly with this Menatonon's meſſenger, ſent twenty-four of his principalleſt men to Roanoak to Pemiſapan, to ſignify that they were ready to perform the ſame, and ſo had ſent thoſe his men to let me know, that from that time forward he and his ſucceſſors were to acknowledge Her Majeſty their only ſovereign, and next unto her, as is aforeſaid.

All which being done and acknowledged by them all, in the preſence of Pemiſapan his father, and all his ſavages in council then with him, it did for the time thoroughly (as it ſeemed) change him in diſpoſition toward us; inſomuch as forthwith Enſenore won this reſolution of him, that out of hand he ſhould go about, and withal to cauſe his men to ſet up weares forthwith for us; both which at that preſent he went in hand withal, and did ſo labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had ſowed a good quantity of ground; ſo much as had been ſufficient to have fed our whole company (God bleſſing the ground), and that by the belly, for a whole year; beſides that he gave us a certain plot of ground for ourſelves to ſow. All which put us in marvellous comfort, if we could paſs from April until the beginning of July (which was to have been the beginning of their harveſt) that then a new ſupply out of England, or elſe our own ſtore would well enough maintain us: all our fear was of the two months betwixt, in which mean ſpace if the ſavages ſhould not help us with Caſſaui and Chyna, and that our weares ſhould fail us (as often they did) we might very well ſtarve, notwithſtanding the growing corn, like the ſtarving horſe in the ſtable, with the growing graſs, as the proverb is; which we very hardly had eſcaped, but only by the hand of God, as it pleaſed him to try us. For within few days after, as before is ſaid, Enſenore our friend died, who was no ſooner dead, but certain of our great enemies about Pemiſapan, as Oſacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wancheſe moſt principally, were in hand again to put their old practices in uſe againſt us, which were readily embraced, and all their former devices againſt us renewed, and new brought in queſtion.

But that of ſtarving us by their forbearing to ſow, was broken by Enſenore in his life, by having made the king all at one inſtant to ſow his ground, not only in the iſland, but alſo at Daſamonquepeio in the main, within two leagues over againſt us. Nevertheleſs there wanted no ſtore of miſchievous practices among them; and of all they reſolved principally of this following:

Firſt, that Okiſko king of Weapomeiok with the Mandoages ſhould be moved, and with great quantity of copper entertained to the number of ſeven or eight hundred bows, to enterpriſe the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weapomeiok ſhould be invited to a certain kind of month's mind which they do uſe to ſolemnize in their ſavage manner for any great perſonage dead, and ſhould have been for Enſenore. At this inſtant alſo ſhould the Mandoaks, who were a great people with the Cheſepians and their friends, to the number of ſeven hundred of them, be armed at a day appointed to the main of Peſamonquepeio, and there lying cloſe, at the ſign of fires, which ſhould interchangeably be made on both ſides, when Pemiſapan with his troop above named ſhould have executed me, and ſome of our Weroances (as they called all our principal officers) the main forces of the reſt ſhould have come over into the iſland, where they meant to have diſpatched the reſt of the company, whom they did imagine to find both diſmayed and

diſperſed abroad in the iſland, ſeeking of crabs and fiſh to live withall. The manner of their enterpriſe was this.

Terraquine and Andacon two principal men about Pemiſapan, and very luſty fellows, with twenty more appointed to them had the charge of my perſon, to ſee and order taken for the ſame, which they meant ſhould in this ſort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beſet my houſe, and put fire in the reeds the ſame was covered with, meaning (as it was likely) that myſelf would have come running out of a ſudden, amazed in my ſhirt, without arms, upon the inſtant whereof they would have knocked out my brains.

The ſame order was given to certain of his fellows, for M. Heriots: ſo for all the reſt of our better ſort, all our houſes at one inſtant being ſet on fire as afore is ſaid, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us of the town. Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and ſo be the more eaſily dealt withall, (for indeed ten of us with our arms prepared, were a terror to a hundred of the beſt ſort of them), they agreed and did immediately put it in practice, that they ſhould not for any copper ſell us any victuals whatſoever: beſides that in the night they ſhould ſend to have our weares robbed, and alſo to cauſe them to be broken, and once being broken never to be repaired again by them.

By this means the king ſtood aſſured, that I muſt be enforced for lack of ſuſtenance there, to diſband my company into ſundry places to live upon ſhell fiſh, for ſo the ſavages themſelves do, going to Hatoraſk, Croatoan, and other places, fiſhing and hunting, while their grounds be in ſowing, and their corn growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew ſo extreme among us, our weares failing us of fiſh, that I was enforced to ſend Captain Stafford with twenty with him to Croatoan, my Lord Admiral's Iſland to ſerve two turns in one, that is to ſay, to feed himſelf and his company, and alſo to keep watch if any ſhipping came upon the coaſt to warn us of the ſame.

I ſent M. Pridiox with the pinnace to Hatoraſk, and ten with him, with the provoſt marſhall to live there and alſo to wait for ſhipping: alſo I ſent every week ſixteen or twenty of the reſt of the company to the main over againſt us, to live of Caſſada and oyſters.

In the mean while Pemiſapan went of purpoſe to Deſamonquepeio for three cauſes: the one to ſee his grounds there broken up, and ſowed for a ſecond crop, the other to withdraw himſelf from my daily ſending to him for ſupply of victual for my company, for he was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durſt he in my preſence but by colour and with excuſes which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the end as I had reaſon, to give him the jump once for all: but in the mean whiles, as I had ever done before, I and mine bear all wrongs and accepted of all excuſes.

My purpoſe was to have relied myſelf with Menatonon, and the Chaoniſts, who in truth, as they are more valiant people and in greater number than the reſt, ſo are they more faithful in their promiſes, and ſince my late being there had given many tokens of earneſt deſire they had to join in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemiſapan and Weapomeiok for making him believe ſuch tales of us.

The third cauſe of his going to Deſamonquepeio, was to diſpatch his meſſengers to Weapomeiok, and to the Mangoaks, as aforeſaid: all which he did with great impreſt of copper in hand, making large promiſes to them of greater ſpoil.

The anſwer within few days after came from Weapomeiok, which was divided into two parts; firſt for the king Okiſko, who denied to be of the party for himſelf, or any

of his ſpecial followers, and therefore did immediately retire himſelf with his force into the main: the other was concerning the reſt of the ſaid province, who accepted of it: and in like ſort the Mangoaks received the impreſt.

The day of their aſſembly aforeſaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10th of June: all which the premiſes were diſcovered by Skiko, the king Menatonon's ſon, my priſoner, who having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bilboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemiſapan's requeſt: whereupon he being perſuaded that he was our enemy to the death, he did not only feed him with himſelf but alſo made him acquainted with all his practices. On the other ſide, the young man finding himſelf as well uſed at my hand, as I had means to ſhew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly diſcovered all unto me, which alſo afterwards was revealed unto me by one of Pemiſapan's own men, that night before he was ſlain.

Theſe miſchiefs being all inſtantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it ſtood me in hand to ſtudy how to prevent them all, alſo to ſave all others, which were that time as aforeſaid, ſo far from me; whereupon I ſent to Pemiſapan to put ſuſpicion out of his head, that I meant preſently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleet (although I in truth had neither heard, nor hoped for ſo good adventure) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fiſh for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as alſo to buy ſome four days proviſion to ſerve for my voyage.

He ſent me word that he would himſelf come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he defered, only to bring the Weapomeioks with him and the Mangoaks, whoſe time appointed was within eight days after.

It was the laſt of May 1586, when all his own ſavages began to make their aſſembly at Roanoak, at his commandment ſent abroad unto them, and I reſolved not to ſtay longer upon his coming over, ſince he meant to come with ſo good company, but thought good to go and viſit him with ſuch as I had, which I reſolved to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to give them in the iſland a canuiſado, and at the inſtant to ſeize upon all the canoes about the iſland, to keep him from advertiſements.

But the town took the alarm before I meant it to them: the occaſion was this. I had ſent the maſter of the light horſeman, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoes in the ſetting of the ſun, and to take as many as were going from us to Deſamonquepeio, but to ſuffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoe going from the ſhore and overthrew the canoe and cut off two ſavages heads: this was not done ſo ſecretly, but he was diſcovered from the ſhore; whereupon the cry aroſe; for in truth they, privy to their own villainous purpoſes againſt us, held as good eſpyal upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The alarm given they took themſelves to their bows, and we to our arms: ſome three or four of them at the firſt were ſlain with our ſhot; the reſt fled into the woods. We next morning with the light horſeman and one canoe, taking twenty-five with the colonel of the Cheſepians, and the ſerjeant major, I went to Deſamonquepeio; and being landed, ſent Pemiſapan word by one of his own ſavages that met me at the ſhore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complain unto him of Oſocon, who the night paſt was conveying away my priſoner, whom I had there preſent tied in an hand-lock. Whereupon the king did abide my coming to him, and finding myſelf amidſt ſeven or eight of his principal Weroances and followers (not regarding any of the common ſort), I gave the watch-word agreed upon (which was, CHRIST OUR VICTORY),

VICTORY), and immediately thoſe his chief men and himſelf had, by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that, which they had purpoſed for us.

The king himſelf being ſhot through by the colonel with a piſtol, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the ſaving of Manteo's friends, as others were buſy that none of the reſt ſhould eſcape, ſuddenly he ſtarted up and ran away as though he had not been touched, inſomuch as he over-ran all the company; being by the way ſhot thwart the buttocks by my Iriſh boy with my petronell. In the end an Iriſhman ſerving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provoſt, undertook him, and following him in the woods over-took him: and I in ſome doubt leſt we had loſt both the king and my man by our own negligence to have been intercepted by the ſavages, met him returning out of the woods with Pemiſapan's head in his hand.

This fell out on the 1ſt of June 1586, and the 8th of the ſame came advertiſement to me from Captain Stafford, lying at my Lord Admiral's Iſland, that he had diſcovered a great fleet of twenty-three ſails, but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet diſcern. He adviſed me to ſtand upon as good guard as I could.

The 9th of the ſaid month he himſelf came unto me, having that night before, and that ſame day travelled by land twenty miles; and I muſt truly report of him from the firſt to the laſt, he was the gentleman that never ſpared labour or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any ſervice committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the General Sir Francis Drake, with a moſt bountiful and honourable offer for the ſupply of our neceſſities to the performance of the action we were then entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition and clothing, but alſo of barks, pinnaces, and boats: they alſo by him to be victualled, manned, and furniſhed to my contentation.

The 10th day he arrived in the road of our bad harbour; and coming there to an anchor, the 11th day I came to him, whom I found in deeds moſt honourably to perform that which in writing and meſſage he had moſt courteouſly offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and conſent thereto.

With ſuch thanks to him and his captains for his care both of us and of our nation, not as the matter deſerved, but as I could both for my company and myſelf, I (being afore-hand prepared what I would deſire) craved at his hands that it would pleaſe him to take with him into England, a number of weak and unfit men for my good action which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to ſupply me of his company with oar-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us ſo much ſhipping and victual, as about Auguſt the next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had diſcovered ſomewhat, that for lack of needful proviſion in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it would pleaſe him withall to leave ſome ſufficient maſters not only to carry us into England, when time ſhould be, but alſo to ſearch the coaſt for ſome better harbour, if there were any, and eſpecially to help us to ſome ſmall boats, and oar-men.

Alſo for a ſupply of calivers and weapons, match and lead, tools, apparel and ſuch like.

He having received theſe my requeſts, according to his uſual commendable manner of government (as it was told me) calling his captains to counſel: the reſolution was that I ſhould ſend ſuch of my officers of my company as I uſed in ſuch matters, with their notes, to go aboard with him; which were the maſter of the victuals, the keeper of

the ſtore, and the vice-treaſurer; to whom he appointed forthwith for me the Francis, being a very proper bark of ſeventy ton, and took preſent order for bringing of victuals aboard her, for one hundred men for four months, with all my other demands whatſoever to the uttermoſt.

And further he appointed for me two pinnaces, and four ſmall boats: and that which was to perform all his former liberality to us, was that he had gotten the full aſſents of two of as ſufficient experimented maſters as were any in his fleet, by judgment of them that knew them, with very ſufficient gings to tarry with me, and to employ themſelves moſt earneſtly in the action, as I ſhould appoint them, until the term which I promiſed of our return to England again. The names of one of thoſe maſters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffeth Kerne.

While theſe things were in hand, the proviſion aforeſaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my ſaid maſters being alſo gone aboard, my ſaid barks having accepted of their charge, and mine own officers, with others in like ſort of my company with them (all which was diſpatched by the ſaid general the 12th of the ſaid month), the 13th there aroſe ſuch an unwonted ſtorm, and continued four days, that had like to have driven all on ſhore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the general very providently foreſeen the worſt himſelf, then about my diſpatch putting himſelf aboard: but in the end having driven ſundry of the fleet to put to ſea, the Francis alſo with all my proviſions, my two maſters, and my company aboard, ſhe was ſeen to be free from the ſame, and to put clear, to ſea.

This ſtorm having continued from the 13th to the 16th of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforeſaid, the general coming aſhore, made a new proffer unto me; which was a ſhip of 170 ton, called the Bark Bonner, with a ſufficient maſter and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victual ſufficient to carry me and my company into England, with all proviſions as before: but he told me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the reſt unto myſelf, and adviſed me to conſider with my company of our caſe, and to deliver preſently unto him in writing, what I would require him to do for us: which being within his power, he did aſſure me as well for his captains as for himſelf, ſhould be moſt willingly performed.

Hereupon calling ſuch captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand who were all as privy as myſelf to the general's offer, their whole requeſt was to me, that conſidering the caſe that we ſtood in, the weakneſs of our company, the ſmall number of the ſame, the carrying away of our firſt appointed bark, with thoſe two eſpecial maſters, with our principal proviſions in the ſame, by the very hand of God as it ſeemed, ſtretched out to take us from thence; conſidering alſo that his ſecond offer, though moſt honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, inſomuch as there was no poſſibility for her with any ſafety to be brought into the harbour, ſeeing further that our hope for ſupply with Sir Richard Greenvile, ſo undoubtfully promiſed us before Eaſter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year, conſidering the doings in England for Flanders, and alſo for America, that therefore I would reſolve myſelf with my company to go into England with that fleet; and accordingly to make requeſt to the general in all our names, that he would be pleaſed to give us preſent paſſage with him. Which requeſt of ours, by myſelf delivered unto him, he moſt readily aſſented unto: and ſo he ſending immediately his pinnaces into our iſland, for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was ſo boiſterous, and the pinnaces ſo often on the ground, that the moſt of all

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we had, with all our cards, books and writings, were by the ſailors caſt overboard, the greater number of the fleet being much aggrieved with their long and dangerous abode in the miſerable road.

From whence the general in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors (having beſtowed us amongſt his fleet), for the relief of whom he had in that ſtorm, ſuſtained more peril of wreck than in all his former moſt honourable actions againſt the Spaniards with praiſes unto God for all, ſet ſail the 19th June 1586, and arrived in Portſmouth the 27th July of the ſame year.

*The Third Voyage made by a Ship ſent in the Year 1586, to the Relief of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the ſole Charges of Sir Walter Ralegh.*

In the year of our Lord 1586, Sir Walter Ralegh at his own charge prepared a ſhip of 100 ton, freighted with all manner of things in moſt plentiful manner, for the ſupply and relief of his colony then remaining in Virginia; but before they ſet ſail from England it was after Eaſter, ſo that our colony half deſpaired of the coming of any ſupply; wherefore every man prepared for himſelf, determining reſolutely to ſpend the reſidue of their life-time in that country. And for the better performance of this their determination, they ſowed, planted, and ſet ſuch things as were neceſſary for their relief in ſo plentiful a manner, as might have ſufficed them two years without any further labour. Thus truſting to their own harveſt, they paſſed the ſummer till the 10th June; at which time their corn which they had ſowed was within one fortnight of reaping; but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his proſperous return from the ſacking of San Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Auguſtine, determined in his way homeward to viſit his countrymen the Engliſh colony, then remaining in Virginia. So paſſing along the coaſts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our Engliſh colony inhabited, and having eſpied ſome of that company, there he anchored and went aland, where he conferred with them of their ſtate and welfare, and how things had paſſed with them. They anſwered him that they lived all: but hitherto in ſome ſcarcity, and as yet could hear of no ſupply out of England; therefore they requeſted him that he would leave with them ſome two or three ſhips, that if ſome reaſonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themſelves. Which he agreed to. Whilſt ſome were then writing their letters to ſend into England, and ſome others making reports of the accidents of their travels each to other, ſome on land, ſome on board, a great ſtorm aroſe, and drove the moſt of their fleet from their anchors to ſea, in which ſhips at that inſtant were the chiefeſt of the Engliſh colony; the reſt on land perceiving this, haſted to thoſe three ſails, which were appointed to be left there, and for fear they ſhould be left behind, they left all things confuſedly, as if they had been chaſed from thence by a mighty army; and no doubt ſo they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by ſome of them againſt the native inhabitants of that country.

Immediately after the departing of our Engliſh colony out of this paradiſe of the world, the ſhip above mentioned ſent and ſet forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh, and his direction, arrived at Hatoraſk: who after ſome time ſpent in ſeeking our colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned with all the aforeſaid proviſion into England.

About 14 or 15 days after the departure of the aforeſaid ſhip, Sir Richard Greenvile, general of Virginia, accompanied with three ſhips well appointed for the ſame voyage,

voyage, arrived there: who not finding the aforeſaid ſhip, according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our Engliſh colony there ſeated, and left by him Anno 1585, himſelf travelling up into divers places of the country, as well to ſee if he could hear any news of the colony left there by him the year before, under the charge of Maſter Lane, his deputy, as alſo to diſcover ſome places of the country: but after ſome time ſpent therein, not hearing any news of them, and finding the places which they inhabited deſolate, yet unwilling to loſe the poſſeſſion of the country which Engliſhmen had ſo long held: after good deliberation, he determined to leave ſome men behind to retain poſſeſſion of the country: whereupon he landed 15 men in the iſle of Roanoak, furniſhed plentifully with all manner of proviſion for two years, and ſo departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Iſles of the Azores, on ſome of which iſlands he landed, aud ſpoiled the towns of all ſuch things as were worth carriage, where alſo he took divers Spaniards. With this and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, as well outward as homeward, he returned into England.

*A brief and true Report of the new found Land of Virginia, of the Commodities there found, and to be raiſed, as well merchantable as others: written by Thomas Heriot, Servant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a Member of the Colony, and there employed in diſcovering a full Twelvemonth.*

*Ralph Lane one of her Majeſty's eſquires, and governor of the colony in Virginia, above mentioned, for the time there reſident, to the gentle reader wiſheth all happineſs in the Lord.*

Albeit (gentle reader) the credit of the reports in this treatiſe contained can little be furthered by the teſtimony of one as myſelf, through affection judged partial, though without deſert: nevertheleſs, for ſo much as I have been requeſted by ſome my particular friends, who conceive more rightly of me, to deliver freely my knowledge of the ſame; not only for the ſatisfying of them, but alſo for the true information of any other whatſoever, that comes not with a prejudicate mind to the reading thereof; thus much upon my credit I am to affirm, that things univerſally are ſo truly ſet down in this treatiſe, by the author thereof, an actor in the colony, and a man no leſs for his honeſty than learning commendable, as that I dare boldly avouch, it may very well paſs with the credit of truth, even amongſt the moſt true relations of this age. Which as for mine own part I am ready any way to acknowledge, ſo alſo (of the certainty thereof aſſured by mine own experience) with this my public aſſertion I do affirm the ſame. Farewell in the Lord.

*To the adventurers, favourers, and well-willers of the enterpriſe for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.*

Since the firſt undertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deal in the action of diſcovering of that country which is now called and known by the name of Virginia, many voyages having been thither made at ſundry times to his great charge; as firſt, in the year 1584, and afterwards in the years 1585, 1586, and now of late this laſt year 1587: there have been divers and variable reports, with ſome ſlanderous and ſhameful ſpeeches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence: eſpecially of that diſcovery which was made by the colony tranſported by Sir Richard Greenvile in 1585, being of all others the moſt principal, and as yet of moſt effect, the time of

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their abode in the country being a whole year, when as in the other voyages before they ſtayed but ſix weeks, and the others after were only for ſupply and tranſportation, nothing more being diſcovered than had been before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwiſe would have alſo favoured and adventured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, beſides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themſelves the dealers therein, as I hope by the ſequel of events, to the ſhame of thoſe that have avouched the contrary, ſhall be manifeſt, if you the adventurers, favourers and well-willers do but either increaſe in number, or in opinion continue, or having been doubtful, renew your good liking and furtherance to deal therein according to the worthineſs thereof already found, and as you ſhall underſtand hereafter to be requiſite. Touching which worthineſs, though cauſe of the diverſity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firm, nor the minds of ſome that are well diſpoſed be ſettled in any certainty.

I have therefore thought it good, being one that have been in the diſcovery, and in dealing with the natural inhabitants eſpecially employed; and having therefore ſeen and known more than the ordinary, to impart ſo much unto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how injuriouſly the enterpriſe is ſlandered, and that in public manner at this preſent, chiefly for two reſpects.

Firſt, that ſome of you which are yet ignorant or doubtful of the ſtate thereof, may ſee that there is ſufficient cauſe why the chief enterpriſer with favour of Her Majeſty, notwithſtanding ſuch reports, hath not only ſince continued the action, by ſending into the country again, and replanting this laſt year a new colony, but is alſo ready, according as the times and means will afford, to follow and proſecute the ſame.

Secondly, that you ſeeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learn that the country is, and thereupon conſider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may return you profit and gain, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwiſe in furthering thereof.

And leſt that the ſubſtance of my relation ſhould be doubtful unto you, as of others by reaſon of their diverſity, I will firſt open the cauſe in a few words, wherefore they are ſo different, referring myſelf to your favourable conſtructions, and to be adjudged of, as by good conſideration you ſhall find cauſe.

Of our company that returned, ſome for their miſdemeanor and ill dealing in the country, have been there worthily puniſhed, who by reaſon of their bad natures, have maliciouſly not only ſpoken ill of their governors, but for their ſakes ſlandered the country itſelf. The like alſo have thoſe done which were of their conſort.

Some being ignorant of the ſtate thereof, notwithſtanding ſince their return among their friends and acquaintance, and alſo others, eſpecially if they were in company where they might not be gainſaid, would ſeem to know ſo much as no men more, and make no men ſo great travellers as themſelves. They ſtood ſo much, as it may ſeem, upon their credit and reputation, that having been a twelvemonth in the country, it would have been a great diſgrace unto them, as they thought, if they could not have ſaid much, whether it were true or falſe. Of which ſome have ſpoken of more than ever they ſaw, or otherwiſe knew to be there. Other ſome have not been aſhamed to make abſolute denial of that, which although not by them, yet by others is moſt certainly and there plentifully known; and other ſome make difficulties of thoſe things they have no ſkill of.

The cauſe of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the iſland where we were ſeated, or not far, or at the leaſtwiſe in few places elſe, during the time of our abode in the country; or of that many, that after gold and

ſilver

ſilver was not ſo ſoon found, as it was by them looked for, had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had little underſtanding, leſs diſcretion, and more tongue than was needful or requiſite.

Some alſo were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or towns, or ſuch as never (as I may ſay) had ſeen the world before. Becauſe there were not to be found any Engliſh cities, nor ſuch fair houſes, nor at their own wiſh, any of their old accuſtomed dainty food, nor any ſoft beds of down or feathers, the country was to them miſerable, and their reports thereof according.

Becauſe my purpoſe was but in brief to open the cauſe of the variety of ſuch ſpeeches, the particularities of them, and of many envious, malicious, and ſlanderous reports and deviſes elſe, by our own countrymen beſides, as trifles that are not worthy of wiſe men to be thought upon, I mean not to trouble you withall, but will paſs to the commodities, the ſubſtance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The treatiſe whereof, for your more ready view and eaſier underſtanding, I will divide into three ſpecial parts. In the firſt I will make declaration of ſuch commodities there already found, or to be raiſed, which will not only ſerve the ordinary turns of you which are and ſhall be the planters and inhabitants; but ſuch an overplus ſufficiently to be yielded, or by men of ſkill to be provided, as by way of traffick and exchange with our own nation of England will enrich yourſelves the providers; thoſe that ſhall deal with you, the enterpriſers in general, and greatly profit our own countrymen, to ſupply them with moſt things which heretofore they have been fain to provide either of ſtrangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for diſtinction ſake, I call merchantable.

In the ſecond I will ſet down all the commodities which we know, the country by our experience doth yield of itſelf, for victual and ſuſtenance of man's life, ſuch as are uſually fed upon by the inhabitants of the country, as alſo by us during the time we were there.

In the laſt part I will make mention generally of ſuch other commodities beſides, as I am able to remember, and as I ſhall think behoveful for thoſe that ſhall inhabit and plant there, to know of, which ſpecially concern building, as alſo ſome other neceſſary uſes; with a brief deſcription of the nature and manners of the people of the country.

### *The Firſt Part, of Merchantable Commodities.*

Silk of graſs, or graſs-ſilk. There is a kind of graſs in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good ſilk in form of a thin glittering ſkin, to be ſtripped off: it groweth two feet and a half high or better; the blades are about two feet in length, and half an inch broad. The like groweth in Perſia, which is in the ſelf ſame climate as Virginia, of which very many of the ſilk works that come from thence into Europe are made.

Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Perſia, it cannot in reaſon be otherwiſe, but that there will riſe in ſhort time great profit to the dealers therein, ſeeing there is ſo great uſe and vent thereof as well in our country as elſewhere. And by the means of ſowing and planting it in good ground, it will be far better, greater, and more plentiful than it is. Although notwithſtanding there is great ſtore thereof growing in many places in the country naturally and wild, which alſo by proof here in England, in making a piece of ſilk grogram, we found to be excellent good.

Worm-ſilk. In many of our journies we found ſilk worms fair and great, as big as our ordinary walnuts. Although it hath not been our hap to have found ſuch plenty

as elſewhere to be in the country we have heard of, yet ſeeing that the country doth naturally breed and nouriſh them, there is no doubt but if art be added in planting of mulberry trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nouriſhing, and ſome of them carefully gathered and huſbanded in that ſort, as by men of ſkill is known to be neceſſary; there will riſe as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Perſians, Turks, Italians, and Spaniards.

Flax and Hemp. The truth is that of hemp and flax there is no great ſtore in any one place together, by reaſon it is not planted, but as the ſoil doth yield it of itſelf, and howſoever the leaf and ſtem or ſtalk do differ from ours, the ſuff by judgment of men of ſkill is altogether as good as ours; and if not as farther proof ſhould find or otherwiſe, we have that experience of the ſoil, as that there cannot be ſhewed any reaſon to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yielded plentifully: ſeeing there is ſo much ground, whereof ſome may be applied to ſuch purpoſes. What benefit hereof may grow in cordage and linnens, who cannot eaſily underſtand.

Allum. There is a vein of earth along the ſea coaſt, for the ſpace of 40 or 50 miles, whereof by the judgment of ſome that have made trial here in England, is made good allum, of that kind which is called roch allum. The richneſs of ſuch a commodity is ſo well known, that I need not to ſay any thing thereof. The ſame earth doth alſo yield white copraſs, *nitrum*, and *alumen plumcum*, but nothing ſo plentifully as the common allum, which be alſo of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth ſo called by the natural inhabitants, very like *terra ſigillata*, and having been refined, it hath been found by ſome of our phyſicians and chirurgions to be of the ſame kind of virtue, and more effectual. The inhabitants uſe it very much for the cure of ſores and wounds: there is in divers places great plenty, and in ſome places of a blue ſort.

Pitch, tar, rozen and turpentine. There are thoſe kinds of trees which yield them abundantly and great ſtore. In the very ſame iſland where we were ſeated, being 15 miles of length, and five or ſix miles in breadth, there are few trees elſe but of the ſame kind, the whole iſland being full.

Saſſafras. Called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of moſt pleaſant and ſweet ſmell, and of moſt rare virtues in phyſic for the cure of many diſeaſes. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uſes than the wood which is called *guiacum*, or *lignum vitæ*. For the deſcription, the manner of uſing, and the manifold virtues thereof, I refer you to the book of Monardes, tranſlated and entitled in Engliſh, *The joyful News from the Weſt Indies*.

Cedar. A very ſweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if neſts of cheſts be there made, or timber thereof fitted for ſweet and fine bedſteds, tables, deſks, lutes, virginals, and many things elſe, (of which there hath been proof made already), to make up freight with other principal commodities, will yield profit.

Wine. There are two kinds of grapes that the ſoil doth yield naturally; the one is ſmall and ſour, of the ordinary bigneſs as ours in England; the other far greater and of itſelf luſcious ſweet. When they are planted and huſbanded as they ought, a principal commodity of wines by them may be raiſed.

Oil. There are two ſorts of walnuts, both holding oil: but the one far more plentiful than the other. When there are mills and other devices for the purpoſe, a commodity of them may be raiſed, becauſe there are infinite ſtore. There are alſo three ſeveral kinds of berries in the form of oak-acorns, which alſo by the experience and uſe of the inhabitants, we find to yield very good and ſweet oil. Furthermore, the bears of the country are commonly very fat, and in ſome places there are many; their fatneſs, becauſe it is ſo liquid, may well be termed oil, and hath many ſpecial uſes.

Furs. All along the ſea-coaſt there are great ſtore of otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpoſe, will yield good profit. We hope alſo of marten furs, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in ſome places of the country there are ſtore, although there were but two ſkins that came to our hands. Luzernes alſo we have underſtanding of, although for the time we ſaw none.

Deer ſkins dreſſed after the manner of chamois, or undreſſed, are to be had of the natural inhabitants, thouſands yearly by way of traffick for trifles, and no more waſte or ſpoil of deer than is and hath been ordinarily in time before.

Civet-Cats. In our travels there was found one to have been killed by a ſavage or inhabitant, and in another place the ſmell where one or more had lately been before, whereby we gather, beſides than by the relation of the people, that there are ſome in the country; good profit will riſe by them.

Iron. In two places of the country ſpecially, one about fourſcore and the other ſixſcore miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found near the water ſide the ground to be rocky, which by the trial of a mineral-man was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the country elſe: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, conſidering there the ſmall charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite ſtore of wood, the want of wood and dearneſs thereof in England, and the neceſſity of ballaſting of ſhips.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the main, in two towns we found with the inhabitants divers ſmall plates of copper, that had been made as we underſtood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they ſay are mountains and rivers that yield alſo white grains of metal, which is to be deemed ſilver. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our firſt arrival in the country, I ſaw, with ſome others with me, two ſmall pieces of ſilver groſsly beated, about the weight of a teſtron, hanging in the ears of a Wiroans, or chief lord that dwelt about fourſcore miles from us: of whom through inquiry, by the number of days and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the ſame place or near, where I after underſtood the copper was made, and the white grains of metal found. The aforeſaid copper we alſo found by trial to hold ſilver.

Pearl. Sometimes in feeding on muſcles we found ſome pearl: but it was our hap to meet with ragges, or of a pied colour: not having yet diſcovered thoſe places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of ſkill in ſuch matters, had gathered together from among the ſavage people about five thouſand: of which number he choſe ſo many as made a fair chain, which for their likeneſs and uniformity in roundneſs, orientneſs, and piedneſs of many excellent colours, with equality in greatneſs, were very fair and rare: and had therefore been preſented to Her Majeſty, had we not by caſualty, and through extremity of a ſtorm loſt them, with many things elſe in coming away from the country.

Sweet gums, of divers kinds. And many other apothecary drugs, of which we will make ſpecial mention, when we ſhall receive it from ſuch men of ſkill in that kind, that in taking reaſonable pains, ſhall diſcover them more particularly than we have done, and than now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now loſt, with other things, by caſualty before mentioned.

Dies of divers kinds. There is Shoemake, well known in England for black; the ſeed of an herb called Waſebur, little ſmall roots called Chappacor, and the bark of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge; which dies are of divers ſorts of red: their goodneſs for our Engliſh cloths remain yet to be proved. The inhabitants uſe them only for the dyeing of hair, and colouring of their faces and mantles made of deer ſkins, and alſo for the dyeing of ruſhes, to make artificial works withall in their mats and

baſkets: having no other thing beſides that they account of, apt to uſe them for. If they will not prove merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there ſhall find apt uſes for them, as alſo for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad. A thing of ſo great vent and uſes among the Engliſh dyers, which cannot be yielded ſufficiently in our own country for ſpare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the iſlands of the Azores it groweth plentifully, which are in the ſame climate. So likewiſe of madder.

We carried thither ſugar canes to plant, which being not ſo well preſerved as was requiſite, and beſides the time of the year being paſt for their ſetting when we arrived, we could not make that proof of them as we deſired. Notwithſtanding ſeeing that they grow in the ſame climate, in the ſouth part of Spain and in Barbary, our hope in reaſon may yet continue. So likewiſe for oranges and lemons. There may be planted alſo quinces. Whereby may grow in reaſonable time if the action be diligently proſecuted, no ſmall commodities in ſugars, ſuckers, and marmalades.

Many other commodities by planting may there alſo be raiſed, which I leave to your diſcreet and gentle conſiderations: and many alſo may be there, which yet we have not diſcovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certainty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raiſed, and in ſhort time to be provided and prepared, I might have ſpecified. So likewiſe of thoſe commodities already ſet down, I might have ſaid more; as of the particular places where they are found, and beſt to be planted and prepared: by what means, and in what reaſonable ſpace of time they might be raiſed to profit, and in what proportion; but becauſe others than wellwillers might be therewithall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted them; knowing that to them that are well diſpoſed, I have uttered, according to my promiſe and purpoſe, for this part ſufficient.

*The Second Part; of ſuch commodities as Virginia is known to yield for victuals and ſuſtenance of man's life, uſually fed upon by the natural inhabitants: as alſo by us, during the time of our abode; and firſt ſuch as are ſowed and huſbanded.*

Pagatour. A kind of grain ſo called by the inhabitants; the ſame in the Weſt Indies is called Maize. Engliſhmen call it Guinea-wheat, or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countries from whence the like hath been brought. The grain is about the ſize of our ordinary Engliſh peas, and not much different in form and ſhape; but of divers colours, ſome white, ſome red, ſome yellow, and ſome blue. All of them yield a very white and ſweet flour: being uſed according to his kind, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the ſame in the country ſome malt, whereof was brewed as good ale as was to be deſired. So likewiſe by the help of hops, thereof may be made as good beer. It is a grain of marvellous great increaſe: of a thouſand, fifteen hundred, and ſome two thouſand fold. There are three ſorts, of which two are ripe in eleven or twelve weeks at the moſt, ſometimes in ten, after the time they are ſet, and are then of height in ſtalk about ſix or ſeven foot. The other ſort is ripe in fourteen, and is about ten feet high; of the ſtalks ſome bear four heads, ſome three, ſome one, and ſome two, every head containing 5, 6, or 700 grains, within a few, more or leſs. Of theſe grains, beſide bread, the inhabitants make victual, either by parching them, or ſeething them whole until they be broken, or boiling of the flour with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by us beans, becauſe in greatneſs and partly in ſhape they are like to the beans in England, ſaving that they are flatter, of more divers colours, and ſome pied.

The leaf alſo of the ſtem is much different. In taſte they are altogether as good as our Engliſh peas.

Wickonzour, called by us peas, in reſpect of the beans for diſtinction ſake, becauſe they are much leſs although in form they little differ: but in goodneſs of taſte much like, and are far better than our Engliſh peaſe. Both the beans and peas are ripe in ten weeks after they are ſet. They make them victual, either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole until they be ſoft, and begin to break, as is uſed in England, either by themſelves or mixtly together: ſometime they mingle of the wheat with them: ſometime alſo being whole ſodden, they bruiſe or pound them in a mortar, and thereof make loaves or lumps of doughiſh bread, which they uſe to eat for variety.

Macokuer, according to their ſeveral forms, called by us pompions, melons, and gourds, becauſe they are of the like forms as thoſe kinds in England. In Virginia ſuch of ſeveral forms are of one taſte, and very good, and do alſo ſpring from one ſeed. There are of two ſorts, one is ripe in the ſpace of a month, and the other in two months.

There is an herb which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of thoſe that I deſcribe it unto, take it to be a kind of Drage: it groweth about four or five foot high; of the ſeed thereof they make a thick broth, and pottage of a very good taſte: of the ſtalk by burning it into aſhes they make a kind of ſalt earth, wherewith many uſe ſometimes to ſeaſon their broths: other ſalt they know not. We ourſelves uſed the leaves alſo for pot herbs.

There is alſo another great herb, in form of a marigold, about ſix foot in height, the head with the flower is a ſpan in breadth. Some take it to be *planta ſolis*: of the ſeeds hereof they make both a kind of bread and broth.

All the aforeſaid commodities for victual are ſet or ſowed; ſometimes in grounds apart and ſeverally by themſelves, but for the moſt part together in one ground mixtly: the manner thereof, with the dreſſing and preparing of the ground, becauſe I will not unto you the fertility of the ſoil, I think good briefly to deſcribe.

The ground they never fatten with much dung, or any other thing, neither plough nor dig it as we in England, but only prepare it in ſort as followeth. A few days before they ſow or ſet, the men with wooden inſtruments made almoſt in form of mattocks or hoes with long handles; the women with ſhort peckers or parers, becauſe they uſe them ſitting, of a foot long, and about five inches in breadth, do only break the upper part of the ground to raiſe up the weeds, graſs, and old ſtubs of corn ſtalks with their roots. The which after a day or two days drying in the ſun, being ſcraped up into many ſmall heaps, to ſave them labour for carrying of them, they burn into aſhes. And whereas ſome may think that they uſe the aſhes for to better the ground, I ſay that then they would either diſperſe the aſhes abroad, which we obſerved they do not, except the heaps be too great, or elſe would take ſpecial care to ſet their corn where the aſhes lie, which alſo we find they are careleſs of. And this is all the huſbanding of their ground that they uſe.

Then their ſetting or ſowing is after this manner: firſt, for their corn, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put four grains, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch aſunder), and cover them with the mould again, and ſo throughout the whole plot, making ſuch holes, and uſing them after ſuch manner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, every rank differing from the other half a fathom or a yard, and the holes alſo in every rank as much. By this means there is a yard ſquare ground between every hole; where

according to diſcretion here and there, they ſet as many beans and peaſe: in divers places alſo among the ſeeds of macocquer, melden and *planta ſolis*.

The ground being thus ſet according to the rate by us experimented, an Engliſh acre containing forty perches in length, and four in breadth, doth there yield in croſ or of come of corn, beans and peaſe, at the leaſt 200 London buſhels, beſides the macocquer melden and *planta ſolis*: when as in England 40 buſhels of our wheat yielde[illegible] of ſuch an acre is thought to be much.

I thought alſo good to note this unto you, that you which ſhall inhabit and plant there, may know how ſpecially that country corn is there to be preferred before ours: beſides the manifold ways in applying it to victual, the increaſe is ſo much, that ſmall labour and pains is needful in reſpect of that which muſt be uſed for ours. For this I can aſſure you, that according to the rate we have made proof of, one man may prepare and huſband ſo much ground (having once borne corn before) with leſs than 24 hours labour, as ſhall yield him victual in a large proportion for a twelvemonth, if he have nothing elſe but that which the ſame ground will yield, and of that kind only which I have before ſpoken of: the ſaid ground being alſo but of 25 yards ſquare. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raiſed out of one and the ſelf-ſame ground two harveſt or of-comes: for they ſow or ſet, and may at any time when they think good, from the midſt of March until the end of June: ſo that they alſo ſet when they have eaten of their firſt crop. In ſome places of the country notwithſtanding they have two harveſts, as we have heard, out of one and the ſame ground.

For Engliſh corn nevertheleſs, whether to uſe or not to uſe it, you that inhabit may do as you ſhall have further cauſe to think beſt. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for barley, oats, and peaſe, we have ſeen proof of, not being purpoſely ſown, but fallen caſually in the worſt ſort of ground, and yet to be as fair as any we have ever ſeen here in England. But of wheat, becauſe it was muſty, and had taken ſalt-water, we could make no trial, and of rye we had none. Thus much have I digreſſed, and I hope not unneceſſarily: now will I return again to my courſe, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herb which is ſowed apart by itſelf, and is called by the inhabitants uppowoc: in the Weſt Indies it hath divers names, according to the ſeveral places and countries where it groweth and is uſed; the Spaniards generally call it TABACCO. The leaves thereof being dried, and brought into powder, they uſe to take the fume or ſmoke thereof, by ſucking it through pipes made of clay, into their ſtomach and head; from whence it purgeth ſuperfluous phlegm and other groſs humours, and openeth all the pores and paſſages of the body: by which means the uſe thereof not only preſerveth the body from obſtructions, but alſo (if any be, ſo that they have not been of too long continuance) in ſhort time breaketh them; whereby their bodies are notably preſerved in health, and know not many grievous diſeaſes, wherewithal we in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This uppowoc is of ſo precious eſtimation among them, that they think their gods are marvellouſly delighted therewith: whereupon ſometime they make hallowed fires, and caſt ſome of the powder therein for a ſacrifice: being in a ſtorm upon the waters, to pacify their gods, they caſt ſome up into the air and into the water: ſo a weare for fiſh being newly ſet up, they caſt ſome therein and into the air: alſo after an eſcape of danger, they caſt ſome into the air likewiſe: but all done with ſtrange geſtures, ſtamping, ſometimes dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and ſtaring up into the heavens, uttering therewithal, and chattering ſtrange words and noiſes.

We

We ourſelves, during the time we were there, uſed to ſuck it after their manner; as alſo ſince our return, and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by itſelf: the uſe of it by ſo many of late, men and women of great calling, as elſe, and ſome learned phyſitians alſo, is ſufficient witneſs.

All theſe are all the commodities for ſuſtenance of life, that I know and can remember, they uſe to huſband: all elſe that follow, are found growing naturally or wild.

## Of Roots.

Openauk are a kind of roots of round form, ſome of the bigneſs of walnuts, ſome far greater, which are found in moiſt and marſh grounds, growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were faſtened with a ſtring. Being boiled or ſodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth theſe roots beads, or *Peter noſtri* of *Santa Helena*.

Okeepenauk are alſo of round ſhape, found in dry grounds: ſome are of the bigneſs of a man's head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground; for by reaſon of their dryneſs they will neither roaſt nor ſeethe. Their taſte is not ſo good as of the former roots: notwithſtanding for want of bread, and ſometimes for variety, the inhabitants uſe to eat them with fiſh or fleſh, and in my judgment they do as well as the houſehold bread made of rye here in England.

Kaiſhucpenauk, a white kind of roots, about the bigneſs of hen's eggs, and near of that form: their taſte was not ſo good to our ſeeming as of the other, and therefore their place and manner of growing not ſo much cared for by us. The inhabitants, notwithſtanding, uſed to boil and eat many.

Tſinaw, a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root, brought from the Eaſt Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the ſame kind. Theſe roots grow many together in great cluſters, and do bring forth a brier ſtalk, but the leaf in ſhape far unlike: which being ſupported by the trees it groweth neareſt unto, will reach or climb to the top of the higheſt. From theſe roots while they be new or freſh, being chopped into ſmall pieces, and ſtamped, is ſtrained with water a juice that maketh bread, and alſo being boiled, a very good ſpoon-meat in manner of a jelly, and is much better in taſte, if it be tempered with oil. This Tſinaw is not of that ſort, which by ſome was cauſed to be brought into England for the China-root: for it was diſcovered ſince, and is in uſe as is aforeſaid: but that which was brought hither is not yet known, neither by us nor by the inhabitants, to ſerve for any uſe or purpoſe, although the roots in ſhape are very like.

Coſcuſhaw ſome of our company took to be that kind of root which the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies call caſſavy, whereupon alſo many called it by that name; it groweth in very muddy pools, and moiſt grounds. Being dreſſed according to the country manner, it maketh a good bread, and alſo a good ſpoon-meat, and is uſed very much by the inhabitants. The juice of this root is poiſon, and therefore heed muſt be taken before any thing be made therewithal, either the roots muſt be firſt ſliced and dried in the ſun, or by the fire, and then being pounded into flour, will make good bread; or elſe while they are green they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and ſtamped: loaves of the ſame to be laid near or over the fire until it be four; and then being well pounded again, bread or ſpoon-meat very good in taſte, and wholeſome, may be made thereof.

Habaſcon

Habaſcon is a root of hot taſte, almoſt of the form and bigneſs of a parſnip: of itſelf it is no victual, but only a help, being boiled together with other meats.

There are alſo leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the country: of which when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the natural inhabitants never.

## Of Fruits.

Cheſtnuts. There are in divers places great ſtore: ſome they uſe to eat raw; ſome they ſtamp and boil to make ſpoon-meat, and with ſome being ſodden, they make ſuch a manner of dough bread as they uſe of their beans before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of walnuts, and of them infinite ſtore: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are walnut trees. The one kind is of the ſame taſte and form, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are larger and thicker ſhelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard ſhell; but the kernel great, very oily and ſweet. Beſides their eating of them after our ordinary manner, they break them with ſtones, and pound them in mortars with water, to make a milk which they uſe to put into ſome ſorts of their ſpoon-meat: alſo among the ſodden wheat, peaſe, beans, and pompions, which maketh them have a far more pleaſant taſte.

Medlars, a kind of very good fruit: ſo called by us chiefly for theſe reſpects: firſt in that they are not good until they be rotten, then in that day they open at the head as our medlars, and are about the ſame bigneſs: otherwiſe in taſte and colour they are far different; for they are as red as cherries and very ſweet; but whereas the cherry is ſharp ſweet, they are luſcious ſweet.

Mutaqueſunnauk, a kind of pleaſant fruit, almoſt of the ſhape and bigneſs of Engliſh pears, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whoſe leaves are very thick, and full of prickles as ſharp as needles. Some that have been in the Indies, where they have ſeen that kind of red dye of great price, which is called cochinil, to grow, do deſcribe its plant right like unto this mutaqueſunnauk: but whether it be the true cochinil, or a baſtard or wild kind, it cannot yet be certified, ſeeing that alſo, as I heard, cochinil is not of the fruit, but found on the leaves of the plant: which leaves for ſuch matter we have not ſo ſpecially obſerved.

Grapes there are of two ſorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are as good and as great as thoſe which we have in our Engliſh gardens.

Mulberries, apple-crabs, hurts or hurtleberries, ſuch as we have in England.

Sacquenummener, a kind of berries almoſt like unto capers, but ſomewhat greater, which grow together in cluſters upon a plant or herb that is found in ſhallow waters, being boiled eight or nine hours, according to their kind, are very good meat and wholeſome, otherwiſe if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantick or extremely ſick.

There is a kind of reed, which beareth a ſeed almoſt like unto our rye or wheat, and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in ſome places we found wild peaſe, like unto ours in England, but that they were leſs, which are alſo good meat.

Of

### Of a kind of Fruit or Berry, in form of Acorns.

There is a kind of berry or acorn, of which there are five ſorts that grow on ſeveral kinds of trees; the one is called ſagatamener, the ſecond oſamener, the third pummuchoner. Theſe kind of acorns they uſe to dry upon hurdles made of reeds, with fire underneath, almoſt after the manner as we dry malt in England. When they are to be uſed, they firſt water them until they be ſoft, and then being ſod, they make a good victual, either to eat ſo ſimply, or elſe being alſo pounded to make loaves or lumps of bread. Theſe be alſo the three kinds, of which I ſaid before the inhabitants uſed to make ſweet oil.

Another ſort is called ſapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taſte like unto cheſtnuts. They ſometimes alſo make bread of this ſort.

The fifth ſort is called mangummenauk, and is the acorn of their kind of oak, the which being dried after the manner of the firſt ſorts, and afterward watered, they boil them, and their ſervants or ſometimes the chiefs themſelves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fiſh or fleſh.

### Of Beasts.

Deer. In ſome places there are great ſtore: near unto the ſea-coaſt, they are of the ordinary bigneſs of ours in England, and ſome leſs: but further up into the country, where there is better food, they are greater; they differ from ours only in this, their tails are longer, and the ſnags of their horns look backward.

Conies. Thoſe that we have ſeen, and all that we can hear of are of a grey colour like unto hares: in ſome places there are ſuch plenty that all the people of ſome towns make them mantles of the fur or flue of the ſkins of thoſe which they uſually take.

Saquenuckat and maquowoc, two kinds of ſmall beaſts greater than conies, which are very good meat. We never took any of them ourſelves, but ſometime eat of ſuch as the inhabitants had taken and brought unto us.

Squirrels which are of a grey colour we have taken and eaten.

Bears, which are of black colour. The bears of this country are good meat. The inhabitants in time of winter do uſe to take and eat many; ſo alſo ſometimes did we. They are taken commonly in this ſort. In ſome iſlands or places where they are, being hunted for, as ſoon as they have ſpyal of a man, they preſently run away, and then being chaſed, they climb and get up the next tree they can, from whence with arrows they are ſhot down ſtark dead, or with thoſe wounds that they may after eaſily be killed. We ſometime ſhot them down with our calivers.

I have the names of 28 ſeveral ſorts of beaſts, which I have heard of to be here and there diſperſed in the country, eſpecially in the main; of which there are only 12 kinds that we have yet diſcovered, and of thoſe that be good meat, we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants ſometimes kill the lion, and eat him; and we ſometime as they came to our hands of the woolues or wolfiſh dogs, which I have not ſet down for good meat, leſt that ſome would underſtand my judgment therein to be more ſimple than needeth, although I could alledge the difference in taſte of thoſe kinds from ours, which by ſome of our company have been experimented in both.

## Of Fowl.

Turkey-cocks and turkey-hens, ſtock-doves, partridges, cranes, herons, and in winter great ſtore of ſwans and geeſe. Of all ſorts of fowl I have the names in the country language of four-ſcore and ſix, of which number, beſides thoſe that be named, we have taken, eaten, and have the pictures as they were there drawn, with the names of the inhabitants, of ſeveral ſtrange ſort of water-fowl eight, and ſeventeen kinds more of land-fowl; although we have ſeen, and eaten of many more, which for want of leiſure there for the purpoſe, could not be pictured: and after we are better furniſhed and ſtored upon further diſcovery with their ſtrange beaſts, fiſh, trees, plants and herbs, they ſhall be alſo publiſhed.

There are alſo parrots, falcons, and marlin hawks, which although with us they be not uſed for meat, vet for other cauſes I thought good to mention.

## Of Fish.

For four months of the year, February, March, April and May, there are plenty of ſturgeons; and alſo in the ſame months of herrings; ſome of the ordinary bigneſs of ours in England, but the moſt part far greater, of 18, 20 inches, and ſome two feet in length and better; both theſe kinds of fiſh in thoſe months are moſt plentiful, and in beſt ſeaſon, which we found to be moſt delicate and pleaſant meat.

There are alſo trouts, porpoiſes, rayes, old-wives, mullet, plaice, and very many other ſorts of excellent good fiſh, which we have taken and eaten, whoſe names I know not, but in the country language: we have the pictures of 12 ſorts more, as they were drawn in the country with their names.

The inhabitants uſe to take them two manner of ways: the one is by a kind of wear made of reeds, which in that country are very ſtrong: the other way which is more ſtrange, is with poles made ſharp at one end, by ſhooting them into the fiſh, after the manner as Iriſhmen caſt darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or elſe as they are wading in the ſhallows for the purpoſe.

There are alſo in many places plenty of theſe kinds which follow.

Sea-crabs, ſuch as we have in England.

Oyſters, ſome very great, and ſome ſmall, ſome round and ſome of a long ſhape: they are found both in ſalt-water and brackiſh, and thoſe that we had out of ſalt-water are far better than the other, as in our country.

Alſo muſcles, ſcallops, perriwinkles, and creviſes.

Seekanauk, a kind of cruſty ſhell-fiſh, which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, having a cruſty tail, many legs like a crab, and her eyes in her back. They are found in ſhallows of waters, and ſometime on the ſhore.

There are many tortoiſes both of land and ſea kind, their backs and bellies are ſhelled very thick; their head, feet, and tail, which are in appearance, ſeem ugly, as though they were members of a ſerpent, or venomous beaſts; but notwithſtanding they are very good meat, as alſo their eggs. Some have been found of a yard in breadth and better.

And thus have I made relation of all ſorts of victual that we fed upon for the time we were in Virginia, as alſo the inhabitants themſelves; as far forth as I know and can remember, or that are ſpecially worthy to be remembered.

*The Third and laſt Part; of ſuch other things as are behoveful for thoſe which ſhall plant and inhabit to know of, with a deſcription of the Nature and Manners of the People of the Country.*

## Of Commodities for Building and other neceſſary Uſes.

Thoſe other things which I am now to make rehearſal of, are ſuch as concern building, and other mechanical neceſſary uſes, as divers ſorts of trees for houſe and ſhip timber, and other uſes elſe: alſo lime, ſtone, and brick, leſt that being not mentioned, ſome might have been doubted of, or by ſome that are malicious the contrary reported.

Oaks there are as fair, ſtraight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and alſo great ſtore, and in ſome places very great.

Walnut trees as I have ſaid before very many, ſome have been ſeen of excellent fair timber of four and five fathoms, and above four-ſcore feet ſtraight without bough.

Fir trees fit for maſts for ſhips, ſome very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kind of trees ſo called that are ſweet wood, of which the inhabitants that were near unto us, do commonly make their boats or canoes of the form of troughs, only with the help of fire, hatchets of ſtone and ſhells: we have known ſome ſo great, being made in that ſort of one tree, that they have carried well 20 men at once, beſides much baggage; the timber being great, tall, ſtraight, ſoft, light, and yet tough enough I think (beſides other uſes) to be fit alſo for maſts of ſhips.

Cedar, a ſweet wood, good for cielings, cheſts, boxes, bed-ſteads, lutes, virginals, and many things elſe, as I have alſo ſaid before. Some of our company which have wandered in ſome places where I have not been, have made certain affirmation of cypreſs, which for ſuch and other excellent uſes, is alſo a wood of price and no ſmall eſtimation.

Maple, and alſo Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants uſe to make their bows.

Holly, a neceſſary thing for the making of bird-lime.

Willows, good for the making of weares to take fiſh after the Engliſh manner, although the inhabitants uſe only reeds, which becauſe they are ſo ſtrong are not flexible, do ſerve for that turn very well and ſufficiently.

Beech and aſh, good for caſk hoops, and if need require, plow work, as alſo for many things elſe.

Elm, ſaſſafras trees.

Aſcopo, a kind of tree very like unto laurel, the bark is hot in taſte, and ſpicy; it is very like to that tree which Monardes deſcribeth to be *caſſia lignea* of the Weſt Indies.

There are many other ſtrange trees whoſe names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is ſo convenient for the preſent to trouble you with particular relation; ſeeing that for timber and other neceſſary uſes I have named ſufficient. And of many of the reſt, but that they may be applied to good uſe, I know no cauſe to doubt.

Now for ſtone, brick, and lime, thus it is. Near unto the ſea-coaſt where we dwelt, there are no kind of ſtones to be found (except a few ſmall pebbles about four miles off) but ſuch as have been brought from further out of the main. In ſome of our voyages we have ſeen divers hard raggy ſtones, great pebbles, and a kind of grey ſtone like unto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleave wood. Upon enquiry

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we heard that a little further up into the country were of all ſorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither have they uſe of any ſtore whereupon they ſhould have occaſion to ſeek any. For if every houſehold have one or two to crack nuts, grind ſhells, whet copper, and ſometimes other ſtones for hatchets, they have enough; neither uſe they any digging, but only for graves about three foot deep: and therefore no marvel that they know neither quarries, nor lime ſtones, which both may be in places nearer than they wot of.

In the mean time until there be diſcovery of ſufficient ſtore or ſome place or other convenient, the want of you, which are and ſhall be planters therein, may be as well ſupplied by brick; for the making whereof in divers places of the country there is clay, both excellent good, and plenty, and alſo by lime made of oyſter ſhells, and of others, burnt, after manner as they uſe in the iſles of Thanet and Shepy, and alſo in divers other places of England: which kind of lime is well known to be as good as any other: and of oyſter ſhells there is plenty enough: for beſides divers other particular places where are abundance, there is one ſhallow found along the coaſt, where for the ſpace of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing elſe, being but half a foot or a foot under water for moſt part.

Thus much can I ſay further more of ſtones, that about 120 miles from our fort, near the water in the ſide of a hill, was found by a gentleman of our company, a great vein of hard ragge ſtones, which I thought good to remember unto you.

## Of the Nature and Manners of the People.

It reſteth I ſpeak a word or two of the natural inhabitants, their nature and manners; leaving large diſcourſe thereof until time more convenient hereafter: now only ſo far forth, as that you may know, how that they in reſpect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they ſhall have cauſe both to fear and love us, that ſhall inhabit with them.

They are a people cloathed with looſe mantles made of deer ſkins, and aprons of the ſame round about their middles; all elſe naked, of ſuch a difference of ſtatures only as we in England, having no edge tool or weapons of iron or ſteel to offend us withall; neither know they how to make any; thoſe weapons that they have are only bows, made of wich-hazel, and arrows of reeds, flat edged truncheons, alſo of wood about a yard long, neither have they any thing to defend themſelves but targets made of barks, and ſome armours made of ſticks wickered together with thread.

Their towns are but ſmall, and near the ſea coaſt but few, ſome containing but 10 or 12 houſes, ſome 20; the greateſt that we have ſeen hath been but of 30 houſes: if they be walled, it is only done with barks of trees made faſt to the ſtakes, or elſe with poles only, fixed upright and cloſe one by another.

Their houſes are made of ſmall poles, made faſt in the tops in round form, after the manner as it is uſed in many arbors in our gardens of England, in moſt towns covered with barks and in ſome with artificial mats made of long ruſhes, from the tops of the houſes down to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in ſome places they are but 12 and 16 yards long, and in other ſome we have ſeen of 24.

In ſome places of the country, one only town belongeth to the government of a Wiroans or chief lord, in ſome other two or three; in ſome ſix, eight, and more: the greateſt Wiroans that yet we had dealing with, had but 18 towns in his government, and able to make not above 7 or 800 fighting men at the moſt. The language of every

government is different from any other, and the further they are diſtant, the greater is the difference.

Their manner of wars amongſt themſelves, is either by ſudden ſurpriſing one another moſt commonly about the dawning of the day, or moonlight, or elſe by ambuſhes, or ſome ſubtle deviſes. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have ſome hope of defence, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind ſome or other.

If there fall out any wars between us and them what there fight is likely to be, we having advantages againſt them ſo many manner of ways, as by diſcipline, or ſtrange weapons and deviſes elſe, eſpecially ordnance great and ſmall, it may eaſily be imagined; by the experience we have had in ſome places, the turning up of their heels againſt us in running away, was their beſt defence.

In reſpect of us, they are a people poor, and for want of ſkill and judgment in the knowledge and uſe of our things, do eſteem our trifles before things of greater value: notwithſtanding in their proper manner (conſidering the want of ſuch means as we have), they ſeem very ingenious; for though they have no ſuch tools, nor any ſuch crafts, ſciences and arts as we, yet in thoſe things they do, they ſhew excellence of wit. And by how much they upon due conſideration ſhall find our manner of knowledges and crafts to exceed theirs in perfection, and ſpeed for doing execution, by ſo much the more is it probable that they ſhould deſire our friendſhip and love, and have the greater reſpect for pleaſing and obeying us: whereby may be hoped, if means of good government be uſed, that they may in ſhort time be brought to civility, and the embracing of true religion.

Some religion they have already, which although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the eaſier and ſooner reformed.

They believe that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different ſorts and degrees, one only chief and great God, which hath been from all eternity. Who, as they affirm, when he purpoſed to make the world, made firſt other gods of a principal order, to be as means and inſtruments to be uſed in the creation and government to follow, and after the ſun, moon and ſtars as petty gods, and the inſtruments of the other order more principal. Firſt (they ſay) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diverſity of creatures that are viſible or inviſible.

For mankind they ſay a woman was firſt made, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children: and in ſuch ſort they ſay they had their beginning. But how many years or ages have paſſed ſince, they ſay they can make no relation, having no letters nor other ſuch means as we to keep records of the particulars of times paſt, but only tradition from father to ſon.

They think that all the gods are of human ſhape, and therefore they repreſent them by images in the form of men, which they call Kewaſowok, one alone is called Kewas, them they place in houſes appropriate, or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worſhip, pray, ſing, and make many times offering unto them. In ſome Machicomuck we have ſeen but one Kewas, in ſome two, and in ſome other three. The common ſort think them to be alſo gods.

They believe alſo the immortality of the ſoul, that after this life, as ſoon as the ſoul is departed from the body, according to the works it hath done, it is either carried to heaven the habitacle of gods, there to enjoy perpetual life and happineſs, or elſe to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the fartheſt parts of their part of the world towards the ſun-ſet, there to burn continually: the place they call Popoguſſo

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For the confirmation of this opinion, they told me two ſtories of two men that had been lately dead and revived again: the one happened but a few years before our coming into the country, of a wicked man which having been dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave been ſeen to move, was taken up again, who made declaration where his ſoul had been, that is to ſay, very near entering into Popoguſſo had not one of the Gods ſaved him, and gave him leave to return again, and teach his friends what they ſhould do to avoid that terrible place of torment.

The other happened in the ſame year we were there, but in a town that was 60 miles from us, and it was told me for ſtrange news, that one being dead, buried, and taken up again as the firſt, ſhewed that although his body had lain dead in the grave, yet his ſoul was alive, and had travelled far in a long broad way, on both ſides whereof grew moſt delicate and pleaſant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, than ever he had ſeen before, or was able to expreſs, and at length came to moſt brave and fair houſes, near which he met his father that had been dead before, who gave him great charge to go back again, and ſhew his friends what good they were to do to enjoy the pleaſures of that place, which when he had done he ſhould after come again.

What ſubtlety ſoever be in the Wiroans and prieſts, this opinion worketh ſo much in many of the common and ſimple ſort of people, that it maketh them have great reſpect to their governors, and alſo great care what they do, to avoid torment after death, and to enjoy bliſs, although notwithſtanding there is puniſhment ordained for malefactors, as ſtealers, whoremongers, and other ſorts of wicked doers, ſome puniſhed with death, ſome with forfeitures, ſome with beating, according to the greatneſs of the facts.

And this is the ſum of their religion, which I learned by having ſpecial familiarity with ſome of their prieſts; wherein they were not ſo ſure grounded, nor gave ſuch credit to their traditions and ſtories, but through converſing with us they were brought into great doubt of their own, and no ſmall admiration of ours, with earneſt deſire in many to learn more than we had means for want of perfect utterance in their language, to expreſs.

Moſt things they ſaw with us, as mathematical inſtruments, ſea compaſſes, the virtues of the load ſtone in drawing iron, a perſpective glaſs whereby was ſhewed many ſtrange ſights, burning glaſſes, wild fire works, guns, books, writing and reading, ſpring clocks, that ſeemed to go of themſelves, and many other things that we had, were ſo ſtrange unto them, and ſo far exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reaſon and means both how they ſhould be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods than of men, or at the leaſtwiſe, they had been given and taught us of the gods; which made many of them to have ſuch opinion of us, that if they knew not the truth of God and religion already, it was rather to be had from us, whom God ſo ſpecially loved, than from a people that were ſo ſimple, as they found themſelves to be in compariſon of us: whereupon greater credit was given unto that we ſpake of, concerning ſuch matters.

Many times and in every town where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was ſet forth the true and only God, and his mighty works, that therein was contained the true doctrine of ſalvation through Chriſt, with many particularities of miracles and chief points of religion, as I was able then to utter and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the book materially and of itſelf was not of any ſuch virtue, as I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contained, yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiſs it, to hold it to their breaſts and heads, and ſtroke over all their body with it, to ſhew their hungry deſire of that knowledge which was ſpoken of.

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The Wiroans with whom we dealt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with us at our prayers, and many times call upon us both in his own town, and alſo in others whither he ſometimes accompanied us, to pray and ſing pſalms, hoping thereby to be partaker of the ſame effects which we by that means alſo expected.

Twice this Wiroan was ſo grievouſly ſick that he was like to die, and as he lay languiſhing, doubting of any help by his own prieſts, and thinking he was in ſuch danger for offending us and thereby our God, ſent for ſome of us to pray and be a means to our God that it would pleaſe him either that he might live, or after death dwell with him in bliſs; ſo likewiſe were the requeſts of many others in the like caſe.

On a time alſo when their corn began to wither by reaſon of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to paſs by reaſon that in ſome thing they had diſpleaſed us, many would come to us and deſire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preſerve their corn, promiſing that when it was ripe we alſo ſhould be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any ſtrange ſickneſs, loſſes, hurts, or any other croſs unto them, but that they would impute to us the cauſe or means thereof, for offending or not pleaſing us. One other rare and ſtrange accident, leaving others, will I mention before I end, which moved the whole country that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderful admiration.

There was no town where we had any ſubtle deviſe practiſed againſt us, we leaving it unpuniſhed or not revenged (becauſe we ſought by all means poſſible to win them by gentleneſs) but than within a few days after our departure from every ſuch town, the people began to die very faſt, and many in ſhort ſpace, in ſome towns about 20, in ſome 40, and in ſome ſix ſcore, which in truth was very many in reſpect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learn, but where we had been, where they uſed ſome practice againſt us, and after ſuch time.

The diſeaſe was alſo ſo ſtrange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldeſt men in the country never happened before time out of mind. A thing ſpecially obſerved by us, as alſo by the natural inhabitants themſelves: inſomuch that when ſome of the inhabitants who were our friends, and eſpecially the Wiroans, Wingina, had obſerved ſuch effects in four or five towns to follow their wicked practices, they were perſuaded that it was the work of our God through our means, and that we by him might kill and ſlay whom we would without weapons, and not come near them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had underſtanding that any of their enemies had abuſed us in our journies; hearing that we had wrought no revenge with our weapons, and fearing upon ſome cauſe the matter ſhould ſo reſt; did come and entreat us that we would be a means to our God, that they, as others that had dealt ill with us, might in like ſort die, alledging how much it would be for our credit and profit, as alſo theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would do ſo much at their requeſts in reſpect of the friendſhip we profeſſed them.

Whoſe entreaties although we ſhewed that they were ungodly, affirming that our God would not ſubject himſelf to any ſuch prayers and requeſts of men; that indeed all things have been, and were to be done according to his good pleaſure as he had ordained; and that we to ſhew ourſelves his true ſervants ought rather to make petition to the contrary, that they with them might live together with us, be made partakers of his truth, and ſerve him in righteouſneſs, but notwithſtanding in ſuch ſort, that we

refer that, as all other things, to be done according to his divine will and pleaſure, and as by his wiſdom he had ordained to be beſt.

Yet becauſe the effect fell out ſo ſuddenly and ſhortly after according to their deſires, they thought nevertheleſs it came to paſs by our means, and that we in uſing ſuch ſpeeches unto them, did but diſſemble the matter, and therefore came unto us to give us thanks in their manner, that although we ſatisfied them not in promiſe, yet in deed and effect we had fulfilled their deſires.

This miraculous accident, in all the country wrought ſo ſtrange opinions of us, that ſome people could not tell whether to think us gods or men, and the rather becauſe that all the ſpace of their ſickneſs, there was no man of ours was known to die, or that was ſpecially ſick: they noted alſo that we had no women amongſt us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion, that we were not born of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years paſt, then riſen again to immortality.

Some would likewiſe ſeem to prophecy, that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as ſome thought the purpoſe was, by that which was already done. Thoſe that were immediately to come after us they imagined to be in the air, yet inviſible and without bodies, and that they by our entreaty and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that ſort as they did, by ſhooting inviſible bullets into them.

To confirm this opinion, their phyſicians (to excuſe their ignorance in curing the diſeaſe) would not be aſhamed to ſay, but earneſtly make the people believe, that the ſtrings of blood that they ſucked out of the ſick bodies, were the ſtrings wherewithall the inviſible balls were tied and caſt. Some alſo thought that we ſhot them ourſelves out of our pieces, from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any town that had offended us, as we liſted, how far diſtant from us ſoever it were. And other ſome ſaid that it was the ſpecial work of God for our ſakes, as we ourſelves have cauſe in ſome ſort to think no leſs, whatſoever ſome do or may imagine to the contrary, ſpecially ſome aſtrologers, knowing of the eclipſe of the ſun, which we ſaw the ſame year before in our voyage thitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible. And alſo of a comet which began to appear but a few days before the beginning of the ſaid ſickneſs. But to exclude them from being the ſpecial cauſes of ſo ſpecial an accident, there are further reaſons than I think fit at this preſent to be alledged. Theſe their opinions I have ſet down the more at large, that it may appear unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through diſcreet dealing and government to them embracing of the truth, and conſequently to honour, obey, fear and love us.

And although ſome of our company towards the end of the year, ſhewed themſelves too fierce in ſlaying ſome of the people in ſome towns, upon cauſes that on our part might eaſily enough have been borne withall; yet notwithſtanding, becauſe on their parts it was juſtly deſerved, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the moſt part concerning us is the leſs to be doubted. And whatſoever elſe they may be, by carefulneſs of ourſelves need nothing at all to be feared.

The beſt nevertheleſs in this, as in all actions beſides, is to be endeavoured and hoped, and of the worſt they may happen notice to be taken with conſideration, and as much as may be eſchewed.

Now I have (as I hope) made relation not of ſo few and ſmall things, but that the country (of men that are indifferent and well diſpoſed) may be ſufficiently liked: if there were no more known than I have mentioned, which doubtleſs and in great reaſon

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is nothing to that which remaineth to be diſcovered, neither the ſoil nor commodities. As we have reaſon ſo to gather by the difference we found in our travels, for although all which I have ſpoken of, have been diſcovered and experimented not far from the ſea coaſt, where was our abode, and moſt of our travelling; yet ſometimes as we made our journies farther into the main and country, we found the ſoil to be fatter, the trees to be greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firm and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer graſs, and as good as ever we ſaw any in England: in ſome places rocky, and far more high and hilly ground, more plenty of their fruits, more abundance of beaſts, the more inhabited with people, and of greater policy and larger dominions, with greater towns and houſes.

Why may we not then look up for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plenty, as well of other things, as of thoſe which we have already diſcovered: unto the Spaniards happened the like in diſcovering the main of the Weſt Indies. The main alſo of this country of Virginia, extending ſome ways ſo many hundreds of leagues, as otherwiſe than by the relation of the inhabitants we have moſt certain knowledge of, where yet no Chriſtian prince hath any poſſeſſion or dealing, cannot but yield many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our diſcovery have not yet ſeen.

What hope there is elſe to be gathered of the nature of the climate; being anſwerable to the iſland of Japan, the land of China, Perſia, Jury, the iſlands of Cyprus and Candy, the ſouth parts of Greece, Italy, and Spain, and of many other notable and famous countries, becauſe I mean not to be tedious, I leave to your own conſideration.

Whereby alſo the excellent temperature of the air there at all ſeaſons, much warmer than in England, and never ſo vehemently hot, as ſometimes is under and between the tropics, or near them, cannot be known unto you without further relation.

For the wholeſomeneſs thereof I need to ſay but thus much: that for all the want of proviſion, as firſt of Engliſh victual, excepting for 20 days, we lived only by drinking water, and of the victual of the country, of which ſome ſorts were very ſtrange unto us, and might have been thought to have altered our temperatures in ſuch ſort, as to have brought us into ſome grievous and dangerous diſeaſes: ſecondly, the want of Engliſh means for the taking of beaſts, fiſh, and fowl, which by the help only of the inhabitants and their means, could not be ſo ſuddenly and eaſily provided for us, nor in great number and quantities, nor of that choice as otherwiſe might have been to our better ſatisfaction and contentment. Some want alſo we had of cloathes. Furtheremore in all our travels, which were moſt ſpecially and often in the time of winter, our lodging was in the open air upon the ground. And yet, I ſay for all this there were but four of our whole company (being 108) that died all the year, and that but at the latter end thereof, and upon none of the aforeſaid cauſes. For all four, eſpecially three, were feeble, weak and ſickly perſons before ever they came thither, and thoſe that knew them, much marvelled that they lived ſo long, being in that caſe, or had adventured to travel.

Seeing therefore the air there is ſo temperate and wholeſome, the ſoil ſo fertile, and yielding ſuch commodities, as I have before mentioned, the voyage alſo thither to and fro being ſufficiently experimented to be performed twice a year with eaſe, and at any ſeaſon thereof, and the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh ſo liberal, in large giving and granting land there, as is already known, with many helps and furtherances elſe: (the leaſt that he hath granted hath been 500 acres to a man only for the adventure of his perſon) I hope there remains no cauſe whereby the action ſhould be miſliked.

If that thoſe which ſhall thither travel to inhabit and plant, be but reaſonably provided for the firſt year, as thoſe are which were tranſported the laſt, and being there, do

uſe

uſe but that diligence and care that is requiſite, and as they may with eaſe, there is no doubt but for the time following, they may have victuals that are excellent good and plenty enough, ſome more Engliſh ſorts of cattle alſo hereafter, as ſome have been before, and are there yet remaining may, and ſhall be (God willing) thither tranſported. So likewiſe our kinds of fruits, roots, and herbs, may be there planted and ſowed, as ſome have been already, and prove well; and in ſhort time alſo they may raiſe ſo much of thoſe ſorts of commodities which I have ſpoken of, as ſhall both enrich themſelves, as alſo others that ſhall deal with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I have thought neceſſary to advertiſe you of at this preſent: what elſe concerneth the nature and manners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number, with the particularities of the voyages thither, already made, and of the actions of ſuch as have been by Sir Walter Ralegh, therein and there employed, many worthy to be remembered, as of the firſt diſcoverers of the country; of our general for the time, Sir Richard Greenvill, and after his departure of our governor there, Maſter Ralph Lane, with divers others directed and employed under their government: of the captains and maſters of the voyages made ſince for tranſportation, of the governor and aſſiſtants of thoſe already tranſported, as of many perſons, accidents and things elſe, I have ready in a diſcourſe by itſelf in manner of a chronicle, according to the courſe of times, which when time ſhall be thought convenient, ſhall be alſo publiſhed.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable conſtructions, expecting good ſucceſs of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the author and governor, not only of this, but of all things elſe, I take my leave of you, this month of February 1587.

## *The Fourth Voyage made to Virginia with Three Ships, in the Year 1587, wherein was tranſported the ſecond Colony.*

In the year of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perſevere in the planting of his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of 150 men to be ſent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed governor, and alſo appointed unto him twelve aſſiſtants, unto whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of governor and aſſiſtants of the city of Ralegh in Virginia.

### April.

Our fleet being in number three ſail, viz. the Admiral, a ſhip of 120 tons, a fly-boat, and a pinnace, departed the 26th of April from Portſmouth, and the ſame day came to an anchor at the Cowes in the Iſle of Wight, where we ſtayed eight days.

### May.

The 5th of May, at nine of the clock at night, we came to Plymouth, where we remained the ſpace of two days.

The 8th we weighed anchor at Plymouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16th Simon Ferdinando, maſter of our Admiral, lewdly forſook our fly-boat, leaving her diſtreſſed in the bay of Portugal.

### June.

The 19th we fell with Dominica, and the ſame evening we ſailed between it and Guardaloupe. The 21ſt the fly-boat alſo fell in with Dominica.

The 22d we came to an anchor at an iſland, called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were ſet on land, ſtaying there till the 25th of the ſame month. At our firſt landing on this iſland, ſome of our women and men, by eating a ſmall fruit like green apples, were fearfully troubled with a ſudden burning in their mouths, and ſwelling of their tongues ſo big, that ſome of them could not ſpeak. Alſo a child by ſucking one of thoſe women's breaſts, had at that inſtant his mouth ſet on ſuch a burning, that it was ſtrange to ſee how the infant was tormented for the time: but after twenty-four hours it wore away of itſelf.

Alſo the firſt night of our being on this iſland, we took five great tortoiſes, ſome of them of ſuch bigneſs, that ſixteen of our ſtrongeſt men were tired with carrying but one of them, from the ſea-ſide to our cabins. In this iſland we found no watering-place, but a ſtanding pond, the water whereof was ſo evil, that many of our company fell ſick with drinking thereof; and as many as did but waſh their faces with the water, in the morning before the ſun had drawn away the corruption, their faces did ſo burn and ſwell, that their eyes were ſhut up, and could not ſee in five or ſix days or longer.

The ſecond day of our abode there, we ſent forth ſome of our men to ſearch the iſland for freſh water, three one way and two another way. The governor alſo, with ſix others, went up to the top of a high hill to view the iſland, but could perceive no ſign of any men or beaſts, nor any goodneſs, but parrots, and trees of *guiacum*. Returning back to our cabins another way, we found in the deſcent of a hill, certain potſherds of ſavage making, made of the earth of that iſland: whereupon it was judged, that this iſland was inhabited with ſavages, though Ferdinando had told us for certain the contrary. The ſame day at night, the reſt of our company very late returned to the governor. The one company affirmed, that they had ſeen in a valley eleven ſavages, and divers houſes half a mile diſtant from the ſteep, or top of the hill where they ſtayed. The other company had found, running out of a high rock, a very fair ſpring of water, whereof they brought three bottles to the company: for before that time, we drank the ſtinking water of the pond.

The ſame ſecond day at night, Captain Stafford with the pinnace departed from our fleet, riding at Santa Cruz, to an iſland, called Beake, being near St. John's, being ſo directed by Ferdinando, who aſſured him he ſhould there find great plenty of ſheep. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25th June, we weighed anchor, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The 27th we came to anchor at Cottea, where we found the pinnace riding at our coming.

The 28th we weighed anchor at Cottea, and preſently came to anchor at St. John's in Muſkitos Bay, where we ſpent three days unprofitably in taking in freſh water, ſpending in the mean time more here than the quantity of the water came unto.

JULY.

The firſt day we weighed anchor at Muſkitos Bay, where we left behind two Iriſhmen, of our company, Darby Glaven, and Dennis Carroll, being along the coaſt of St. John's till evening, at which time we fell with Roſſe Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promiſed we ſhould take in ſalt, and had cauſed us before, to make and provide as many ſacks for that purpoſe, as we could. The governor alſo, for that he underſtood there was a town in the bottom of the bay, not far from the ſalt hills, appointed thirty ſhot, ten pikes, and ten targets to man the pinnace, and to go a-land for ſalt. Ferdinando perceiving them in a readineſs ſent to the governor, uſing great perſuaſions with

him not to take in ſalt there, ſaying that he knew not well whether the ſame were the place or not: alſo that if the pinnace went into the bay, ſhe could not without great danger come back, till the next day at night, and that if in the mean time any ſtorm ſhould ariſe, the Admiral were in danger to be caſt away. Whilſt he was thus perſuading, he cauſed the lead to be caſt, and having carefully brought the ſhip in three fathom and a half water, he ſuddenly began to ſwear, and tear God in pieces, diſſembling great danger, crying to him at the helm, bear up hard, bear up hard; ſo we went off, and were diſappointed of our ſalt by his means.

The next day ſailing along the weſt end of St. John, the governor determined to go a-land in St. German's Bay, to gather young plants of oranges, pines, mameas, and plantanos, to ſet at Virginia, which we knew might eaſily be had, for that they grow near the ſhore, and the places where they grew well known to the governor, and ſome of the planters; but our Simon denied it, ſaying, he would come to an anchor at Hiſpaniola, and there land the governor, and ſome of the aſſiſtants, with the pinnace, to ſee if he could ſpeak with his friend Alanſon, of whom he hoped to be furniſhed both of cattle, and all ſuch things as we could have taken at St. John: but he meant nothing leſs, as it plainly did appear to us afterwards.

The next day being the 3d of July we ſaw Hiſpaniola, and bare with the coaſt all that day, looking ſtill when the pinnace ſhould be prepared to go for the place where Ferdinando's friend Alanſon was; but that day paſſed, and we ſaw no preparation for landing in Hiſpaniola.

The 4th July ſailing along the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, until the next day at noon, and no preparation yet ſeen for the ſtaying there, we having knowledge that we were paſt the place, where Alanſon dwelt, and were come with Iſabella; hereupon Ferdinando was aſked by the governor, whether he meant to ſpeak with Alanſon, for taking in of cattle, and other things, according to his promiſe, or not; but he anſwered that he was now paſt the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French ambaſſador certified him, that the King of Spain had ſent off Alanſon into Spain: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpoſe to touch there in any place at this voyage.

The next day we loſt ſight of Hiſpaniola, and hauled off for Virginia, about four of the clock in the afternoon.

The 6th of July we came to the iſland Caycos, wherein Ferdinando ſaid, were two ſalt ponds, aſſuring us if they were dry, we might get ſalt to ſhift with, until the next ſupply, but it proved as true as finding of ſheep at Beake. In this iſland, whilſt Ferdinando ſolaced himſelf aſhore, with one of the company in part of the iſland, others ſpent the latter part of that day in other parts of the iſland; ſome to ſeek the ſalt ponds, ſome fowling, ſome hunting ſwans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weighed anchor, leaving Caycos, with good hope, that the firſt land that we ſaw next ſhould be Virginia.

About the 16th of July we fell with the main of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando took to be the iſland Croatoan, where we came to anchor, and rode there two or three days, but finding himſelf deceived, he weighed and bare along the coaſt, where in the night, had not Captain Stafford been more careful in looking out than our Simon Ferdinando, we had been all caſt away upon the beach, called the Cape of Fear, for we were come within two cables length upon it; ſuch was the careleſſneſs and ignorance of our maſter.

The 22d of July we arrived ſafe at Hatoraſk, where our ſhip and pinnace anchored. The governor went aboard the pinnace, accompanied with forty of his beſt men, intending to paſs up to Roanoak forthwith, hoping there to find thoſe fifteen Engliſhmen,

which Sir Richard Greenville had left there the year before, with whom he meant to have conference concerning the ſtate of the country and ſavages, meaning after he had ſo done, to return again to the fleet, and paſs along the coaſt, to the bay of Cheſpiok, where we intended to make our ſeat and fort, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hand of Sir Walter Ralegh: but as ſoon as we were put with our pinnace from the ſhip, a gentleman by the means of Ferdinando, who was appointed to return for England, called to the ſailors in the pinnace, charging them not to bring any of the planters back again, but to leave them in the iſland, except the governor, and two or three ſuch as he approved, ſaying that the ſummer was far ſpent, wherefore he would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the ſailors both in the pinnace and the ſhip, perſuaded by the maſter, wherefore it booted not the governor to contend with them, but paſſed to Roanoak, and the ſame night at ſun-ſet went a-land on the iſland, in the place where our fifteen men were left, but we found none of them nor any ſign that they had been there: ſaving only we found the bones of one of thoſe fifteen, which the ſavages had ſlain long before.

The 23d of July the governor, with divers of his company walked to the north end of the iſland, where Maſter Ralph Lane had his fort, with ſundry neceſſary and decent dwelling houſes, made by his men about it the year before, where we hoped to find ſome ſigns, or certain knowledge of our fifteen men. When we came thither we found the fort razed down, but all the houſes ſtanding unhurt, ſaving that the nether rooms of them, and of the fort, were overgrown with melons of divers ſorts, and deer within them feeding on thoſe melons, ſo we returned with our company, without hope of ever ſeeing any of the fifteen men living.

The ſame day, order was given that every man ſhould be employed for the repairing of thoſe houſes, which were found ſtanding, and alſo to make other new cottages, for ſuch as ſhould need.

The 25th our fly-boat and the reſt of our planters arrived all ſafe at Hatoraſk, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company. But the maſter of our Admiral, Ferdinando, grieved greatly at their ſafe coming, for he purpoſely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and ſtole away from them in the night, hoping that the maſter thereof, whoſe name was Edward Spicer, for that he had never been in Virginia, would hardly find the place, or elſe from being left in ſo dangerous a place as that was, by means of ſo many men of war, as at that time were abroad, they ſhould ſurely be taken or ſlain: but God diſappointed his wicked pretences.

The 28th, George Howe, one of our twelve aſſiſtants, was ſlain by divers of the ſavages, which were come over to Roanoak, either of purpoſe to eſpy our company, and what number we were, or elſe to hunt deer, whereof many were in the iſland. The ſavages being ſecretly hidden among high trees, where often-times they find the deer aſleep, and ſo kill them, eſpied our man, wading in the water alone, almoſt naked, without any weapon, ſave only a ſmall forked ſtick, catching crabs therewithal, and alſo being ſtrayed two miles from his company, and ſhot at him in the water, where they gave him ſixteen wounds with their arrows, and after they had ſlain him with their wooden ſwords, the beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the main.

On the 30th July, Maſter Stafford and twenty of our men paſſed by water to the iſland of Croatoan with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kindred dwelling in that iſland, of whom we hoped to underſtand ſome news of our fifteen men, but eſpecially to learn the diſpoſition of the people of the country towards us, and to renew our old friendſhip with them. At our firſt landing they ſeemed as though they would fight with us, but perceiving us begin to march with our ſhot towards them, they turned

turned their backs and fled. Then Manteo their countryman called to them in their own language, whom, as ſoon as they heard, they returned, and threw away their bows and arrows, and ſome of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, deſiring us not to gather, or ſpill any of their corn, for that they had but little. We anſwered them that neither their corn nor any other thing of theirs, ſhould be diminiſhed by any of us, and that our coming was only to renew the old love, that was between us and them at the firſt, and to live with them as brethren and friends; which anſwer ſeemed to pleaſe them well, wherefore they requeſted us to walk up to their town, who there feaſted us after their manner, and deſired us certainly, that there might be ſome token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends when we met them any where out of the town or iſland. They told us further, that for want of ſome ſuch badge, divers of them were hurt the year before, being found out of the iſland by Maſter Lane's company, whereof they ſhewed us one, which at that very inſtant lay lame, and had lain of that hurt ever ſince; but they ſaid they knew our men miſtook them, and hurt them inſtead of Wingino's men, wherefore they held us excuſed.

AUGUST.

The next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquaſcogoe, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certify the people of thoſe towns, that if they would accept our friendſhip we would willingly receive them again, and that all unfriendly dealings paſt on both parts, ſhould be utterly forgiven and forgotten. To this the chief men of Croatoan anſwered, that they would gladly do the beſt they could, and within ſeven days bring the Wiroances and chief governors of thoſe towns with them, to our governor at Roanoak, or their anſwer. We alſo underſtood of the men at Croatoan that our man Maſter Howe was ſlain by the remnant of Wingino's men, dwelling then at Daſamonguepeuk, with whom Wancheſe kept company; and alſo we underſtood by them of Croatoan, how that the fifteen Engliſhmen left at Roanoak the year before, by Sir Richard Greenville, were ſuddenly ſet upon by thirty of the men of Secota, Aquaſcogoe, and Daſamonguepeuk, in manner following:

They conveyed themſelves ſecretly behind the trees, near the houſes where our men careleſsly lived, and having perceived that of thoſe fifteen they could ſee but eleven only, and two of thoſe ſavages appeared to the eleven Engliſhmen, calling to them by friendly ſigns that but two of their chiefeſt men ſhould come unarmed to ſpeak with thoſe two ſavages, who ſeemed alſo to be unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefeſt of our Engliſhmen went gladly to them: but whilſt one of thoſe ſavages traiterouſly embraced one of our men, the other with his ſword of wood, which he had ſecretly hidden under his mantle, ſtruck him on the head and ſlew him, and preſently the other twenty-eight ſavages ſhewed themſelves: the other Engliſhman perceiving this fled to his company, whom the ſavages purſued with their bows and arrows ſo faſt, that the Engliſhmen were forced to take the houſe, wherein all their victual and weapons were: but the ſavages forthwith ſet the ſame on fire; by means whereof our men were forced to take up ſuch weapons as came firſt to hand, and without order to run forth among the ſavages, with whom they ſkirmiſhed above an hour. In this ſkirmiſh another of our men was ſhot into the mouth with an arrow, where he died, and alſo one of the ſavages was ſhot into the ſide by one of our men, with a wild-fire arrow, whereof he died preſently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the ſavages, by means of the thick trees, behind which the ſavages through their nimbleneſs, defended themſelves, and ſo offended our men with their arrows, that our men being ſome of them hurt, retired fighting to the water ſide

where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatoraſk. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they eſpied their four fellows coming from a creek thereby, where they had been to fetch oyſters: theſe four they received into their boat, leaving Roanoak, and landed on a little iſland on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatoraſk, where they remained a while, but afterwards departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having now ſufficiently diſpatched our buſineſs at Croatoan, the ſame day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboard the fleet at Hatoraſk.

The 8th of Auguſt, the governor having long expected the coming of the Wiroances of Pomeiok, Aquaſcogoe, Secota and Daſamonquepeuk, ſeeing that the ſeven days were paſt, within which they promiſed to come in, or to ſend their anſwers by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly alſo informed by thoſe men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina's men, which were left alive, who dwelt at Daſamonquepeuk, were they which had ſlain George Howe, and were alſo at the driving our eleven Engliſhmen from Roanoak, he thought to defer the revenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the ſame night about midnight, he paſſed over the water, accompanied with Captain Stafford and twenty-four men, whereof Manteo was one, whom we took with us to be our guide to the place where thoſe ſavages dwelt, where he behaved himſelf towards us as a moſt faithful Engliſhman.

The next day being the 9th Auguſt, in the morning ſo early that it was yet dark, we landed near the dwelling-place of our enemies, and very ſecretly conveyed ourſelves through the woods to that ſide where we had their houſes between us and the water: and having eſpied their fire, and ſome ſetting about it, we preſently ſet on them: the miſerable ſouls herewith amazed, fled into a place of thick reeds, growing faſt by; where our men perceiving them, ſhot one of them through the body with a bullet, and therewith he entered the reeds, among which we hoped to acquit their evil doing towards us, but we were deceived, for thoſe ſavages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corn and fruit of that place, becauſe they underſtood our enemies were fled immediately after they had ſlain George Howe, and for haſte, had left all their corn, tobacco, and pompions ſtanding in ſuch ſort, that all had been devoured of the birds and deer, if it had not been gathered in time; but they had like to have paid dearly for it, for it was ſo dark, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all ſo like others; we knew not but that they were all men, and that if one of them that was a Wiroances wife, had not had a child at her back, ſhe had been ſlain inſtead of a man, and as hap was, another ſavage knew Maſter Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby he was ſaved. Finding ourſelves thus diſappointed of our purpoſe, we gathered all the corn, peaſe, pompions, and tobacco that we found ripe, leaving the reſt unſpoiled, and took Menatoan's wife, with the young child, and the other ſavages with us over the water to Roanoak. Although the miſtaking of theſe ſavages, ſomewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harm to their own folly, ſaying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promiſe in coming to the governor at the day appointed, they had not known that miſchance.

The 13th Auguſt, our ſavage Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Ralegh, was chriſtened in Roanoak, and called lord thereof and of Daſamonquepeuk, in reward of his faithful ſervice.

The 18th, Elenor, daughter to the governor, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the aſſiſtants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the ſame was chriſtened there the Sunday following, and becauſe this child was the firſt Chriſtian born in Virginia, ſhe was named Virginia.

By

By this time our ſhips had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood and freſh water, and to new caulk and trim them for England: the planters alſo prepared their letters and tokens to ſend back into England.

Our two ſhips the Lion, and the fly-boat, almoſt ready to depart, the 21ſt of Auguſt there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt at N.E. that our Admiral, then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables and put to ſea, where he lay beating off and on ſix days before he could come to us again, ſo that we feared he had been caſt away, and the rather for at that time that the ſtorm took them, the moſt and beſt of their ſailors were left a-land.

At this time ſome controverſies aroſe between the governor and aſſiſtants, about chooſing two out of the twelve aſſiſtants, who ſhould go back as factors for the company into England: for every one of them refuſed, ſave only one, which all other thought not ſufficient; but at length by much perſuading of the governor, Chriſtopher Cooper agreed to go for England: but the next day through the perſuaſion of divers of his familiar friends, he changed his mind; ſo that now the matter ſtood as at the firſt.

The next day, 22d Auguſt, the whole company both of the aſſiſtants and planters came to the governor, and with one voice requeſted him to return himſelf into England, for the better and ſooner obtaining of ſupplies, and other neceſſaries for them; but he refuſed it; and alledged many ſufficient cauſes why he would not; the one was, that he could not ſo ſuddenly return back again without his great diſcredit, leaving the action, and ſo many whom he partly had procured by his perſuaſions, to leave their native country, and undertake that voyage, and that ſome enemies to him and the action at his return into England, would not ſpare to ſlander falſely both him and the action, by ſaying, he went to Virginia, but politicly, but to no other end but to lead ſo many into a country, in which he never meant to ſtay himſelf, and there to leave them behind him. Alſo he alledged, that ſeeing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the main preſently, he being then abſent, his ſtuff and goods might be both ſpoiled, and moſt of them pilfered away in the carriage: ſo that at his return he ſhould be either forced to provide himſelf of all ſuch things again, or elſe at his coming again to Virginia find himſelf utterly unfurniſhed, whereof already he had found ſome proof, being but once from them but three days. Wherefore he concluded that he would not go himſelf.

The next day, not only the aſſiſtants but divers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requeſts to the governor again, to take upon him to return into England for the ſupply, and diſpatch of all ſuch things as were there to be done, promiſing to make him their bond, under all their hands and ſeals, for the ſafe preſerving of all his goods for him at his return to Virginia, ſo that if any part thereof were ſpoiled or loſt, they would ſee it reſtored to him or his aſſigns, whenſoever the ſame ſhould be miſſed and demanded. Which bond with a teſtimony under their hands and ſeals they forthwith made and delivered into his hands. The copy of the teſtimony I thought good to ſet down.

" May it pleaſe you, her Majeſty's ſubjects of England, we your friends and countrymen, the planters in Virginia, do by theſe preſents let you and every of you to underſtand, that for the preſent and ſpeedy ſupply of certain our known and apparent lacks and needs, moſt requiſite and neceſſary for the good and happy planting of us, or any other in this land of Virginia, we all of one mind and conſent, have moſt earneſtly entreated, and inceſſantly requeſted John White, governor of the planters in Virginia, to paſs into England for the better and more aſſured help, and ſetting forward

of

of the foreſaid ſupplies: and knowing aſſuredly that he both can beſt, and will labour and take pains in behalf for us all, and he not once, but often refuſing it, for our ſakes, and for the honour and maintenance of the action, hath at laſt, though much againſt his will, through our importunacy, yielded to leave his government, and all his goods among us, and himſelf in all our behalves to paſs into England, of whoſe knowledge and fidelity in handling this matter, as all others, we do aſſure ourſelves by theſe preſents, and will you to give all credit thereunto. The 25th of Auguſt 1587."

The governor being at the laſt through their extreme entreaty, conſtrained to return into England, having then but half a day's reſpite to prepare himſelf for the ſame, departed from Roanoak the 27th of Auguſt in the morning, and the ſame day about midnight, came aboard the fly-boat, who already had weighed anchor, and rode without the bar, the Admiral riding by them, who but the ſame morning was newly come thither again. The ſame day both the ſhips weighed anchor, and ſet ſail for England: at this weighing their anchors, twelve of the men which were in the fly-boat, were thrown from the capſtan, which by means of a bar that brake, came ſo faſt about upon them, that the other two bars thereof, ſtruck and hurt moſt of them ſo ſore, that ſome of them never recovered it: nevertheleſs they eſſayed preſently again to weigh their anchor, but being ſo weakened by the firſt fling, they were not able to weigh it, but were thrown down and hurt the ſecond time. Wherefore having in all but fifteen men aboard, and moſt of them by this unfortunate beginning ſo bruiſed and hurt, they were forced to cut their cable, and looſe their anchor. Nevertheleſs they kept company with the Admiral, until the 17th of September, at which time we fell with Corvo, and ſaw Flores.

### September.

The 18th, perceiving of all our fifteen men in the fly-boat there remained but five, which by means of the former miſchance were able to ſtand to their labour: and that the Admiral meant not to make any haſte for England, but to linger about the iſland of Tercera for purchaſe: the fly-boat departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive ſhortly: but by that time we had continued our courſe homeward about twenty days, having had ſometimes ſcarce and variable winds; our freſh water alſo by leaking almoſt conſumed, there aroſe a ſtorm at N. E., which for ſix days ceaſed not to blow ſo exceeding, that we were driven further in thoſe ſix than we could recover in thirteen days: in which time others of our ſailors began to fall very ſick, and two of them died: the weather alſo continued ſo cloſe, that our maſter ſometimes in four days together could ſee neither ſun nor ſtar, and all the beverage we could make, with ſtinking water, dregs of beer, and lees of wine which remained, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to periſh at ſea.

### October.

The 16th of October we made land, but we knew not what land it was, bearing in with the ſame land all that day: about ſun-ſet we put into a harbour, where we found a hulk of Dublin, and a pinnace of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any hope to go on ſhore, until the pinnace ſent off their boat to us, with ſix or eight men, of whom we underſtood we were in Smerwick in the weſt parts of Ireland: they alſo relieved us preſently with freſh water, wine, and other freſh meat.

The

The 18th, the governor and the maſter rode to Dingen-a-Cuſhe, five miles diſtant, to take order for the new victually of our fly-boat for England, and for relief of our ſick and hurt men, but within four days after, the boatſwain, the ſteward, and the boatſwain's mate, died aboard the fly-boat; and the 28th the maſter's mate, and two of our chief ſailors were brought ſick to Dingen.

NOVEMBER.

The 1ſt, the governor ſhipped himſelf in a ſhip called the Monkey, which at that time was ready to put to ſea from Dingen for England, leaving the fly-boat and all his company in Ireland. The ſame day we ſet ſail, and on the 3d day, we fell with the north ſide of the Land's End, and were ſhut up the Severn, but the next day we doubled the ſame for Mount's Bay.

The 5th, the governor landed in England at Martaſew, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

The 8th, we arrived at Hampton, where we underſtood that our conſort the Admiral was come to Portſmouth, and had been there three weeks before: and alſo that Ferdinando the maſter, with all his company were not only come home without any purchaſe, but alſo in ſuch weakneſs by ſickneſs, and death of their chiefeſt men, that they were ſcarce able to bring their ſhip into harbour, but were forced to let fall anchor without, which they could not weigh again, but might all have periſhed there, if a ſmall bark by great hap had not come to them to help them. The names of the chief men that died are theſe: Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith, and ſome other ſailors, whoſe names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The Names of all the Men, Women, and Children, which ſafely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabit there, 1587. Anno Regni Regina Elizabetha, 29.

John White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Chriſtopher Cooper.
Thomas Stevens.
John Sampſon.
Dionis Harvey.
Roger Pratt.
George Howe.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Johnſon.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
John Jones.
William Willes.
John Brook.
Cutbert White.
John Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
John Cotſmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Mark Bennet.
John Gibbs.
John Stilman.
Robert Wilkinſon.
John Tydway.
Ambroſe Vickers.
Edmond Engliſh.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
John Spendlove.
John Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
John Burden.
James Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Brown.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.

Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Taverner.
John Earneſt.
Henry Johnſon.
John Start.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Orchard.
John Wright.
William Dutton.
Maurice Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
John Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wilde.
Lewis Wotton.
Michael Biſhop.
Henry Brown.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florry.
Henry Milton.
Henry Payne.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Phevens.
John Borden.
Thomas Scott.
Peter Little.
John Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martin.
Hugh Pattenſon.
Martin Sutton.
John Farre.
John Bridger.
Griffen Jones.
Richard Shabedge.
James Laſy.
John Cheven.
Thomas Hewett.
William Berde.

*Women.*

Elenor Dare.
Margery Harvy.
Agnes Wood.
Winifred Powell.
Joyce Archard.
Jane Jones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Jane Pierce.
Audry Topan.
Alice Chapman.
Emma Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Joan Warren.
Jane Mannering.
Roſe Payne.
Elizabeth Vickers.

*Boys and Children.*

John Sampſon.
Robert Ellis.
Ambroſe Vickers.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George Howe.
John Pratt.
William Withers.

*Children born in Virginia.*

Virginia Dare.
Harvy.

*Savages.*

Manteo. } They were in England, and returned home into Virginia with them.
Towaye. }

To

To the worſhipful and my very friend Maſter Richard Hakluyt; much happineſs in the Lord.

Sir, as well for the ſatisfying your earneſt requeſt, as the performance of my promiſe, made unto you at my laſt being with you in England; I have ſent you (although in a homely ſtile, eſpecially for the contentation of a delicate ear) the true diſcourſe of my laſt voyage into the Weſt Indies, and parts of America called Virginia, taken in and about the end of February, in the year of our redemption 1590; and what events happened unto us in this our journey, you ſhall plainly perceive by the ſequel of my diſcourſe. There were at the time aforeſaid three ſhips abſolutely determined to go for the Weſt Indies, at the ſpecial charges of M. John Wattes of London, merchant. But when they were fully furniſhed, and in readineſs to make their departure, a general ſtay was commanded of all ſhips throughout England. Which ſo ſoon as I heard, I preſently (as I thought it moſt requiſite) acquainted Sir Walter Ralegh therewith, deſiring him that as I had ſundry times before been chargeable and troubleſome unto him, for the ſupplies and reliefs of the planters in Virginia; ſo likewiſe that by his endeavour it would pleaſe him at that inſtant to procure licence for thoſe three ſhips, to proceed on with their determined voyage; that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleaſure) might ſpeedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him.

Whereupon he by his good means obtained licence of the Queen's Majeſty, and order to be taken, that the owner of the three ſhips ſhould be bound unto Sir Walter Ralegh or his aſſigns in 3,000 pounds, that theſe three ſhips in conſideration of their releaſement, ſhould take in, and tranſport a convenient number of paſſengers, with their furnitures and neceſſaries to be landed in Virginia. Nevertheleſs that order was not obſerved, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforeſaid: but rather in contempt of the aforeſaid order I was by the owners and commanders of the ſhips denied to have any paſſengers, or any thing elſe tranſported in any of the ſaid ſhips, ſaving only myſelf and my cheſt; no not ſo much as a boy to attend upon me, although I made great ſuit and earneſt entreaty, as well to the chief commanders, as to the owner of the ſaid ſhips. Which croſs and unkind dealing, although it very much diſcontented me, notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of time was ſuch, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir Walter Ralegh with complaint: for the ſhips being then all in readineſs to go to the ſea, would have been departed before I could have made my return.

Thus both governors, maſters and ſailors, regarded very ſmally the good of their countrymen in Virginia, determined nothing leſs than to touch at thoſe places, but wholly diſpoſed themſelves to ſeek after purchaſe and ſpoils, ſpending ſo much time therein, that ſummer was ſpent before we arrived at Virginia: and when we were come thither, the ſeaſon was ſo unfit, and weather ſo foul, that we were conſtrained of force to forſake that coaſt, having not ſeen any of our planters, with loſs of one of our ſhip's boats, and ſeven of our chiefeſt men: and alſo with loſs of three of our anchors and cables, and moſt of our caſks with freſh water left on ſhore, not poſſible to be had aboard. Which evils and unfortunate events (as well to their own loſs, as to the hindrance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order ſet down by Sir Water Ralegh had been obſerved, or if my daily and continual petitions for the performance of the ſame might have taken any place.

Thus may you plainly perceive the ſucceſs of my fifth and laſt voyage to Virginia, which was no leſs unfortunately ended, than forwardly begun, and as luckleſs to many, as ſiniſter to myſelf: but I would to God it had been as proſperous to all, as noiſome

to the planters; and as joyful to me, as diſcomfortable to them. Yet ſeeing it is not my firſt croſſed voyage, I remain contented. And wanting my wiſhes, I leave off from proſecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were anſwerable to my will. Thus committing the relief of my diſcomfortable company, the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I moſt humbly beſeech to help and comfort them, according to his moſt holy will, and their good deſire, I take my leave from my houſe at Newtown in Kylmore the 4th of February, 1593.

## *The Fifth Voyage of M. John White into the Weſt Indies and Parts of America called Virginia, in the Year* 1590.

The 20th of March the three ſhips, the Hopewell, the John Evangeliſt, and the Little John, put to ſea from Plymouth with two ſmall ſhallops.

The 25th at midnight both our ſhallops were ſunk, being towed at the ſhip's ſterns by the boatſwain's negligence.

On the 30th we ſaw a head of us that part of the coaſt of Barbary, lying eaſt of Cape Cantyn in the Bay of Aſaphi.

The next day we came to the Iſle of Mogador, where rode, at our paſſing by, a pinnace of London called the Moonſhine.

### April.

On the firſt of April we anchored in Santa Cruz road, where we found two great ſhips of London lading in ſugar, of whom we had two ſhip boats to ſupply the loſs of our ſhallops.

On the 2d we ſet ſail from the road of Santa Cruz for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4th we ſaw Alegranza, the eaſt iſle of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5th of April we gave chaſe to a double flyboat, the which we alſo the ſame day fought with, and took her, with loſs of three of their men ſlain and one hurt.

On Monday the 6th we ſaw Grand Canary, and the next day we landed and took in freſh water on the ſouth ſide thereof.

On the 9th we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our courſe for Dominica.

The laſt of April we ſaw Dominica, and the ſame night we came to an anchor on the ſouth-ſide * thereof.

### May.

The firſt of May in the morning many of the ſavages came on board our ſhips in their canoes, and did traffic with us: we alſo the ſame day landed and entered their town, from whence we returned the ſame day aboard without any reſiſtance of the ſavages; or any offence done to them.

The 2d of May our Admiral and our pinnace departed from Dominica, leaving the John our vice-admiral playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take ſome Spaniard outwards bound to the Indies: the ſame night we had ſight of three ſmall iſlands, called Los Santos, leaving Guardaloupe and them on our ſtarboard.

The 3d, we had ſight of St. Chriſtopher's iſland, bearing N. E. by E. off us.

* Dominica lies north and ſouth, the two ends coming nearly to points; this muſt therefore be an error, the ſides of the iſland lying due eaſt and weſt.

On

BRANCH
ASIATIC SOCIETY

Engraved by George Cooke

View of St. Anthony's Nose on the North River

Province of New York

On the 4th we ſailed by the Virgins, which are many broken iſlands lying at the eaſt-end of S. John's iſland; and the ſame day towards evening we landed upon one of them called Blanca; where we killed an incredible number of fowls: here we ſtayed but for three hours, and from thence ſtood into the ſhore N. W. and having brought this iſland S. E. off us, we put towards night through an opening, or ſwatch, called the paſſage, lying between the virgins and the eaſt-end of S. John: here the pinnace left us, and ſailed on the ſouth-ſide of S. John.

The 5th and 6th the Admiral ſailed along the north-ſide of S. John, ſo near the ſhore that the Spaniards diſcerned us to be men of war: and therefore made fires along the coaſt as we ſailed by, for ſo their cuſtom is, when they ſee any men of war on their coaſts.

The 7th we landed on the N. W. end of S. John, where we watered in a good river called Yaguana, and the ſame night following we took a frigate of ten ton coming from Gwathaleno laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a mulatto, who knew all our ſtate, ran away from us to the Spaniards.

On the 9th we departed from Yaguana.

On the 13th we landed on an iſland called Mona; whereon were 10 or 12 houſes inhabited of the Spaniards; theſe we burned, and took from them a pinnace, which they had drawn aground and ſunk, and carried all her ſails, maſts and rudders into the woods, becauſe we ſhould not take it away. We alſo chaſed the Spaniards over all the iſland: but they hid them in caves, hollow rocks, and buſhes, ſo that we could not find them.

On the 14th we departed from Mona, and the next day after we came to an iſland, called Saona, above five leagues diſtant from Mona, lying on the ſouth-ſide of Hiſpaniola, near the eaſt-end: between theſe two iſlands we lay off and on four or five days, hoping to take ſome of the Domingo fleet, doubling this iſland, as a nearer way to Spain than by cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thurſday being the 19th, our vice-admiral, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to us at Saona, with whom we left a Spaniſh frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five days between Saona and Mona, to the end aforeſaid: then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was informed that our men of the vice-admiral, at their departure from Dominica, brought away two young ſavages, which were the chief caſique's ſons of that country and part of Dominica: but they ſhortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz iſland, where the vice-admiral landed to take in ballaſt.

On the 21ſt, the admiral came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the John Evangeliſt our pinnace ſtaying before us: here we took in two Spaniards almoſt ſtarved on the ſhore, who made a fire to our ſhips as we paſſed by. Thoſe places for an 100 miles in length are nothing elſe but a deſolate and mere wilderneſs, without any habitation of people, and full of wild bulls and boars, and great ſerpents.

The 22d, our pinnace came alſo to an anchor in Aligato Bay at Cape Tyburon. Here we underſtood of Maſter Lane, captain of the pinnace, how he was ſet upon with one of the king's galleys, belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him three or four hours, gave over the fight and forſook him, without any great hurt done on either part.

The 26th, the John our vice-admiral came to us to Cape Tyburon, and the frigate which we left with him at Saono. This was the appointed place where we ſhould attend, for the meeting with the Santo Domingo fleet.

On

On Whitſunday even at Cape Tyburon one of our boys ran away from us, and at 10 days end returned to our ſhip almoſt ſtarved for want of food. In ſundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon, we found the bones and carcaſes of divers men who had periſhed (as we thought) by famine in thoſe woods, being either ſtraggled from their company, or landed there by ſome men of war.

JUNE.

On the 14th of June we took a ſmall Spaniſh frigate, which fell amongſt us ſo ſuddenly, as he doubled the point of the bay of Cape Tyburon, where we rode, that he could not eſcape us. This frigate came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in her, the one was an expert pilot, the other a mountaineer, and the third a vintener, who eſcaped all out of priſon at Santo Domingo, purpoſing to fly to Yaguana, which is a town in the weſt parts of Hiſpaniola where many fugitive Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17th Captain Lane was ſent to Yaguana with his pinnace and a frigate, to take a ſhip which was there taking in freight, as we underſtood by the old pilot, whom we had taken three days before.

The 24th the frigate returned from Captain Lane at Yaguana, and brought us word to Cape Tyburon, that Captain Lane had taken the ſhip, with many paſſengers and negroes in the ſame; which proved not ſo rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a French man of war had taken and ſpoiled her before we came: nevertheleſs her loading was thought worth 1,000 or 1,300 pounds; being hides, ginger, cannafiſtula, copper-pans, and caſavi.

JULY.

The 2d July Eadward Spicer, whom we left in England, came to us at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a ſmall pinnace, whereof one M. Harps was captain, and the ſame day we had ſight of a fleet of fourteen ſail, all of Santo Domingo, to whom we preſently gave chace, but they upon the firſt ſight of us fled, and ſeparating themſelves ſcattered here and there. Wherefore we were forced to divide ourſelves, and ſo made after them until twelve of the clock at night. But then by reaſon of the darkneſs we loſt ſight of each other, yet in the end the Admiral and the Moon-light happened to be together the ſame night at the fetching up of the Vice-admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, againſt whom the next morning we fought and took him, with loſs of one of our men with two hurt, and of theirs four ſlain and ſix hurt. But what was become of our Vice-admiral, our pinnace and prize, and two frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The 3d of July we ſpent about ryfling, rummaging and fitting the prize to be ſailed with us.

The 6th of July we ſaw Jamaica, the which we left on our larboard, keeping Cuba in ſight on our ſtarboard.

On the 8th we ſaw the iſland of Pinos, which lyeth on the ſouth ſide of Cubae nigh unto the weſt end or cape, called S. Anthony. And at the ſame day we gave chaſe to a frigate, but at night we loſt ſight of her, partly by the ſlow ſailing of our Admiral, and lack of the Moon-light our pinnace, whom Captain Cook had ſent to the cape the day before.

On

On the 11th we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our conſort the Moonlight and her pinnace abiding for our coming, of whom we underſtood that the day before there paſſed by them twenty-two ſail, ſome of them of the burthen of 300, ſome of 400 tons, loaden with King's treaſure from the main, bound for Havana: from the 11th July until the 22d we were much becalmed; and the wind being very ſcarce, and the weather exceeding hot, we were much peſtered with the Spaniards we had taken: therefore we were driven to land all the Spaniards ſaving three, but the place where we landed them was of their own choice on the ſouth ſide of Cuba near unto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23d we had ſight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken iſlands thereof called the Martyrs.

The 25th being S. James' day, in the morning we fell with the Matanzas, a head-land eight leagues towards the eaſt of Havana, where we purpoſed to take freſh water in, and make our abode two or three days.

On the 26th plying to and fro between the Matanzas and the Havana, we were eſpied of three ſmall pinnaces of S. John de Ullua, bound for Havana, which were exceeding richly loaden. Theſe three pinnaces came very boldy up to us, and ſo continued until they came within muſket-ſhot of us. And we ſuppoſed them to be Captain Harp's pinnace, and two ſmall frigates taken by Captain Harp: wherefore we ſhewed our flag. But they preſently upon the ſight of it turned about, and made all the ſail they could from us towards the ſhore, and kept themſelves in ſo ſhallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gave them over with expence of ſhot and powder to no purpoſe. But if we had not ſo raſhly ſet out our flag we might have taken them all three, for they would not have known us before they had been in our hands. This chaſe had brought us ſo far to leeward as Havana; wherefore not finding any of our conſorts at the Matanzas, we put over again to the Cape of Florida, and from thence through the channel of Bahama.

On the 28th the Cape of Florida bare weſt of us.

The 30th we loſt ſight of the coaſt of Florida, and ſtood to ſea for to gain the help of the currents which runneth much ſwifter afar off than in ſight of the coaſt; for from the cape to Virginia all along the ſhore are none but eddy currents ſetting to the S. and S.W.

The 31ſt our three ſhips were clearly diſbocked, the great prize, the Admiral, and the Moonſhine, but our prize being thus diſbocked departed from us without taking leave of our Admiral or conſort, and ſailed directly for England.

## AUGUST.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt the wind ſcanted, and from thence forward we had very foul weather with much rain, thundering, and great ſpouts which fell round about us nigh unto our ſhips.

The 3d we ſtood again in for the ſhore, and at mid-day we took the height of the ſame. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the low ſandy iſlands weſt of Wokokon, but the weather continued ſo exceeding foul, that we could not come to an anchor nigh the coaſt; wherefore we ſtood off again to ſea, until Monday the 9th of Auguſt.

On that day the ſtorm ceaſed, and we had very great likelihood of fair weather; wherefore we ſtood in again for the ſhore, and came to an anchor in eleven fathom in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the ſhore, where we went on land on the narrow

ſandy iſland, being one of the iſlands weſt of Wokokon. In this iſland we took in ſome freſh water, and caught great ſtore of fiſh in the ſhallow water. Between the main (as I ſuppoſed) and that iſland, it was but a mile over and three or four feet deep in moſt places.

On the 12th in the morning we departed from thence, and towards night we came to an anchor at the N. E. end of the iſland of Croatoan, by reaſon of a breach which we perceived to lie out two or three leagues into the ſea: here we rode all that night.

The 13th in the morning before we weighed our anchors, our boats were ſent to ſound over this breach; our ſhips riding at the ſide thereof at five fathom: and a ſhip's length from us we found but four and a quarter, and then deeping and ſhallowing for the ſpace of two miles, ſo that ſometimes we found five fathoms and by and by ſeven, and within two cables with the lead nine and then eight, next caſt five and then ſix, and then four and then nine again, and deeper; but three fathoms was the leaſt, two leagues off from the ſhore. This breach is 35 degrees and a half, and lyeth at the very N. E. point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the main ſea into the inner waters, which part the iſlands and the main land.

The 15th Auguſt towards evening we came to an anchor at Hatoraſk, in 36 deg. 20 min. in five fathom water, three leagues from the ſhore. At our firſt coming to anchor on this ſhore we ſaw a great ſmoke riſe in the iſle Roanoak near the place where I left our colony in the year 1587; which ſmoke put us in good hope that ſome of the colony were there expecting my return out of England.

The 16th and next morning our two boats went aſhore, and Captain Cook and Captain Spicer, and their company with me, with intent to paſs to the place Roanoak where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ſhip we commanded our maſter gunner to make ready two minions and a faulcon well loaden, and to ſhoot them off, with reaſonable ſpace between every ſhot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find ſome of our people. This was accordingly performed, and our two boats put off unto the ſhore; in the Admiral's boat we ſounded all the way, and found from our ſhip until we came within a mile of the ſhore, nine, eight, and ſeven fathoms: but before we were half way between our ſhips and the ſhore, we ſaw another great ſmoke to the S. W. of Kindrikers Mountes: we therefore thought good to go to that ſecond ſmoke firſt: but it was much farther from the harbour where we landed, than we ſuppoſed it to be, ſo that we were very ſore tired before we came to the ſmoke. But that which grieved us more, was, that when we came to the ſmoke, we found no man, nor ſign that any had been there lately, nor yet any freſh water in all this way to drink. Being thus wearied with this journey we returned to the harbour where we left our boats, who in our abſence had brought their caſks aſhore for freſh water; ſo we deferred our going to Roanoak until the next morning, and cauſed ſome of thoſe ſailors to dig in thoſe ſandy hills for freſh water, whereof we found very ſufficient. That night we returned aboard with our boats and our whole company in ſafety.

The next morning, the 17th Auguſt, our boats and company were prepared again to go to Roanoak: but Captain Spicer had then ſent his boat aſhore for freſh water, by means whereof it was ten of the clock of the forenoon before we put from our ſhips, which were then come to an anchor within two miles of the ſhore. The Admiral's boat was half way towards the ſhore, when Captain Spicer put off from his ſhip. The Admiral's boat firſt paſſed the breach, but not without ſome danger of ſinking, for we had a ſea break into our boat which filled us half full of water, but by the will of God,

and careful ſteerage of Captain Cook we came ſafe aſhore, ſaving only that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and ſpoiled. For at this time the wind blew at N. E. and direct into the harbour ſo great a gale, that the ſea brake extremely on the bar, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance.

By that time our Admiral's boat was hauled aſhore, and moſt of our things taken out to dry, Captain Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his maſt ſtanding up, and was half way over, but by the raſh and indiſcreet ſteerage of Ralph Skinner, his maſter's mate, a very dangerous ſea brake into their boat, and overſet them quite; the men kept the boat, ſome in it, and ſome hanging on it, but the next ſea ſet the boat on ground, where it beat ſo that ſome of them were forced to let go their hold, hoping to wade aſhore, but the ſea ſtill beat them down, ſo that they could neither ſtand nor ſwim, and the boat twice or thrice was turned the keel upward, whereupon Captain Spicer and Skinner hung until they ſunk, and were ſeen no more: but four that could ſwim a little kept themſelves in deeper water, and were ſaved by Captain Cook's means, who ſo ſoon as he ſaw their overſetting, ſtripped himſelf, and four other that could ſwim very well, and with all haſte poſſible rowed unto them, and ſaved four. They were eleven in all, and ſeven of the chiefeſt were drowned, whoſe names were, Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelly, Thomas Bevis, Hance the ſurgeon, Edward Kelborn, Robert Coleman. This miſchance did ſo much diſcomfort the ſailors, that they were all of one mind not to go any farther to ſeek the planters. But in the end by the commandment and perſuaſion of me and Captain Cook, they prepared the boats, and ſeeing the captain and me ſo reſolute, they ſeemed much more willing. Our boats and all things fitted again we put off from Hatoraſk, being the number of nineteen perſons in both boats, but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was ſo exceeding dark, that we overſhot the place a quarter of a mile: there we eſpied towards the north end of the iſland the light of a great fire through the woods, to the which we preſently rowed; when we came right over-againſt it, we let fall our grapnell near the ſhore, and ſounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar Engliſh tunes of ſongs, and called to them friendly: but we had no anſwer, we therefore landed at day-break, and coming to the fire, we found the graſs and ſundry rotten trees burning about the place: from hence we went through the woods to that part of the iſland directly over-againſt Daſamonguepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water-ſide, round about the north point of the iſland, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586. In all this way we ſaw in the ſand the print of the ſavages' feet of two or three ſorts trodden the night, and as we entered up the ſandy bank upon a tree, in the very brow thereof were curiouſly carved the fair Roman letters C R O: which letters preſently we knew to ſignify the place, where I ſhould find the planters ſeated, according to a ſecret token agreed upon between them and me, at my laſt departure from them; which was, that in any ways they ſhould not fail to write or carve on the trees, or poſts of the doors, the name of the place where they ſhould be ſeated: for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak fifty miles into the main. Therefore at my departure from them, anno 1587, I willed them, that if they ſhould happen to be diſtreſſed in any of thoſe places, that then they ſhould carve over the letters or name, a croſs × in this form, but we found no ſuch ſign of diſtreſs. And having well conſidered of this, we paſſed towards the place where they were left in ſundry houſes, but we found the houſes taken down, and the place very ſtrongly encloſed with a high paliſado of great trees, with curtains and flankers very fort-like, and one of the chief trees or poſts at the right ſide of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground in fair capital letters was graven CROATOAN with-

out any croſs or ſign of diſtreſs: this done we entered into the paliſado, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron ſacker ſhot, and ſuch like heavy things thrown here and there, almoſt overgrown with graſs and weeds.

From thence we went along by the water-ſide, towards the point of the creek to ſee if we could find any of the boats or pinnace, but we could perceive no ſign of them, nor any of the laſt falkons and ſmall ordnance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, ſome of our ſailors meeting us, told us that they had found where divers cheſts had been hidden, and long ſince digged up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them ſpoiled and ſcattered about, but nothing left of ſuch things as the ſavages knew any uſe of, undefaced. Preſently Captain Cook and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years paſt by Captain Amadas; where we found five cheſts that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the ſame cheſts three were my own, and about the place many of my things ſpoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of ſome of my pictures and maps, rotten and ſpoiled with rain, and my armour almoſt eaten through with ruſt: this could be no other but the deed of the ſavages our enemies at Daſamonguepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan: and as ſoon as they were departed, digged up every place where they ſuſpected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to ſee ſuch ſpoil of my goods, yet on the other ſide I greatly joyed that I had ſafely found a certain token of their ſafe-being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the ſavages of the iſland our friends.

When we had ſeen in this place ſo much as we could, we returned to our boats, and departed from the ſhore towards our ſhips with as much ſpeed as we could, for the weather began to over-caſt, and very likely that a foul and ſtormy night would enſue. Therefore the ſame evening with much danger and labour, we got ourſelves aboard, by which time the wind and ſeas were ſo greatly riſen, that we doubted our cables and anchors would ſcarcely hold until morning: wherefore the captain cauſed the boats to be manned with five luſty men, who could ſwim all well, and ſent them to the little iſland on the right hand of the harbour, to bring aboard ſix of our men, who had filled our caſk with freſh water: the boat the ſame night returned aboard with our men, but all our caſk ready filled they left behind, impoſſible to be had aboard without danger of caſting away both men and boats; for this night proved very ſtormy and foul.

The next morning it was agreed by the captain and myſelf, with the maſter and others to weigh anchor, and go for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were; for that then the wind was good for that place, and alſo to leave that caſk with freſh water on ſhore in the iſland until our return. So then they brought the cable to the capſtan, but when the anchor was almoſt apeak, the cable broke, by means whereof we loſt another anchor, wherewith we drove ſo faſt into the ſhore, that we were forced to let fall a third anchor, which came ſo faſt home that the ſhip was almoſt aground by Kenrick's Mounts, ſo that we were forced to let ſlip the cable end for end. And if it had not chanced that we had fallen into a channel of deeper water, cloſer by the ſhore than we accounted of, we could never have gone clear of the point that lyeth to the ſouthward of Kenrick's Mounts. Being thus clear of ſome dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without ſome loſs; for we had but one cable and anchor left us of four, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals ſcarce, and our caſk and freſh water loſt: it was therefore determined that we ſhould

go

go for St. John or ſome other iſland to the ſouthward for freſh water. But it was further propoſed that if we could any way ſupply our wants of victuals and other neceſſaries, either at Hiſpaniola, St. John, or Trinadad, that then we ſhould continue in the Indies all the winter following, with hope to make two rich voyages of one, and at our return to viſit our countrymen in Virginia.

The captain and the whole company in the Admiral (with my earneſt petitions) thereunto agreed, ſo that it reſted only to know what the maſter of the Moon-light our conſort would do herein: but when we demanded them if they would accompany us in that new determination, they alledged that their weak and leaky ſhip was not able to continue it: wherefore the ſame night we parted, leaving the Moon-light to go directly for England, and the Admiral ſet his courſe for Trinadad, which courſe we kept two days.

On the 28th the wind changed, and it was ſet on foul weather every day, but this ſtorm brought the wind W. and N. W. and blew ſo forcibly that we were able to bear no ſail but our fore-courſe half maſt high, wherewith we ran upon the wind per force the due courſe for England, for that we were driven to change our firſt determination for Trinadad, and ſtood for the iſlands of the Azores, where we purpoſed to take in freſh water, and there hoped to meet with ſome Engliſh men of war about thoſe iſlands, at whoſe hands we might obtain ſome ſupply of our wants. And thus continuing our courſe for the Azores, ſometimes with calms, and ſometimes with very ſcarce winds, on the 15th of September the wind came S. S. E. and blew ſo exceedingly that we were forced to lie atry all that day. At this time by account we judged ourſelves to be about twenty leagues to the weſt of Cuervo and Flores, but about night the ſtorm ceaſed, and fair weather enſued.

On the 17th we ſaw Cuervo and Flores, but we could not come to anchor that night by reaſon the wind ſhifted. The next morning, the 18th, ſtanding in again for Cuervo, we deſcried a ſail a-head us, to whom we gave chaſe, but when we came near unto him we knew him to be a Spaniard, and hoped to make ſure purchaſe of him; but we underſtood at our ſpeaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleet, already taken by the John our conſort, in the Indies. We learned alſo of the prize, that our vice-admiral and pinnace had fought with the reſt of the Domingo fleet, and had forced them with their Admiral to flee unto Jamaica under the fort for ſuccour, and ſome of them ran themſelves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and took out of ſome others ſo much as the time would permit. And further we underſtood of them, that in their return from Jamaica about the Organes near Cape St. Anthony, our Vice-admiral met with two ſhips of the main land from Mexico, bound for Havanna, with whom he fought. In which fight our Vice-admiral's lieutenant was ſlain, and the captain's right arm ſtrucken off, with four others of his men ſlain, and ſixteen hurt. But in the end he entered and took one of the Spaniſh ſhips, which was ſo ſhot by us under water, that before they could take out her treaſure, ſhe ſunk, ſo that we loſt thirteen pipes of ſilver that ſunk with her, beſides much other rich merchandize. And in the mean time the other Spaniſh ſhip, being pierced with nine ſhot under water, got away; whom our vice-admiral intended to purſue: but ſome of their men in the top made certain rocks, which they ſaw above water near the ſhore, to be galleys of Havana and Cartagena, coming from Havana to reſcue the two ſhips. Wherefore they gave over the chaſe, and went for England. After this intelligence was given us by this our prize, he departed from us and went for England.

On the 19th of September we came to anchor near a ſmall village on the north ſide of Flores, where we found riding five Engliſh men of war; of whom we underſtood

that our Vice-admiral and prize were gone thence for England. One of theſe five was the Moon-light our conſort, who upon the firſt ſight of our coming into Flores, ſet ſail and went for England, not taking any leave of us.

On the 20th the Mary Roſe, admiral of the Queen's fleet, wherein was General Sir John Hawkins, ſtood in with Flores, and divers others of the Queen's ſhips, namely, the Hope, the Nonpareillia, the Rainbow, the Swiftſure, the Foreſight, with many other good merchants ſhips of war, and many other good ſhips and pinnaces, all attending to meet with the King of Spain's fleet, coming Terra Firma of the Weſt Indies.

The 22d we went aboard the Rainbow, and towards night we ſpake with the Swiftſure, and give him three pieces. The captain deſired our company, wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with ten other ſhips ſtood for Fayal. But the General with the reſt of the fleet were ſeparated from us, making two fleets, for the ſurer meeting of the Spaniſh fleet.

On the 23d we ſaw Gratioſa, where the Admiral and the reſt of the Queen's fleet were come together. The Admiral put forth a flag of council, in which was determined that the whole fleet ſhould go for the main, and ſpread themſelves on the coaſt of Spain and Portugal, ſo far as conveniently they might, for the ſurer meeting with the Spaniſh fleet, in thoſe parts.

The 26th we came to Fayal, where the Admiral with ſome other of the fleet anchored, otherſome plyed up and down between that and Pico until midnight: at which time the Anthony ſhot off a piece, and weighed, ſhewing his light; after whom the whole fleet ſtood to the eaſt, the wind at N. E. by E.

The 27th towards evening we took our leave of the Admiral and whole fleet, who ſtood to the eaſt. But our ſhip accompanied with a fly-boat ſtood in again with S. George, where we propoſed to take in more freſh water, and ſome other freſh victuals.

On the 30th, ſeeing the wind hang ſo northerly that we could not attain the iſland of S. George, we gave over our purpoſe to water there, and the next day framed our due courſe for England.

### October.

The 2d of October in the morning we ſaw S. Michael's Iſland on our ſtarboard quarter.

The 23d, at ten of the clock of the forenoon, we ſaw Uſhant in Britaigne.

The 24th we came in ſafety, God be thanked, to an anchor at Plymouth.

THE

# THE FIRST RELATION OF JAQUES CARTHIER OF S. MALO,

## OF THE

## NEW LAND, CALLED NEW FRANCE,

## NEWLY DISCOVERED IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1534 *.

AFTER that Sir Charles of Movy, Knight, Lord of Meylleraye, and Vice-admiral of France, had cauſed the captains, maſters, and mariners to be ſworn to behave themſelves truly and faithfully in the ſervice of the moſt Chriſtian King of France, under the charge of the ſaid Carthier, upon the 20th day of April 1534, we departed from the port of S. Malo, with two ſhips of three ſcore ton a-piece burthen, and ſixty-one well appointed men in each one; and with ſuch proſperous weather we ſailed onward, that upon the 10th day of May, we came to Newfoundland, where we entered into the cape of Buona Viſta, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a half, and in longitude , but becauſe of the great ſtore of the ice, that was along the ſaid land, we were conſtrained to enter into an haven called S. Katherine's Haven, diſtant from the other port about five leagues towards S. S. E.; there did we ſtay ten days looking for fair weather; and in the meanwhile we mended and dreſſed our boats.

Upon the 21ſt of May the wind being in the W. we hoiſted ſail and ſailed toward N. by E. from the cape of Buona Viſta, until we came to the Iſland of Birds, which was environed about with a bank of ice, but broken and cracked: notwithſtanding the ſaid bank, our two boats went thither to take in ſome birds, whereof there is ſuch plenty, that unleſs a man did ſee them, he would think it an incredible thing: for albeit the iſland (which containeth about a league in circuit) be ſo full of them, that they ſeem to have been brought thither, and ſaved for the nonce, yet are there an hundred fold as many hovering about it as within, ſome of which are as big as jays, black and white with beaks like unto crows: they lie always upon the ſea; they cannot fly very high becauſe their wings are ſo little, and no bigger than half one's hand, yet do they fly as ſwiftly as any birds of the air level to the water; they are alſo exceeding fat, we named them Aporath. In leſs than half an hour, we filled two boats full of them, as if they had been with ſtones: ſo that beſides them which we did eat freſh, every ſhip did powder and ſalt five or ſix barrels full of them.

Beſides theſe, there is another kind of birds which hover in the air, and over the ſea, leſſer than the others; and theſe do all gather themſelves together in the iſland, and put themſelves under the wings of other birds that are greater: theſe we named Godertz. There are alſo of another ſort, but bigger, and white, which bite even as dogs, thoſe we named Margaulx. And albeit the ſaid iſland be fourteen leagues from the main land, notwithſtanding bears come ſwimming to eat of the ſaid birds; and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any ſwan, who in their preſence leaped into the ſea; and upon Whitſun Monday (following our voyage to-

* Hakluyt, iii. p. 201.

.ward

ward the land) we met her by the way, ſwimming towards land as ſwiftly as we could ſail. So ſoon as we ſaw her we purſued her in our boats, and by main ſtrength took her, whoſe fleſh was as good to be eaten as the fleſh of a cattle of two years old. The Wedneſday following, being the 27th of the month, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Caſtles, but becauſe the weather was ill, and the great ſtore of ice we found, we were conſtrained to enter into an harbour about the ſaid entrance, called Carpunt, where becauſe we could not come out of it, we ſtayed till the 9th of June, what time we departed, hoping with the help of God to ſail further than the ſaid Carpunt, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

The land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head towards N. N. E. and S. S. W. All this part of land is parted into iſlands, one ſo near the other, that there are but ſmall rivers between them, through the which you may paſs with little boats, therefore there are certain good harbours, among which are thoſe of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of theſe iſlands that is the higheſt of them all, being on the top of it, you may plainly ſee the two low iſlands that are near to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it 25 leagues, and there are two entrances thereat, the one on the eaſt, the other on the ſouth of the iſland. But you muſt take heed of the ſide and point of the eaſt, becauſe that every where there is nothing elſe but ſhelves, and the water is very ſhallow. You muſt go about the iſland toward the weſt the length of half a cable or thereabout, and then to go toward the ſouth to the ſaid Carpunt. Alſo you are to take heed of three ſhelves that are in the channel under water; and toward the iſland on the eaſt ſide in the channel, the water is of three and four fathom deep, and clear ground. The other trendeth towards E. N. E., and on the weſt you may go on ſhore.

Going from the point Degrad, and entering into the ſaid bay toward the W. by N. there is ſome doubt of two iſlands that are on the right ſide, one of the which is diſtant from the ſaid point three leagues, and the other ſeven, either more or leſs than the firſt, being a low and plain land, and it ſeemeth to be part of the main land. I named it S. Katherine's Iſland, in which towards the N. E. there is very dry ſoil; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground; ſo that you muſt go a little about. The ſaid iſland and the port of Caſtles trend towards N. N. E. and S. S. W., and are about 15 leagues aſunder. From the ſaid port of Caſtles to the port of Gutte, which is in the north-eaſtern part of the ſaid bay, that trendeth toward E. N. E. and W. S. W. there are twelve leagues and a half, and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to ſay a third part athwart the ſaid bay; the depth being ſounded it is about thirty-eight fathoms, and from the ſaid port of Balances to the white ſands toward W. S. W. there is fifteen leagues, but you muſt take heed of a ſhelf that lyeth about three leagues outward from the ſaid white ſands on the S. W. ſide above water like a boat.

White Sand is a road in the which there is no place guarded from the ſouth nor ſouth-eaſt. But towards S. S. W. from the ſaid road there are two iſlands, one of the which is called Breſt Iſland, and the other the Iſland of Birds, in which there is great ſtore of godertz and crows with red beaks and red feet; they make their neſts in holes under the ground even as conies. A point of land being paſſed about a league from White Sand, there is a port and paſſage found, called the Iſlettes, a better place than White Sand, and there is great fiſhing: from the ſaid port of the Iſlettes unto another called Breſt, the circuit is about ten leagues. This port is in lat. 51 deg. 55 min. and in longitude . From the Iſlettes to that place there are many other iſlands, and the ſaid port of Breſt is alſo amongſt thoſe iſlands. Moreover the iſlands

do compaſs more than three leagues from the ſaid Breſt, being low, and over them are the other lands above-mentioned ſeen.

Upon the 10th June, we with our ſhips entered into the port of Breſt, to furniſh ourſelves with water and wood, and to make us ready to paſs the ſaid bay. Upon S. Barnabas day, ſervice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the ſaid bay, toward the weſt, to ſee what harbours were there: we paſſed through the midſt of the iſlets, which were ſo many in number it was not poſſible they might be told, for they continued about ten leagues beyond the ſaid port. We to reſt ourſelves ſtaid in one of them a night, and there we found great ſtore of duck eggs, and other birds that there do make their neſt; we named them all the Iſlettes.

The next day we paſſed the ſaid iſlands, and beyond them all we found a good haven, which we named S. Anthony's Haven, and one or two leagues beyond, we found a little river toward the S. W. coaſt that is between two other iſlands, and is a good harbour: and there we ſet up a croſs, and named it S. Servan's Port: and on the S. W. ſide of the ſaid port and river, about one league, there is a ſmall iſland as round as an oven, environed about with many other little iſlands, that give notice to the ſaid ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater river, in which we took good ſtore of ſalmon; that, we named S. James' River. Being in the ſaid river we ſaw a ſhip of Rochel, that the night before had paſſed the port of Breſt, where they thought to have gone a fiſhing, but the mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approached near unto it, and did direct it to another port, one league more toward the weſt than the ſaid river of S. James, which I take to be one of the beſt in all the world, and therefore we named it James Carthier's Sound. If the ſoil were as good as the harbours are, it were a great commodity, but is not to be called the New Land, but rather ſtones and wild craggs, and a place fit for wild beaſts; for in all the north iſland, I did not ſee a cart-load of good earth, yet went I on ſhore in many places; and in the iſland of White Sand there is nothing elſe but moſs and ſmall ſtones, ſcattered here and there, withered and dry. To be ſhort, I believe that this was the land that God allotted to Cain. There are men of an indifferent good ſtature and bigneſs, but wild and unruly: they wear their hair tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pit within it, or any other ſuch thing inſtead of a nail, and with them they bind certain birds' feathers. They are cloathed with beaſt's ſkins, as well the men as women, but the women go ſomewhat ſtraighter and cloſer in their garments than the men do, with their waiſts girded: they paint themſelves with certain roan colours: their boats are made of the bark of birch trees, with the which they fiſh and take great ſtore of ſeals, and as far as we could underſtand ſince our coming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the main land out of hotter countries, to catch the ſeals and other neceſſaries for their living.

Upon the 13th of that month we came to our ſhips again with our boats on purpoſe to ſail forwards becauſe the weather was fair, and on Sunday cauſed ſervice to be ſaid: then on Monday being the 15th of the month we departed from Breſt, and ſailed towards the ſouth to take a view of the lands that there we had ſeen, that ſeemed unto us to be two iſlands, but when we were amidſt the bay, we knew it to be firm land, where was a great double cape, one above the other, and therefore we named it the Double Cape. In the entrance of the bay we ſounded, and found it to be 100 fathom round about us. From Breſt to the Double Cape, there is about twenty leagues, and about five or ſix leagues beyond we ſounded again, and found forty fathom water. The ſaid land lieth N. E. and S. W. The next day being the 16th of the month, we ſailed along the ſaid coaſt towards the S. W. by S. about thirty-five leagues from the

Double

Double Cape, where we found very ſteep and wild hills, among the which were ſeen certain ſmall cabins, which we in the country call granges, and therefore we named them the Hills of the Granges. The other lands and mountains are all craggy, cleft, and cut, and betwixt them and the ſea, there are other iſlands, but low. The day before through the dark miſts and fogs of the weather, we could not have ſight of any land, but in the evening we ſpied an entrance into the land, by a river among the ſaid Hill of Granges, and a cape lying toward the S. W. about three leagues from us. The ſaid Cape is on the top of it blunt pointed and alſo toward the ſea, it endeth in a point, wherefore we named it the Pointed Cape; on the north ſide of which there is a plain iſland. But becauſe we would have notice of the ſaid entrance, to ſee if there were any good havens, we ſtruck ſail for that night. The next day, the 17th, we had ſtormy weather from N. E. wherefore we took our way toward the S. W. until Thurſday morning, and we went about thirty-ſeven leagues, till we came athwart a bay, full of round iſlands like dove-houſes, and therefore we named them the Dove Houſes. And from the bay of St. Julian from the which to a cape that lyeth S. by W. which we called Cape Royal, there are ſeven leagues, and towards the W. S. W. ſide of the ſaid cape there is another that beneath is all craggy, and above round. On the north ſide of which, about half a league, there lyeth a low land: that cape we named the Cape of Milk. Between theſe two capes there are certain low lands, above which there are alſo certain others that ſhew that there be ſome rivers. About two leagues from Cape Royal we ſounded and found twenty fathom water; and there is the greateſt fiſhing for cods that poſſibly may be: for ſtaying for our company, in leſs than an hour we took about one hundred of them.

The next day being the 18th of the month, the wind with ſuch rage turned againſt us, that we were conſtrained to go back towards Cape Royal, thinking there to find ſome harbour, and with our boats went to diſcover between the Cape Royal and the Cape of Milk, and found that above the low iſlands is a great and very deep gulfe, within which are certain iſlands. The ſaid gulfe on the ſouth ſide is ſhut up. The aforeſaid low grounds are on one of the ſides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The ſaid low grounds do ſtretch themſelves more than half a league within the ſea: it is a plain country but an ill ſoil, and in the midſt of the entrance thereof there is an iſland. The ſaid gulfe in latitude is 48 degrees and a half, and in longitude . That night we found no harbour, and therefore we launched out into the ſea, leaving the cape toward the weſt.

From the ſaid day until the 24th of the month, being S. John's day, we had both ſtormy weather, and wind againſt us, with ſuch darkneſs and miſts, that until S. John's day we could have no ſight of any land, and then had we ſight of a cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth S. W. about 35 leagues, but that day was ſo foggy and miſty, that we could not come near land, and becauſe it was S. John's day, we named it Cape S. John.

The next day being the 25th of the month, the weather was alſo ſtormy, dark, and windy, but yet we ſailed part of the way towards W. N. W. and in the evening we put ourſelves athwart until the ſecond quarter: when as we departed then did we by our compaſs know that we were N. W. by W. about ſeven leagues and a half from the Cape of S. John, and as we were about to hoiſt ſail, the wind turned into the N. W. wherefore we went S. E. about fifteen leagues, and came to three iſlands, two of which are as ſteep and as upright as any wall, ſo that it was not poſſible to climb them: and between them there is a little rock. Theſe iſlands were as full of birds, as any field or meadow is of graſs, which there do make their neſts, and in the greateſt of them,



there

there was a great and infinite number of thoſe we call Margaulx, that are white and bigger than any geeſe, which were ſevered in one part. In the other were only Godetz and great Apponatz, like to thoſe of that iſland that we above have mentioned. We went down to the loweſt part of the leaſt iſland, where we killed above a thouſand of thoſe Godetz and Apponatz. We put into our boats ſo many of them as we pleaſed, for in leſs than one hour we might have filled thirty ſuch boats of them: we named them the iſlands of Margaulx. About five leagues from the ſaid iſlands on the weſt, there is another iſland that is about two leagues in length, and ſo much in breadth: there did we ſtay all night to take in water and wood. That iſland is environed round about with ſand, and hath a very good road about it three or four fathom deep. Thoſe iſlands have the beſt ſoil that ever we ſaw, for that one of their fields is more worth than all the New-land. We found it all full of goodly trees, meadows, fields full of wild corn, and peaſon bloomed, as thick, as rank, and as fair, as any can be ſeen in Britaing; ſo that they ſeemed to have been ploughed and ſowed. There was alſo great ſtore of gooſeberries, ſtrawberries, damaſk roſes, parſley, with other very ſweet and pleaſant herbs. About the ſaid iſland are very great beaſts as great as oxen, which have two great teeth in their mouths like unto elephant's teeth, and live alſo in the ſea. We ſaw one of them ſleeping upon the bank by the water, we thinking to take, went to it with our boats, but ſo ſoon as he heard us, he caſt himſelf into the ſea. We alſo ſaw bears and wolves: we named it Brion's Iſland. About it towards S. E. and N. W. there are great lakes. As far as I could gather and comprehend, I think that there be ſome paſſage between Newfoundland and Brion's Iſland: if ſo it were, it would be a great ſhortening, as well of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About four leagues from that iſland towards W. S. W. is the firm land, which ſeemeth to be as an iſland encompaſſed about with little iſlands of ſands. There is a goodly cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27th of June we compaſſed the ſaid lands about, that lies W. S. W.: and afar off they ſeem to be little hills of ſand, for they are but low lands, we could neither go to them, nor land on them, becauſe the wind was againſt us. That day we went fifteen leagues.

The next day we went along the ſaid land about ten leagues, till we came to a cape of red land, that is all craggy, within the which there is a break looking toward the north. It is a very low country. There is alſo between the ſea and a certain pool, a plain field; and from the cape of land and the pool unto another cape there are about fourteen leagues. The land is faſhioned as it were half a circle, all compaſſed about with ſand like a ditch, over which as far as one's eye can ſtretch, there is nothing but marſh grounds and ſtanding pools. And before you come to the firſt cape, very near the main land there are two little iſlands. About five leagues from the ſecond cape towards the S. W. there is another iſland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The firſt cape named St. Peter's Cape, becauſe upon that day we came thither.

From Brion's Iſland to this place there is good anchorage of ſand, and having ſounded towards S. W. even to the ſhore above five leagues, we found twenty-five fathom water, and within one league twelve fathom, and very near the ſhore ſix fathoms, rather more than leſs, and alſo good anchorage. But becauſe we would be the better acquainted with this ſtony and rocky ground, we ſtruck our ſails low and athwart. The next day being the 29th the wind blew S. by E. We ſailed weſtward until Tueſday morning the 30th at ſun-riſing, without any ſight or knowledge of any land except in the evening towards ſun-ſet, that we diſcovered a land which ſeemed to be two iſlands, that

were beyond us W. S. W. about nine, or ten, leagues. All the next day, till next morning at ſun-riſing we ſailed weſtward about 40 leagues, and by the way we perceived that the land we had ſeen like iſlands, was firm land, lying S. S. E. and N. N. W. to a very good cape of land called Cape Orleans. All the ſaid land is low and plain, and the faireſt that may poſſibly be ſeen, full of goodly meadows and trees. True it is, that we could find no harbour there, becauſe it is all full of ſhelves and ſands. We with our boats went on ſhore in many places, and amongſt the reſt we entered into a goodly river, but very ſhallow, which we named the River of Boats, becauſe there we ſaw boats full of wild men that were croſſing the river. We had no other notice of the ſaid wild men; for the wind came from the ſea, and ſo beat us againſt the ſhore, that we were conſtrained to retire ourſelves with our boats towards our ſhips. Till the next day morning at ſun-riſing being the 1ſt of July, we ſailed N. E. in which time there roſe great miſts and ſtorms, and therefore we ſtruck our ſails till two o'clock in the afternoon, that the weather became clear, and there we had ſight of Cape Orleans and of another about ſeven leagues from us, lying N. by E. and that we called Wild Men's Cape. On the north ſide of this Cape about half a league, there is a very dangerous ſhelf and bank of ſtones. Whilſt we were at this cape we ſaw a man running after our boats that were going along the coaſt, who made ſigns unto us that we ſhould return towards the ſaid cape again. We ſeeing ſuch ſigns began to turn toward him, but he ſeeing us come began to flee: ſo ſoon as we were come on ſhore, we ſet a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a little ſtaff, and then came to our ſhips again. That day we trended the ſaid land about nine or ten leagues, hoping to find ſome good harbour, but it was not poſſible: for as I have ſaid already it is a very low land, and invironed round about with great ſhelves. Nevertheleſs we went that day on ſhore in four places, to ſee the goodly and ſweet ſmelling trees that were there. We found them to be cedars, yew trees, pines, and white elms, aſhes, willows, with many other ſorts of trees to us unknown, but without any fruit; the grounds where no wood is, are very fair, and full of peaſon, white and red gooſeberries, ſtrawberries, blackberries, and wild corn even like unto rye, which ſeemed to have been ſown and ploughed. This country is of better temperature than any other that can be ſeen, and very hot. There are many thruſhes, ſtockdoves, and other birds. To be ſhort, there wanteth nothing but good harbours.

The next day being the 2d July, we diſcovered and had ſight of land on the northern ſide towards us, that did join unto the land aforeſaid, all compaſſed about, and we know that it had about in depth and as much athwart: we named it St. Lunario's Bay, and with our boats we went to the cape towards the north, and found the ſhore ſo ſhallow, that at the ſpace of a league from the land there was but a fathom water. On the N. E. ſide of the ſaid cape, about ſeven or eight leagues, there is another cape of land, in the midſt thereof is a bay faſhioned triangle wiſe, very deep, and ſo far off as we could ken from it, the ſame lieth N. E. The ſaid bay is compaſſed about with ſands and ſhelves about 10 leagues from the land, and there is but two fathom water. From the ſaid cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15 leagues. We being acroſs the ſaid capes, diſcovered another land and cape, and as far as we could ken it lay N. by E. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, ſo that we were conſtrained to bear a ſmall ſail till next morning, when the wind came from the weſt, and we ſailed northward to have a ſight of the land that we had left on the N. E. ſide above the low lands, above which high and low lands there is a gulfe, or breach, in ſome places 55 fathom deep, and 15 leagues in breadth. By reaſon of the great depth and breadth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we were in great

hopes

hopes that we ſhould find a paſſage, like unto the paſſage of the Caſtles. The ſaid gulfe lieth E. N. E. and W. S. W. The ground that lieth on the ſouth ſide of the ſaid gulfe, is as good and eaſy to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadows, as any that ever we have ſeen, as plain and ſmooth as any die: and that which lieth on the north is a country altogether hilly, full of woods and very high and great trees of ſundry ſorts: among the reſt there are goodly cedars, and fir trees, as poſſibly can be ſeen, able to make maſts for ſhips of 300 ton: neither did we ſee any place that was not full of the ſaid trees, except two only that were full of goodly meadows, with two very fair lakes. The midſt of the ſaid bay is 47 degrees and a half in latitude.

The cape of the ſaid ſouth land was called the Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to find ſome paſſage. The 4th July we went along the coaſt of the ſaid land on the northerly ſide to find ſome harbour, where we entered into a creek altogether open towards the ſouth, where there is no ſuccour againſt the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martin's Creek. There we ſtayed from the 4th of July until the 12th. While we were there, on Monday being the 6th of the month, ſervice being done, we with one of our boats went to diſcover a cape and point of land that on the weſtern ſide was about ſeven or eight leagues from us, to ſee which way it did bend, and being within half a league of it, we ſaw two companies of boats of wild men going from one land to the other; their boats were in number about 40 or 50, one part of which came to the ſaid point, and a great number of the men went on ſhore making a great noiſe, beckoning unto us that we ſhould come on land, ſhewing certain ſkins upon pieces of wood, but becauſe we had but one only boat we would not go to them, but went to the other ſide lying in the ſea: they ſeeing us flee prepared two of their boats to follow us, with which came alſo five more of them that were coming from the ſea ſide, all which approached near unto our boat, dancing and making many ſigns of joy and mirth, as it were deſiring our friendſhip, ſaying in their tongue Nápeu tondamen aſſurtah, with many other words that we underſtood not. But becauſe, as we have ſaid, that we had but one boat, we would not ſtand to their courteſy, but made ſigns unto them that they ſhould turn back, which they would not do, but with great fury came towards us, and ſuddenly with their boats compaſſed us about. And becauſe they would not away from us by any ſigns that we could make, we ſhot off two pieces among them, which did ſo terrify them, that they put themſelves to flight towards the ſaid point, making a great noiſe: and having ſtaid awhile, they began anew, even as at firſt to come to us again, and being come near to our boat, we ſtruck at them with two lances, which thing was ſo great a terror unto them, that with great haſte they began to flee, and would no more follow us.

The next day part of the ſaid wild men with nine of their boats, came to the point and entrance to the creek, where we with our ſhips were at road. We being advertiſed of their coming, went to the point where they were with our boats: but ſo ſoon as they ſaw us, they began to flee, making ſigns that they came to traffick with us, ſhewing us ſuch ſkins as they cloathe themſelves withall, which are of ſmall value. We likewiſe made ſigns unto them that we wiſhed them no evil: and in ſign thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and carry them knives with other iron wares, and a red hat to give unto their captain. Which when they ſaw they alſo came on land, and brought ſome of their ſkins, and ſo began to deal with us; ſeeming to be very glad to have our iron wares and other things, ſtill dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to caſt ſea water on their heads. They gave us whatſoever they had, not keeping any thing, ſo that they were conſtrained to go back again naked, and made us ſigns that the next day they would come again, and bring more ſkins with them.

Upon the 8th of the month, becauſe the wind was not good to go out with our ſhips, we ſet our boats in a readineſs to go to diſcover the ſaid bay, and that day we went 25 leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being fair, we ſailed until noon, in which time we had notice of a great part of the ſaid bay, and how that over the low lands there were other lands with high mountains: but ſeeing that there was no paſſage at all, we began to turn back again taking our way along the coaſt: and ſailing we ſaw certain wild men that ſtood upon the ſhore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and ſmokes: we went thither and found that there was a channel of the ſea that did enter into the lake, and ſetting our boats at one of the banks of the channel, the wild men with one of their boats came unto us, and brought us pieces of ſeals ready ſodden, putting them upon pieces of wood: then retiring themſelves they would make ſigns unto us, that they did give them us. We ſent two men unto them, with hatchets, knives, beads, and ſuch other like ware, whereat they were very glad; and by and by, in cluſters they came to the ſhore, where we were, in boats, bringing with them ſkins and other ſuch things as they had, to have of our wares. They were more than 300 men, women, and children, ſome of the women which came not over, we might ſee ſtand up to their knees in water, ſinging and dancing: the other that had paſſed the river where we were, came very friendly to us rubbing our arms with their own hands, then would they lift them up toward heaven, ſhewing many ſigns of gladneſs: and in ſuch wiſe were we aſſured one of another, that we very familiarly began to traffic for whatſoever they had, till they had nothing but their naked bodies: ſo they gave us all, whatſoever they had, and that was but of ſmall value. We perceived that this people might very eaſily be converted to our religion. They go from place to place, they live only with fiſhing. They have an ordinary time to fiſh for their proviſion. The country is hotter than the country of Spain, and the faireſt that can poſſibly be found, altogether ſmooth and level. There is no place be it never ſo little, but it hath ſome trees, (yea albeit it be ſandy), or elſe is full of wild corn, that hath an ear like unto rye: the corn is like oats, and ſmall peaſon as thick as if they had been ſowed and ploughed, white and red gooſeberries, ſtrawberries, blackberries, white and red roſes, with many other flowers of ſweet and pleaſant ſmell. There be alſo many goodly meadows full of graſs, and lakes wherein great plenty of ſalmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon. We named it the Bay of Heat.

Being certified that there was no paſſage through the ſaid bay, we hoiſted ſail and went from S. Martin's Creek on Sunday the 12th July, to go and diſcover further beyond the ſaid bay, and went along the ſea coaſt eaſtwards about 18 leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but ſhallow ground, and the ſea ſtorm ſo, that we were conſtrained to draw towards ſhore, between the ſaid cape and an iſland lying eaſtward about a league from the ſaid cape, where we caſt anchor for the night. The next morning we hoiſted ſail to trend the ſaid coaſt about, which lyeth N.N.E. but there roſe ſuch a ſtormy and raging wind againſt us, that we were reſtrained to come to the place again, from whence we were come. There did we ſtay all that day till the next that we hoiſted up ſail, and came to the midſt of a river five or ſix leagues from the Cape of Prato northward, and being overathwart the ſaid river, there aroſe again a contrary wind, with great fogs and ſtorms, ſo that we were conſtrained upon the 14th to enter into the ſaid river, and there did we ſtay till the 16th, looking for fair weather to come out of it; on which day the wind became ſo raging that one of our ſhips loſt an anchor, and we were conſtrained to go up higher into the river, ſeven or eight leagues, into a good harbour and ground, that we with our boats found out, and through the evil weather, tempeſt, and darkneſs that was,

we

we ſtaid in the ſaid harbour till the 25th of the month, not being able to put out: in the mean time we ſaw a great multitude of wild men that were fiſhing for mackerels, whereof there is great ſtore. Their boats were about 40, and the perſons what with men, women, and children 200; which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the ſides of our ſhips; we gave them knives, combs, beads of glaſs, and other trifles of ſmall value, for which they made many ſigns of gladneſs, lifting their hands up to heaven, dancing and ſinging in their boats. Theſe men may very well and truly be called wild, becauſe there is no poorer people in the world. For I think all they had together beſides their boats and nets, was not worth five ſous. They go altogether naked, ſaving their privities, which are covered with a little ſkin, and certain old ſkins which they caſt upon them. Neither in nature nor in language, do they in any whit agree with them we ſaw firſt: their heads be altogether ſhaven, except one buſh of hair, which they ſuffer to grow on the top of their crown, as long as a horſe's tail, and then with certain leather ſtrings bind it in a knot upon their heads. They have no other dwelling but their boats, which they turn upſide down, and under them they lay themſelves all along upon the bare ground. They eat their fleſh almoſt raw, ſave only that they heat it a little upon ſome embers of coals: ſo do they their fiſh. Upon Magdalen's day, we with our boats went to the bank of the river, and freely went on ſhore among them, whereat they made many ſigns, and all their men in two or three companies began to ſing and dance, ſeeming to be very glad of our coming. They had cauſed all the young women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that ſtaid with them; to each of which we gave a comb, and a little bell made of tin, for which they were very glad, thanking our captain, rubbing his arms and breaſts with their hands. When the men ſaw us give ſomething to thoſe that had ſtayed, it cauſed all the reſt to come out of the wood, to the end they ſhould have as much as the others. Theſe women were about 20, who altogether in a knot fell upon our captain, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their manner of cheriſhing and making much of one, who gave to each of them a little tin bell: then ſuddenly they began to dance and ſing many ſongs. There we found great ſtore of mackrels, that they had taken, upon the ſhore, with certain nets that they make to fiſh, of a kind of hemp that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide; for they never come to the ſea but only in fiſhing time. As far as I underſtand, there groweth likewiſe a kind of millet as big as peaſon, like unto that which groweth in Braſil, which they eat inſtead of bread. They had great ſtore of it, they call it in their tongue Kapaige. They have alſo prunes (that is to ſay damſons) which they dry for winter as we do; they call them Honeſta. They have alſo figs, nuts, apples, and other fruits and beans. If we ſhewed them any thing that they have not, nor know not what it is, ſhaking their heads, they will ſay Nohda, which is as much as to ſay, they have it not, nor they know it not. Of thoſe things they have they would with ſigns ſhew us how to dreſs them, and how they grow. They eat nothing that has any taſte of ſalt. They are very great thieves, for they will filch and ſteal whatſoever they can lay hold of, and all is fiſh that cometh to net.

Upon the 24th of the month we cauſed a fair high croſs to be made of the height of 30 feet, which was made in the preſence of many of them, upon the point of the entrance of the ſaid haven, in the midſt whereof we hanged up a ſhield with three fleur de luces in it, and in the top was carved in the wood with antique letters this poſie. Vive le Roi de France. Then before them all we ſet it upon the ſaid point. They with great heed beheld both the making and ſetting of it up. So ſoon as it was up, we altogether kneeled down before them, with our hands towards heaven, yielding God thanks. And we made ſigns unto them; ſhewing them the heavens and

that all our ſalvation depended only on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they ſhewed a great admiration, looking firſt at one another, and then upon the croſs. And after we were returned to our ſhips, their captain clad with an old bear's ſkin, with three of his ſons, and brother of his with him, came unto us in one of their boats, but they came not ſo near us as they were wont to do: there he made a long oration to us, ſhewing us the croſs we had ſet up, and making a croſs with two fingers, then did he ſhew us all the country about us, as if he would ſay that all was his, and that we ſhould not ſet up any croſs without his leave. His talk being ended we ſhewed to him an axe, faining that we would give it him for his ſkin, to which he liſtened, for by little and little he came near to our ſhips. One of our fellows that was in our boat, took hold on theirs, and ſuddenly leaped into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ſhips whereat they were greatly aſtoniſhed. But our captain did ſtraightways aſſure them, that they ſhould have no harm, nor any injury offered them at all, and entertained them very freely, making them eat and drink. Then did we ſhew them with ſigns, that the croſs was but only ſet up to be as a light and leader which ways to enter into the port, and that we ſhould ſhortly come again, and bring good ſtore of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with us, and afterwards bring them to the ſaid port again, and ſo we cloathed two of them in ſhirts, and coloured coats, with red caps, and put about every one's neck a copper chain, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their old cloaths to their fellows that went back again, and we gave to each one of thoſe three that went back, a hatchet and ſome knives, which made them very glad. After theſe were gone and had told the news unto their fellows, in the afternoon there came to our ſhips ſix boats of them, with five or ſix men in every one, to take their farewells of thoſe two we had detained to take with us, and brought them ſome fiſh, uttering many words which we did not underſtand, making ſigns that they would not remove the croſs we had ſet up.

The next day, being the 25th of the month, we had fair weather and went from the ſaid port: and being out of the river we ſailed N. N. E. for after the entrance into the ſaid river, the land is environed about, and maketh a bay in manner of half a circle, where being in our ſhips, we might ſee all the coaſt ſailing behind, which we came to ſeek; the land lying S. E. and N. W. the courſe of which was diſtant from the river about 20 leagues.

On the 27th of the month, about ſun ſet we went along the ſaid land, as we have ſaid, lying S. E. and N. W. till the 29th that we ſaw another cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the eaſt. We went along about 15 leagues, then doth the land begin to turn northward. About three leagues from the ſaid cape we ſounded and found 24 fathom water. The ſaid lands are plain, and the faireſt and moſt without woods that we have ſeen, with goodly green fields and meadows. We named the ſaid cape, S. Alviſe Cape, becauſe that was his day; it is in 49 degrees and a half latitude. On that morning we were on the eaſt ſide of the cape; and being almoſt night we went northweſtward to approach near to the ſaid land, which trendeth north and ſouth. From S. Alviſe Cape to another called Cape Memorancy, about 15 leagues, the land begnineth to bend N. W. About three leagues from the ſaid cape we would needs ſound, but we could find no ground at 150 fathom, yet went we along the ſaid land about ten leagues to the latitude of 50 degrees. On the firſt of Auguſt by ſun riſing we had certain other lands lying N. and N. E. that were very high and craggy, and ſeemed to be mountains: between which were other low lands with woods and rivers: we went about the ſaid lands as well on the one ſide as the other, ſtill bending N. W. to ſee if it were either a gulfe or a paſſage till the 5th of the month. The diſtance from one land

to

to the other is about 15 leagues. The middle between them both is 50 deg. 20 min. in latitude. We had much ado to go five miles further the winds were ſo great, and the tide againſt us; and at five miles end we might plainly perceive land on both ſides, which there beginneth to ſpread itſelf, but becauſe we rather fell than got away againſt the wind, we went toward land, purpoſing to go to another cape of land lying ſouthward, which was the farthermoſt out into the land that we could ſee, about five leagues from us, but ſo ſoon as we came thither, we found it to be nought elſe but rocks, ſtones, and craggy cliffs, ſuch as we had not found any where ſince we had ſailed ſouthward from S. John's Cape: and then was the tide with us, which carried us againſt the wind weſtward, ſo that as we were ſailing along the ſaid coaſt, one of our boats touched a rock, and ſuddenly went over, but we were conſtrained to leap out for to direct it according to the tide.

After we had ſailed along the ſaid coaſt for the ſpace of two hours, behold the tide began to turn againſt us with ſo ſwift and raging a courſe, that it was not poſſible for us, with 13 oars to row or get one ſtone's caſt further: ſo that we were conſtrained to leave our boats with ſome of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went aſhore to the ſaid cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend S.W. which having ſeen we came to our boats again, and ſo to our ſhips, which were ſtill ready under ſail hoping to go forward: but for all that they were fallen more than four leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where ſo ſoon as we came, we aſſembled together all our captains, maſters, and mariners, to have their advice and opinion what was beſt to be done: and after that every one had ſaid, conſidering that the eaſterly winds began to bear ſway and blow, and that the flood was ſo great we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten and that ſtorms and tempeſts began to reign in Newfoundland, and that we were ſo far from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we muſt agree to return home again, or elſe to ſtay there all the year. Moreover we did conſider that if the northern winds did take us, it were not poſſible for us to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and conſidered, we altogether determined to addreſs ourſelves homeward. Now becauſe upon S. Peter's day we entered into the ſaid ſtraight, we named it S. Peter's Straight. We ſounded it in many places, in ſome we found 150 fathom, in ſome 100, and near the ſhore 60, and clear ground. From that day till Wedneſday following we had a good and proſperous gale of wind, ſo that we trended the ſaid north ſhore E. S. E. W. N. W. for ſuch is the ſituation of it, except one cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the S. E. about 25 leagues from the ſtraight. In this place we ſaw certain ſmokes that the people of the country made upon the ſaid cape, but becauſe the wind blew us toward the coaſt we went not to them, which when they ſaw they came with two boats and twelve men unto us, and as freely came unto our ſhips, as if they had been Frenchmen, and gave us to underſtand that they came from the great gulfe, and that Tiennot was their captain, who then was upon that cape making ſigns unto us, that they were going home to their countries whence we were come with our ſhips, and that they were laden with fiſh. We named the ſaid cape, Cape Tiennot. From the ſaid cape all the land trendeth E. S. E. and W. N. W. All theſe lands lie low, very pleaſant environed with ſand, where the ſea is intermingled with marſhes and ſhallows, the ſpace of 20 leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from weſt to E. N. E. altogether environed with iſlands two or three leagues from land, in which as far as we could ſee are many dangerous ſhoals more than four or five leagues from land.

From the ſaid Wedneſday until Saturday following we had a great wind from the S. W. which cauſed us to run E. N. E. on which day we came to the eaſterly parts of

Newfoundland, between the granges and the double cape: there began great ſtormy winds coming from the eaſt with great rage: wherefore we coaſted the cape N. N. W. to ſearch the northern parts, which is (as we have ſaid) all environed with iſlands; and being near the ſaid iſlands and land, the wind turned into the ſouth, which brought us within the ſaid gulfe, ſo that the next day, being the 9th of Auguſt, we by the grace of God entered within the White Sands. And this is ſo much as we have diſcovered. After that upon the 15th of Auguſt, we altogether departed from the port of White Sands, and with a happy and a proſperous weather, we came into the middle of the ſea, that is between Newfoundland and Britany. In which place we were toſſed and turmoiled three days long with great ſtorms and windy tempeſts coming from the eaſt, which with the aid and aſſiſtance of God we ſuffered: then had we fair weather, and upon the 5th of September, in the ſaid year, we came to the port of S. Malo whence we departed.

A SHORT

# A SHORT AND BRIEF NARRATION

OF THE

# NAVIGATION MADE BY THE COMMANDMENT OF THE KING OF FRANCE,

TO THE

# ISLANDS OF CANADA, HOCHELAGA, SAGUENAY, AND DIVERS OTHERS, WHICH NOW ARE CALLED NEW FRANCE;

WITH THE PARTICULAR CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS THEREIN.*

IN the year of our Lord 1535, upon Whitſunday, being the 16th of May, by the commandment of our Captain James Cartier, and with a common accord, in the cathedral church of S. Malo, we devoutly each one confeſſed ourſelves, and received the ſacrament: and all entering into the choir of the ſaid church, we preſented ourſelves before the reverend father in Chriſt, the Lord Biſhop of S. Malo, who bleſſed us all, being in his biſhop's robes. The Wedneſday following, being the 19th of May, there aroſe a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoiſted ſail with three ſhips, that is to ſay, the Great Hermina, being in burthen, about 100 or 120 ton, wherein the aforeſaid Captain James Cartier was general, and Maſter Thomas Froſmont chief maſter, accompanied with Maſter Claudius de Pont Briand, ſon to the Lord of Montceuell, and cup-bearer to the dauphin of France, Charles of Pomeraces, John Powlet, and other gentlemen. In the ſecond ſhip called the Little Hermina, being of three-ſcore ton burthen, were Captains under the ſaid Cartier, Mace Salobert, and Maſter, William-Marie. In the third ſhip called the Hermerillon, being of 40 ton in burthen, were Captains M. William Britton and M. James Maingare. So we ſailed with a good and proſperous wind, until the 20th of the ſaid month, at which time the weather turned into ſtorms and tempeſts, the which with contrary winds and darkneſs, endured ſo long, that our ſhips being without any reſt, ſuffered as much as any ſhips that ever went on ſeas: ſo that the 25th of June, by reaſon of that foul and foggy weather, all our ſhips loſt ſight of one another again till we came to Newfoundland, where we appointed to meet. After we had loſt one another, we in the general's ſhip were with contrary winds toſt to and fro on the ſea, until the 7th of July, upon which day we arrived at Newfoundland, and came to the iſland called the Iſland of Birds, which lyeth from the main land 14 leagues. This iſland is ſo full of birds, that all our ſhips might have been freighted with them, and yet from the great number that there is, it would not ſeem that any were taken away. We to victual ourſelves filled two boats of them. This iſland hath the pole elevated 49 deg. 40 min. Upon the 8th of the ſaid month we ſailed further, and with a proſperous weather came to the port called the Port of White Sands, that is in the Bay called the Bay of Caſtels, where we had purpoſed to meet and ſtay together the 15th of the ſaid month. In this place therefore we looked for our fellows, that is to ſay, the other two ſhips, till the 26th, on which

* Hakluyt, iii. 212.

day both came together. So ſoon as our fellows were come we ſet our ſhips in a readineſs, taking in water, wood, and other neceſſaries, and then on the 29th of the ſaid month, we hoiſted ſail to paſs on further, and ſailing along the northern coaſt, that runneth N.E. and S.W. till two hours after ſun-ſet or thereabouts, then we croſſed along two iſlands, which do ſtretch further forth than the others, which we called S. William's Iſlands, being diſtant about 20 leagues or more from the port of Breſt. All the coaſt from the Caſtels to that place lyeth eaſt and weſt, N.E. and S.W. having between it, ſundry little iſlands altogether barren and full of ſtones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30th of July, we ſailed on weſtward, to find out other iſlands, which as yet we had not found, 12 leagues and a half: among which there is a great bay towards the north, all full of iſlands and great creeks, where many good harbours ſeem to be: them we named S. Martha's Iſlands, from which about a league and a half into the ſea, there is a dangerous ſhallow, wherein are five rocks, which lie from S. Martha's Iſlands about ſeven leagues, as you paſs into the ſaid iſlands, on the eaſt and on the weſt ſide, to which we came the ſaid day, about an hour after noon, and from that hour until morning we ſailed about 15 leagues athwart a cape of the lower iſlands, which we named S. German's Iſland, ſouth-eaſtward, from which place about three leagues there is a very dangerous ſhallow. Likewiſe between S. German's Cape and S. Martha's, about two leagues from the ſaid iſlands, there lyeth a bank of ſand, upon which bank the water is but four fathom deep, and therefore ſeeing the danger of the coaſt, we ſtruck ſail and went no further that night. The next day being the laſt of July, we went all along the coaſt that runneth eaſt and weſt, and ſomewhat ſouth-eaſterly, which is all environed about with iſlands and dry ſands, and in truth is very dangerous.

The length from S. German's Cape to the ſaid iſlands is about 17 leagues and a half, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the reſt of the coaſt is compaſſed about with ſands, without any ſign or ſhow of harbour, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth N. W. about ſeven leagues from the foreſaid iſlands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we ſailed on all that night W. and W. N. W. till it was day, and then the wind turned againſt us, wherefore we went to ſeek a haven, wherein we might harbour our ſhips, and by good hap found one for our purpoſe about ſeven leagues and a half beyond Cape Thiennot, and that we named S. Nicholas Haven; it lyeth amidſt four iſlands that ſtretch into the ſea: upon the neareſt we for a token ſet up a wooden croſs. But note by the way that this croſs muſt be brought N. E. and then bending toward it, leave it on the left hand, and you ſhall find ſix fathom water, and within the haven four. Alſo you are to take heed of two ſhelves that lean outward half a league.

All this coaſt is full of ſhoals and very dangerous, albeit in ſight many good havens ſeem to be there, yet is there nought elſe but ſhelves and ſands. We ſtaid and reſted ourſelves in the ſaid haven until the 7th of Auguſt, on which day we hoiſted ſail and came toward land on the ſouth ſide toward Cape Rabaſt, diſtant from the ſaid haven about 20 leagues N. N. E. and S. S. W., but the next day there roſe a ſtormy and contrary wind, and becauſe we could find no haven there toward the ſouth, thence we went coaſting along toward the north, beyond the aforeſaid haven about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of iſlands, paſſages, and entrances towards what wind ſoever you pleaſe to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great iſland that is like to a cape of land, ſtretching ſomewhat further forth than the others, and about two leagues within the land there is a hill, faſhioned as it were a heap of corn. We named the ſaid gulph S. Laurence's Bay.

The

Drawn by S. Owen. Engraved by George Cooke

View of the Pierced Island, a remarkable Rock in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

London. Published by Longman Hurst Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Oct.r 1. 1812.

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The 12th of the ſaid month we went from the ſaid S. Laurence's Bay, or gulfe, ſailing weſtward, and diſcovered a cape of land toward the ſouth, that runneth weſt and by ſouth, diſtant from the ſaid S. Laurence's Bay about 25 leagues.

And of the two wild men we took in our former voyage, it was told us, that this was part of the ſouthern coaſt, and that there was an iſland, on the ſoutherly part of which, is the way to go from Honguedo (where the year before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two days journey from the ſaid cape and iſland, began the kingdom of Saguenay, on the north ſhore extending towards Canada; and about three leagues athwart the ſaid cape, there is 100 fathom water. Moreover, I believe there were never ſo many whales ſeen as we ſaw that day about the ſaid cape.

The next day, the 15th, having paſſed the ſtreight, we had notice of certain lands that we left towards the ſouth, which lands are full of very great and high hills, and this cape we named the Iſland of the Aſſumption; and one cape of the ſaid high countries, lyeth E. N. E. and W. S. W. the diſtance between which is about 25 leagues. The countries lying north may plainly be perceived to be higher than the ſoutherly, more than 30 leagues in length.

We trended the ſaid lands about towards the ſouth: from the ſaid day until Tueſday noon following, the wind came weſt, and therefore we bended towards the north, purpoſing to go and ſee the land that we before had ſpied.

Being arrived there we found the ſaid lands, as it were, joined together and low towards the ſea. And the northerly mountains that are upon the ſaid low lands ſtretch eaſt and weſt, and a quarter of the ſouth. Our wild men told us, that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence cometh the red copper, of them named Caignetdaze.

There is between the ſoutherly lands and the northerly, about 30 leagues diſtance, and more than 200 fathom depth. The ſaid men did moreover certify unto us, that there was the way and beginning of the great river of Hochelaga, and ready way to Canada, which river the farther it went, the narrower it came, even unto Canada, and that then there was freſh water, which went ſo far upwards, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other paſſage but with ſmall boats. Our captain hearing their talk, and how they did affirm no other paſſage to be there, would not at that time proceed any farther, till he had ſeen and noted the other lands and coaſt towards the north, which he had omitted to ſee from S. Laurence's Gulfe, becauſe he would know if between the lands towards the north any paſſage might be diſcovered.

Upon the 28th of Auguſt, our captain cauſed his ſhips to wind back and bend toward the other ſhore; ſo that we trended the ſaid northerly coaſt, which runneth N. E. and S. W. being faſhioned like unto half a bow, and is very high land, but yet not ſo high as that on the ſouth parts. The next day we came to ſeven very high iſlands, which we named the Round Iſlands. Theſe iſlands are diſtant from the ſouth ſhore about 40 leagues, and ſtretch out into the ſea about three or four leagues. Againſt theſe there are goodly low grounds to be ſeen full of goodly trees, which we on the 20th, with our boats compaſſed about.

Overthwart theſe lands there are divers ſandy ſhelves, more than two leagues into the ſea, very dangerous, which at low water remain almoſt dry. At the furtheſt bounds of theſe low iſlands, that contain about ten leagues, there is a river of freſh water that with ſuch ſwiftneſs runneth into the ſea, that for the ſpace of one league within it, the water is as freſh as any fountain water. We with our boats entered into the ſaid river, at the entrance of which we found about one fathom and a half of water. There are in

this river many fiſhes ſhaped like horſes, which, as our wild men told us, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we ſaw therein a great number.

The next day, being the 21ſt of the month, by break of day we hoiſted ſail, and ſailed ſo long along the ſaid coaſt, that we had ſight of the reſt of the ſaid northern coaſt, which as yet we had not ſeen, and of the Iſland of the Aſſumption which we went to diſcover, departing from the ſaid land: which thing ſo done as we had done, and that we were certified no other paſſage to be there, we came to our ſhips again, which we had left at the ſaid iſlands, where is a good harbour, the water being about nine or ten fathom.

In the ſame place by reaſon of contrary winds and foggy miſts, we were conſtrained to ſtay, not being able either to come out of it, or hoiſt ſail, till the 24th of the month. On which day we departed and came to a haven on the ſoutherly coaſt, about 80 leagues from the ſaid iſlands.

This haven is over-againſt three flat iſlands that lie amidſt the river, becauſe on the midway between thoſe iſlands and the ſaid haven toward the north there is a very great river, that runneth between the high and low lands, and more than three leagues into the ſea it hath many ſhelves, and there is not altogether two fathom water; ſo that the place is very dangerous: and near unto the ſaid ſhelves there is either 15 or 20 fathom from ſhore to ſhore. All the northerly coaſt runneth N. E. by N. and S. W. by S. The ſaid haven wherein we ſtaid on the ſouth ſide, is as it were, but a ſluice of the waters that riſe by the flood, and but of ſmall account: we named them S. John's Iſlets, becauſe we found them and entered into them, the day of the beheading of that ſaint. And before you come to the ſaid haven, there is an iſland lying eaſtward, about five leagues diſtant from the ſame, between which and the land there is no paſſage only for ſmall boats. The haven of S. John's Iſlets dryeth up all the waters that riſe by flowing, although they flow two fathom at the leaſt.

The beſt place to harbour ſhips therein, is on the ſouth part of a little iſland that is over-againſt the ſaid haven, whereby the bank or ſhore of the iſland riſeth.

Upon the firſt of September we departed out of the ſaid haven, purpoſing to go towards Canada, and about 15 leagues from it towards the W. and W. S. W. amidſt the river there are three iſlands, over-againſt the which there is a river that runneth ſwift, and is of a great depth, and is that which leadeth and runneth into the country and kingdom of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told us. This river paſſeth and runneth along very high and ſteep hills of bare ſtone, where very little earth is, and notwithſtanding there is great quantity of ſundry ſorts of trees, that grow in the ſaid bare ſtones, even as upon good and fertile ground, in ſuch ſort that we have ſeen ſome ſo great, as well would ſuffice to make a maſt for a ſhip 30 ton burthen, and as green as poſſibly can be, growing in a ſtoney rock without any earth at all.

At the entrance of the ſaid river we met with four boats full of wild men, which, as far as we could perceive, very fearfully came toward us, ſo that ſome of them went back again, and the other came as near us as eaſily they might hear and underſtand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then took acquaintance of them, upon whoſe word they came to us.

The next day, the 2d September, we came out of the ſaid river to go to Canada, and by reaſon of the ſea's flowing, the tide was very ſwift and dangerous, for that on the ſouth part of it there lie two iſlands, about which more than three leagues compaſs, lie many rocks and great ſtones, and but two fathom water: and the flowing amidſt thoſe iſlands is very unconſtant and doubtful, ſo that if it had not been for our boats, we had

had been in great danger to loſe our pinnace: and coaſting along the ſaid dry ſands, there is more than 30 fathom water.

About five leagues beyond the river of Saguenay S. W. there is another iſland on the north ſide, wherein are certain high lands, and thereabouts we thought to have caſt anchor, on purpoſe to ſtay the next tide, but we could found no ground in 120 fathom, within a ſlight ſhoot from ſhore; ſo that we were conſtrained to wind back to the ſaid iſland, where we founded again and found 35 fathom.

The next morning we hoiſted ſail and went thence, ſailing further on, where we had notice of a certain kind of fiſh never before of any man ſeen or known; they are about the bigneſs of a porpoiſe, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, heaved like greyhounds, altogether as white as ſnow without any ſpot; within which river there is great quantity of them: they do live altogether between the ſea and the freſh water. Theſe people of the country call them Adhothuys; they told us that they be very ſavory and good to be eaten. Moreover they affirm none to be found elſewhere but in the mouth of that river.

The 6th of the month, the weather being calm and fair, we went about fifteen leagues more upward into the river, and there lighted on an iſland that looketh northward, and it maketh a little haven or creek wherein are many and innumerable great tortoiſes, continually lying about that iſland. There are likewiſe great quantities of the ſaid Adhothuys, taken by the inhabitants of the country, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeux in France, at every tide. This iſland is in length about three leagues, and in breadth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, repleniſhed with many goodly and great trees of many ſorts; among the reſt there are many filbert trees, which we found hanging full of them, ſomewhat bigger and better in ſavour than ours, but ſomewhat harder; and therefore we called it the Iſland of Filberts.

The 7th of the month, being our Lady's even, after ſervice we went from that iſland, to go up higher into the river, and came to fourteen iſlands, ſeven or eight leagues from the Iſland of Filberts, where the country of Canada beginneth, one of which iſlands is ten leagues in length, and five in breadth, greatly inhabited by ſuch men as only live by fiſhing of ſuch ſort of fiſhes as the river affordeth, according to the ſeaſon of them.

After we had caſt anchor between the ſaid great iſland and the northerly coaſt, we went on land and took our two wild men with us, meeting with many of thoſe country people, who would not at all approach unto us, but rather fled from us, until our two men began to ſpeak unto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who ſo ſoon as they had taken acquaintance of them, began greatly to rejoice, dancing and ſhewing many ſorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefeſt of them came to our boats, and brought many eels and other ſorts of fiſhes, with two or three burdens of great millet, wherewith they made their bread, and many great muſk melons. The ſame day came alſo many other boats, full of thoſe countrymen and women, to ſee and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteouſly received and entertained of our captain, as poſſibly could be: and to have them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, he gave them many ſmall gifts, but of ſmall value; nevertheleſs they were greatly contented with them.

The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whoſe proper name was Dounacona, but by the name of lord, they called him Agouhanna) with twelve boats, came to our ſhip, accompanied with many other people, who cauſing ten of his boats to go back with the other two, approached unto us with ſixteen men. Then began the Agouhanna over-againſt the ſmalleſt of our ſhips, according to their manner and faſhion to frame a

long oration, moving all his body and members after a ſtrange faſhion, which thing is a ceremony and ſign of gladneſs and ſecurity among them; and then coming to the general's ſhip where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he ſpake with them and they with him, where they began to tell and ſhew unto him what they had ſeen in France, and what good entertainment they had had: hearing which things the ſaid lord ſeemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our captain to reach him his arm, that he might kiſs it, which thing he did: their lord taking it, laid it about his neck, for ſo they uſed to do when they will make much of one. Then our captain entered into Agouhanna's boat, and cauſing bread and wine to be brought to make the ſaid lord and his company to eat and drink, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby content and ſatisfied. Our captain for that time gave them nothing, becauſe he looked for a fitter opportunity.

Theſe things being done, each one took leave of others, and the ſaid lord went with his boats again to the place of his abode. Our captain then cauſed our boats to be ſet in order, that with the next tide he might go up higher into the river, to find ſome ſafe harbour for our ſhips: and we paſſed up the river againſt the ſtream about ten leagues, coaſting the ſaid iſland, at the end whereof we found a goodly and pleaſant ſound, where is a little river and haven, where by reaſon of the flood there is about three fathom water. This place ſeemed very fit and commodious to harbour our ſhips in, and ſo we did very ſafely; we named it the Holy Croſs (Santa Croix) for on that day we came thither. Near unto it there is a village, whereof Dounacona is lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as poſſibly may be ſeen, and therewithal very fruitful, full of goodly trees even as in France, ſuch as oaks, elms, aſhes, walnut-trees, maple-trees, cydrons, vines, and white thorns, that bring forth fruit as big as any damſons, and many other ſorts of trees, under which groweth as fair tall hemp as any in France, without any ſeed, or any man's work or labour at all.

Having conſidered the place, and finding it fit for our purpoſe, our captain withdrew himſelf on purpoſe to return to our ſkips; but behold as we were coming out of the river, we met coming againſt us, one of the lords of the ſaid village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others as men, women, and children, who after the faſhion of their country, in ſign of mirth and joy, began to make a long oration, the women ſtill ſinging and dancing up to the knees in water. Our captain knowing their good will and kindneſs towards us, cauſed the boat wherein they were to come unto him, and gave them certain trifles, as knives and beads of glaſs, whereat they were marvellous glad, for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleaſure they conceived of our coming, we might hear them ſing, and ſee them dance for all they were ſo far.

After we were come with our boats unto our ſhip again, our captain cauſed our barks to be made ready to go on land in the ſaid iſland, to note the trees that in ſhew ſeemed ſo fair, and to conſider the nature and quality of it: which thing we did and found it full of goodly trees like to ours. Alſo we ſaw many goodly vines, a thing not of us ſeen before in thoſe countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iſland. It is in length about twelve leagues, in ſight very pleaſant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, unleſs it be in certain places, were a few cottages be, for fiſher's dwellings, as before we have ſaid. The next day we departed with our ſhips to bring them to the place of the Holy Croſs; and the 14th of that month we came thither, and the lord Dounacona, Taignoagny and Domagaia, with twenty-five boats full of thoſe people came to meet us, coming from the place whence we were come,

and going towards Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ſhips, ſhewing ſundry and divers geſtures of gladneſs and mirth, except thoſe two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny and Domagaia, who ſeemed to have altered and changed their mind and purpoſe, for by no means would they come unto our ſhips, albeit ſundry times they were earneſtly deſired to do it, whereupon we began to miſtruſt ſomewhat. Our captain aſked them if according to promiſe they would go with him to Hochelaga; they anſwered yea, for ſo they had purpoſed, and then each one withdrew himſelf. The next day, the 15th, our captain went on ſhore, to cauſe certain poles and pikes to be driven into the water and ſet up, that the better and ſafelier we might harbour our ſhips there: and many of thoſe country people came to meet us there, among whome was Dounacona and our two men, with the reſt of their company, who kept themſelves aſide, under a point or nook of land that is upon the ſhore of a certain river, and no one of them came unto us, as the other did that were not on their ſide. Our captain underſtanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the ſaid point where he found the ſaid Dounacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and divers others, and after ſalutations given on each ſide, Taignoagny ſettled himſelf foremoſt to ſpeak to our captain, ſaying that the lord Dounacona did greatly grieve and ſorrow that our captain and his men did wear warlike weapons, and they not. Our captain anſwered, that albeit it did grieve them, yet would he not leave them off, and that (as he knew) it was the manner of France. But for all theſe words our captain and Dounacona left not off to ſpeak one to another, and friendly to entertain one another. Then did we perceive that whatſoever Taignoagny ſpake, was only long of himſelf and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence, our captain and Dounacona entered into a marvellous ſtedfaſt league of friendſhip, whereupon all his people at once with a loud voice, caſt out three great cries (a horrible thing to hear), and each one having taken leave of the other for that day, we went aboard again.

The day following we brought our two great ſhips within the river and harbour, where the waters being at the higheſt are three fathom deep, and at the loweſt but half a fathom. We left our pinnace without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So ſoon as we had ſafely placed our ſhips, behold we ſaw Dounacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with more than 500 perſons, men, women, and children, and the ſaid lord, with ten or twelve of the chiefeſt of the country came aboard of our ſhips, who were all courteouſly received, and friendly entertained of our captain and of all of us: and divers gifts of ſmall value were given them. Then did Taignoagny tell our captain that his lord did greatly ſorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any means permit that any of them ſhould go with him, becauſe the river was of no importance. Our captain anſwered him that for all his ſaying, he would not leave off his going thither, if by any means it were poſſible, for that he was commanded by his king, to go as far as poſſibly he could; that if he (Taignoagny) would go with him as he had promiſed, he ſhould be very well entertained, beſides that he ſhould have ſuch a gift given him, as he ſhould well content himſelf: for he ſhould do nothing elſe but go with him to Hochelaga and come again. To whom Taignoagny anſwered, that he would not by any means go; and thereupon they ſuddenly returned to their houſes.

The next day, being the 17th of September, Dounacona and his company returned even as at the firſt, and brought with him many eels, with ſundry ſorts of other fiſhes, whereof they take great ſtore in the ſaid river, as more largely hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. And as ſoon as they were come to our ſhips, according to their wonted uſe, they

they began to ſing and dance. This done, Dounacona cauſed all his people to be ſet on the one ſide, then making a round circle upon the ſand, he cauſed our captain, with all his people to enter thereinto; then he began to make a long oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelve years old, which he preſented unto our captain: then ſuddenly began all his people to make three great ſhrieks or howls, in ſign of joy and league of friendſhip; preſently upon that he did preſent unto him, two other young male children one after another, but younger than the other, at the giving of which, even as before, they gave out ſhrieks and howls very loud, with other ceremonies; for which preſents our captain gave the ſaid lord great and hearty thanks.

Then Taignoagny told our captain that one of the children was his own brother, and that the maiden child was daughter unto the ſaid lord's own ſiſter, and the preſents were only given him to the end he ſhould not go to Hochelaga at all: to whom our captain anſwered, that if they were only given him to that intent, if ſo he would, he ſhould take them again, for that by no means he would leave his going off, for as much as he was ſo commanded of his king. But concerning this Domagaia told our captain that their lord had given him thoſe children as a ſign and token of good-will and ſecurity, and that he was contented to go with him to Hochelaga, upon which talk great words aroſe between Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainly perceived that Taignoagny was but a crafty knave, and that he intended but miſchief and treaſon, as well by this deed, as others that we by him had ſeen. After that our captain cauſed the ſaid children to be put in our ſhips, and cauſed two ſwords and two copper baſons, the one wrought the other plain, to be brought unto him, and them he gave to Dounacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yielding moſt hearty thanks unto our captain for them, and preſently upon that he commanded all his people to ſing and dance, and deſired our captain to cauſe a piece of artillery to be ſhot off, becauſe Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them marvellous things, and alſo becauſe they had never heard nor ſeen any before: to whom our captain anſwered, that he was content, and by and by he commanded his men to ſhoot off twelve cannons charged with bullets, into the wood that was hard by thoſe people and ſhips, at whoſe noiſe they were greatly aſtoniſhed and amazed, for they thought that heaven had fallen upon them, and put themſelves to flight, howling, crying, and ſhrieking, ſo that it ſeemed hell had broken looſe. But before we went thence, Taignoagny cauſed other men to tell us, that thoſe men which we had left in our pinnace in the road, had ſlain two men of their company, with a piece of ordnance that they had ſhot off, whereupon the reſt had put themſelves all to flight, as though they ſhould all have been ſlain: which afterwards we found untrue, becauſe our men had not ſhot off any piece at all that day.

The next day, being the 18th of September, theſe men ſtill endeavoured themſelves to ſeek all poſſible means to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deviſed a pretty guile as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. They went and dreſſed three men like devils, being wrapped in dogs ſkins, white and black, their faces beſmeared as black as any coals, with horns on their heads more than a yard long, and cauſed them ſecretly to be put in one of their boats, but came not near our ſhips as they were wont to do, for they lay hidden within the wood for the ſpace of two hours, looking for the tide, to the end the boat where the devils were, might approach and come near us, which, when time was, came, and all the reſt iſſued out of the wood, coming to us, but yet not ſo near as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to ſalute our captain, who aſked him, if he would have the boat to come for him; he anſwered, not for that time,

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but after a while he would come unto our ſhips; then preſently came that boat ruſhing out, wherein the three counterfeit devils were, with ſuch long horns on their heads, and the middlemoſt came making a long oration and paſſed along our ſhips without turning or looking towards us, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Dounacona with all his people purſue them, and lay hold on the boat and devils, who ſo ſoon as the men were come to them, fell proſtrate in the boat, even as if they had been dead: then were they taken up and carried into the wood, not one ſtaying behind with us, where being, they began to make a long diſcourſe, ſo loud that we might hear them in our ſhips, which laſted about half an hour, and being ended we began to eſpy Taignoagny, and Domagaia coming towards us, holding their hands upwards joined together, carrying their hats under their upper garments, ſhewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking up to heaven, cried three times, Jeſus, Jeſus, Jeſus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cried, Jeſus, Maria, James Carthier. Our captain hearing him and ſeeing their geſtures and ceremonies, aſked of them what they ailed, and what was happened or chanced anew, they anſwered that there were very ill tidings befallen, ſaying in French, *Nenni eſt il bon*, that is to ſay, *it was not good:* our captain aſked them again what it was; then anſwered they, that their god Cudruaigny had ſpoken in Hochelaga, and that he had ſent thoſe three men to ſhew unto them, that there was ſo much ice and ſnow in that country, that whoſoever went thither ſhould die; which words when we heard, we laughed and mocked them, ſaying, that their god Cudruaigny was but a fool and a noddy, for he knew not what he did or ſaid; then bade we them ſhew his meſſengers from us, that Chriſt would defend them from all cold, if they would believe in him. Then did they aſk of our captain if he had ſpoken with Jeſus: he anſwered, no, but that his prieſts had, and that he had told them, that they ſhould have fair weather: which words when they had heard they thanked our captain, and depárted towards the wood to tell thoſe news unto their fellows, who ſuddenly came all ruſhing out of the wood, ſeeming to be very glad for thoſe words our captain had ſpoken, and to ſhew that thereby they had, and felt great joy, ſo ſoon as they were before our ſhips, they altogether gave out three great ſhrieks, and thereupon began to ſing and dance, as they were wont to do. But for a reſolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia told our captain, that their lord Dounacona would by no means permit that any of them ſhould go with him to Hochelaga, unleſs he would leave him ſome hoſtage to ſtay with him: our captain anſwered to them, that if they would not go with him with a good will, they ſhould ſtay, but that for all them he would not leave off his journey thither.

The next day being the 19th of September we hoiſted ſail, and with our pinnace and two boats departed to go up the river with the flood; where on both ſhores of it we began to ſee as goodly a country as poſſibly can e'er with eye be ſeen: all repleniſhed with very goodly trees, and vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the river, which rather ſeemed to be planted by man's hand than otherwiſe. True it is, that becauſe they are not dreſſed and wrought as they ſhould be, their bunches of grapes are not ſo great nor ſweet as ours. Alſo we ſaw all along the river many houſes inhabited by fiſhers, which take all kinds of fiſhes, and they came with as great familiarity and kindneſs unto us, as if we had been their countrymen, and brought us great ſtore of fiſh, with other ſuch things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting up their hands towards heaven, gave many ſigns of joy.

We ſtayed at a place called Hochelai, about 25 leagues from Canada, where the river waxeth very narrow, and runneth very ſwift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not

only for that, but alſo for certain great ſtones that are therein: many boats and barks came unto us, in one of which came one of the chief lords of the country, making a long diſcourſe, who being come near us did by evident ſigns and geſtures ſhew us, that the higher the river went, the more dangerous it was, and bade us take heed of ourſelves. The ſaid lord preſented and gave unto our captain; two of his own children, of which our captain took one, being a wench of ſeven or eight years old; the man child he gave him again, becauſe it was too young, for it was but two or three years old. Our captain as friendly and courteouſly as he could, did entertain and receive the ſaid lord and his company, giving them certain ſmall trifles, and ſo they departed toward the ſhore again. Afterward the ſaid lord and his wife came unto Canada to viſit his daughter, bringing unto our captain certain ſmall preſents.

From the 19th until the 28th of September, we ſailed up along the ſaid river, never loſing one hour of time; all which time we ſaw as goodly and pleaſant a country as poſſible can be wiſhed for; full (as we have ſaid before) of all ſorts of goodly trees, that is to ſay, oaks, elms, walnut trees, cedars, firs, aſhes, box, willows, and great ſtore of vines, all as full of grapes as could be, ſo that if any of our fellows went on ſhore, they came home laden with them: there are likewiſe many cranes, ſwans, geeſe, ducks, pheaſants, partridges, thruſhes, blackbirds, turtles, finches, redbreaſts, nightingales, ſparrows of divers kinds, with many other ſorts of birds even as in France, and great plenty and ſtore.

Upon the 28th of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the river five or ſix leagues broad and twelve long; all that day we went againſt the tide, having but two fathom water, ſtill keeping the ſaid ſcantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could eſpy no paſſage or going out, nay, rather it ſeemed to have been cloſed and ſhut up round about, and there was but a fathom and a half of water, little more or leſs. And therefore we were conſtrained to caſt anchor, and to ſtay with our pinnace, and went with our two boats to ſeek ſome going out, and in one place we found four or five branches, which out of the river come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the ſaid branches, becauſe of the great fierceneſs and ſwiftneſs wherewith they break out, and the courſe of the water, they make certain bars and ſhoals, and at that time there was but a fathom water.

Thoſe ſhoals being paſſed, we found four or five fathom, and as far as we could perceive by the flood, it was that time of the year that the waters are loweſt, for at other times they flow higher by three fathom. All theſe four or five branches do compaſs about five or ſix iſlands very pleaſant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteen leagues beyond they do all come into one.

That day we landed in one of the ſaid iſlands, and met with five men, that were hunting of wild beaſts, who as freely and familiarly came to our boats without any fear, as if we had ever been brought up together. Our boats being ſomewhat near the ſhore, one of them took our captain in his arms, and carried him on ſhore, and lightly and as eaſily as if he had been a child of five years old; ſo ſtrong and ſturdy was this fellow. We found that they had a great heap of wild rats that live in the water, as big as a coney, and very good to eat, which they gave unto our captain, who for a recompence gave them knives and glaſs beads. We aſked them in ſigns if that was the way to Hochelaga, they anſwered yea, and that we had yet three days ſailing thither.

The next day our captain, ſeeing that for that time it was not poſſible for our pinnace to go on any farther, he cauſed our boats to be made ready, and as much munition

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and victuals to be put in them, as they could well bear: he departed with them, accompanied with many gentlemen, that is to say, Cladius of Ponte Briand, Cupbearer to the Lord Dauphin of France, Charles of Pomeraye, John Govion, John Powlet, with twenty-eight mariners, and Mace Tallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge under the captain of the other two ships, to go up as far as they could into that river: we sailed with good and prosperous weather until the 2d October, on which day we came to the town of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our pinnace 45 leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of those countrymen, who brought us fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly rejoicing at our coming. Our captain to lure them in, and to keep them our friends, to recompence them gave them knives, beads, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied.

So soon as we were come near Hochelaga, there came to meet us above 1000 persons, men, women, and children; who afterward did as friendly and merrily entertain and receive us, as any father would do his child, which he had not of long time seen, the men dancing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another: after that they brought us great store of fish, and of their bread made of millet, casting them into our boats so thick, that you would have thought it to fall from heaven: which when our captain saw, he with many of his company went on shore: so soon as ever we were a-land, they came clustering about us, making very much of us, bringing their young children in their arms, only to have our captain and his company to touch them, making signs and shews of great mirth and gladness, that lasted more than half an hour. Our captain seeing their loving kindness and entertainment of us, caused all the women orderly to be set in array, and gave them beads made of tin, and other such small trifles, and to some of the men he gave knives: then he returned to the boats to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as near our boats as they might, making great fires, and dancing very merrily, still crying Aguaize, which in their tongue signifies mirth and safety.

Our captain the next day very early in the morning, having very gorgeously attired himself, caused all his company to be set in order, to go to see the town and habitation of those people, and a certain mountain that is somewhat near the city: with whom went also five gentlemen and 20 mariners, leaving the rest to keep and look to our boats: we took with us three men of Hochelaga to bring us to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best country that possibly can be seen, full of as goodly great oaks as are in any wood in France, under which the ground was all covered over with fair acorns.

After we had gone about four or five miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest lords of the city, accompanied with many more, who so soon as he saw us, beckoned and made signs upon us, that we must rest us in that place where they had made a great fire, and so we did. After that we had rested ourselves there a while, the said lord began to make along discourse, even as we have said above, they are accustomed to do in sign of mirth and friendship, shewing our captain and all his company a joyful countenance and good will, who gave him two hatchets, a pair of knives, and a cross which he made him to kiss, and then put it about his neck, for which he gave our captain hearty thanks. This done we went along, and about a mile and a half further, we began to find goodly and large fields, full of such corn as the country yieldeth: it is even as the millet of Brasil, as great and somewhat bigger than small peason, wherewith they live even as we do with ours.

In the midſt of thoſe fields, is the city of Hochelaga, placed near, and as it were joined to a great mountain, that is tilled round about, very fertile on the top of which you may ſee very far, we named it Mount Royal. The city of Hochelaga is round, compaſſed about with timber, with three courſe of rampires, one within another, framed like a ſharp ſpire, but laid acroſs above: the middlemoſt of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The rampires are framed and faſhioned with pieces of timber, laid along on the ground, very well and cunningly joined together after their faſhion: this encloſure is in height about two rods: it hath but one gate or entry thereat, which is ſhut with piles, ſtakes and bars: over it, and alſo in many places of the wall, there be places to run along, and ladders to get up, all full of ſtones, for the defence of it.

There are in the town about 50 houſes, about 50 paces long, and 12 or 15 broad, built all of wood, covered over with the bark of the wood as broad as any board, very finely and cunningly joined together. Within the ſaid houſes there are many rooms, lodgings, and chambers. In the midſt of every one, there is a great court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common together; then do the huſbands, wives, and children, each one retire themſelves to their chambers. They have alſo on the tops of their houſes certain garrets, wherein they keep their corn to make their bread withal: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter ſhall follow. They have certain pieces of wood made hollow, like thoſe whereon we beat our hemp, and with certain bettus of wood, they beat their corn to powder; then they make paſte of it, and of the paſte, cakes or wreaths, then they lay them on a broad and hot ſtone, and then cover it with hot ſtones, and ſo they bake their bread inſtead of ovens. They make alſo ſundry ſorts of pottage with the ſaid corn and alſo of peaſe and of beans, whereof they have great ſtore, as alſo with other fruits, as muſk mellons, and very great cucumbers. They have alſo in their houſes certain veſſels, as big as any butt or ton, wherein they preſerve and keep their fiſh, cauſing the ſame in ſummer to be dried in the ſun, and live therewith in winter, whereof they make great proviſion, as we by experience have ſeen. All their viands and meals are without any ſavour or ſalt at all. They ſleep upon barks of trees laid all along upon the ground, being overſpread with the ſkins of certain wild beaſts, wherewith they alſo clothe and cover themſelves. The thing moſt precious that they have in all the world they call Eſurgny: it is as white as any ſnow: they take it in the ſaid river of Cornibotz in the manner following. When any one hath deſerved death, or that they take any of their enemies in wars, firſt they kill him, then with certain knives, they give great ſlaſhes upon their buttocks, flanks, thighs, and ſhoulders; then they caſt the ſaid body, ſo mangled, down to the bottom of the river, in a place where the ſaid Eſurgny is, and there leave it ten, or twelve hours, then take it up again, and in the cuts find the ſaid Eſurgny or Carnibotz. Of them they made beads, and wear them about their necks, even as we do chains of gold and ſilver, accounting it the precioueſt thing in the world. They have this virtue and property in them, they will ſtop or ſtaunch bleeding at the noſe, for we have proved it.

The people are given to no other exerciſe, but only to huſbandry and fiſhing for their ſuſtenance: they have no care of any other wealth or commodity in this world, for they have no knowledge of it, and that is becauſe they never travel and go out of their country, as thoſe of Canada, and Saguenay do; albeit the Canadians with eight or nine villages more along that river be ſubject unto them.

So ſoon as we were come near the town, a great number of the inhabitants thereof, came to preſent themſelves before us after their faſhion, making very much of us:

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we were by our guides brought into the midſt of the town. They have in the middlemoſt part of their houſes, a large ſquare place, being from ſide to ſide a good ſtone's caſt, whither we were brought, and there with ſigns were commanded to ſtay: then ſuddenly all the women and maidens of the town, gathered themſelves together; part of which had their arms full of young children, and as many as could, came to rub our faces, our arms, and what part of the body ſoever they could touch, weeping for very joy that they ſaw us, ſhewing us the beſt countenance that poſſibly they could, deſiring us with their ſigns, that it would pleaſe us to touch their children.

That done, the men cauſed the women to withdraw themſelves back, then they every one ſat down on the ground round about us, as if they would have ſhewn or rehearſed ſome comedy or other ſhew: then preſently came the women again, every one bringing a four-ſquare mat in manner of carpets, and ſpreading them abroad upon the ground in that place they cauſed us to ſit upon them. That done, the lord or king of the country was brought upon nine or ten mens' ſhoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna), ſitting upon a great ſtag's ſkin, and they laid him down upon the foreſaid mats, near to the captain, every one beckoning unto us that he was their lord and king. This Agouhanna was a man about fifty years old; he was no whit better apparelled than any of the reſt, only excepted, that he had a certain thing made of the ſkins of hedgehogs, like unto a red wreath, and that was inſtead of his crown. He was full of the palſy, and his members ſhrunk together.

After he had with certain ſigns ſaluted our captain and all his company, and by manifeſt tokens bid all welcome, he ſhewed his legs and arms to our captain, and with ſigns deſired him to touch them, and ſo he did, rubbing them with his own hands. Then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crown he had about his head, and gave it unto our captain: that done, they brought before him divers diſeaſed men, ſome blind, ſome cripple, ſome lame and impotent, and ſome ſo old that the hair of their eye-lids came down and covered their cheeks, and laid them all along before our captain, to the end they might of him be touched; for it ſeemed unto them that God was deſcended and come down from heaven to heal them.

Our captain ſeeing the miſery and devotion of this poor people, recited the Goſpel of St. John, that is to ſay, 'In the beginning was the word;' touching every one that were diſeaſed, praying to God that it would pleaſe him to open the hearts of this poor people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receive baptiſm and chriſtendom: that done he took a ſervice book in his hand, and with a loud voice read all the paſſion of Chriſt, word by word, that all the ſtanders-by might hear him: all which while this poor people kept ſilence, and were marvelloufly attentive, looking up to heaven, and imitating us in geſtures. Then he cauſed the men all orderly to be ſet on one ſide, the women on another, and likewiſe the children on another; and to the chiefeſt of them he gave hatchets, to the others knives, and to the women beads, and ſuch other ſmall trifles. Then where the children were, he caſt rings, counters and broaches made of tin, whereat they ſeemed to be very glad. That done, our captain commanded trumpets and other muſical inſtruments to be ſounded, which when they heard they were very merry. Then we took our leave and went to our boat: the women ſeeing that, put themſelves before to ſtay us, and brought us out of their meats that they had made ready for us, as fiſh, pottage, beans, and ſuch other things, thinking to make us eat and dine in that place: but becauſe the meats had no ſavour at all of ſalt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with ſigns gave them to underſtand that we had no need to eat.

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When we were out of the town divers of the men and women followed us, and brought us to the top of the foreſaid mountain, which we named Mount Royal: it is about a league from the town. When we were on the top of it we might diſcern and plainly ſee 30 leagues about.

On the north ſide of it there are many hills to be ſeen running weſt and eaſt, and as many more on the ſouth, amongſt and between the which, the country is as fair and pleaſant as poſſibly can be ſeen, being level, ſmooth, and very plain, fit to be huſbanded and tilled; and in the midſt of thoſe fields we ſaw the river further up a great way than where we had left our boats, where was the greateſt and the ſwifteſt fall of water that any where hath been ſeen, and as great, wide, and large as our ſight might diſcern, going S. W. along three fair and round mountains that we ſaw, as we judged, about 15 leagues from us. Thoſe which brought us thither told and ſhewed us, that in the ſaid river there were three ſuch falls of water more, as that was where we had left our boats; but becauſe we could not underſtand their language, we could not know how far they were one from another. Moreover they ſhewed us with ſigns that the ſaid three falls being paſt, a man might ſail the ſpace of three months more along that river; and that along the hills that are on the north ſide, there is a great river, which (even as the other) cometh from the weſt: we thought it to be the river that runneth through the country of Saguenay, and without any ſign or queſtion moved or aſked of them, they took the chain of our captain's whiſtle, which was of ſilver, and the dagger haft of one of our fellow mariners, hanging on his, being of yellow copper gilt, and ſhewed us that ſuch ſtuff came from the ſaid river, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much as to ſay, an evil people, who go all armed even to their fingers ends: alſo they ſhewed us the manner and making of their armour; they are made of cords, and wood, finely and cunningly wrought together.

They gave us alſo to underſtand that thoſe Agouionda do continually war againſt one another, but becauſe we did not underſtand them well, we could not perceive how far it was to that country.

Our captain ſhewed them red copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towards that country, with ſigns aſked them if any came from thence; they ſhaked their heads anſwered no: but they ſhewed us that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth clear contrary to the other.

After we had heard and ſeen theſe things of them, we drew to our boats, accompanied with a great multitude of thoſe people: ſome of them when as they ſaw any of our fellows weary, would take them up on their ſhoulders, and carry them as on horſeback. So ſoon as we came to our boats we hoiſted ſail to go towards our pinnace, doubting of ſome miſchance. Our departure grieved and diſpleaſed them very much, for they followed us along the river as far as they could. We went ſo faſt that on Monday, being the 4th of October, we came where our pinnace was.

On the 5th we hoiſted ſail, and with our pinnace and boats departed from thence towards the province of Canada, to the port of the Holy Croſs, where we had left our ſhips. The 7th day we came againſt a river that cometh from the north, and entered into that river, at the entrance whereof are four little iſlands full of fair and goodly trees: we named that river, The River of Fouetz: but becauſe one of thoſe iſlands ſtretcheth itſelf a great way into the river, our captain at the point of it cauſed a goodly great croſs to be ſet up, and commanded the boats to be made ready, that with the next tide he might go up the ſaid river, and conſider the quality of it, which we did, and that day went up as far as we could; but becauſe we found it to be of no importance, and very ſhallow, we returned and ſailed down the river.

The 11th of October we came to the port of the Holy Croſs, where our ſhips were, and found that the maſters and mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ſhips, altogether cloſed with great pieces of timber ſet upright, and very well faſtened together: then had they beſet the ſaid trench about with pieces of artillery and other neceſſary things, to ſhield and defend themſelves from the power of all the country.

So ſoon as the lord of the country heard of our coming, the next day being the 12th October he came to viſit us, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, faining to be very glad of our coming, making much of our captain, who as friendly as he could entertain them, albeit they had not deſerved it. Dounacona their lord the next day deſired our captain to come and ſee Canada, which he promiſed, for on the 13th, he with all his gentlemen and fifty of his mariners very well appointed, went to viſit Dounacona and his people about a league from our ſhips; the place where they make their abode is called Stadacona.

When we were about a ſtone's caſt from their houſes, many of the inhabitants came to meet us, being all ſet in a rank, and (as their cuſtom is) the men all on one ſide, and the women on the other, ſtill dancing and ſinging without any ceaſing: and after we had ſaluted and received one another, our captain gave them knives and ſuch other ſlight things; then he cauſed all the women and children to paſs along before him, giving each one a ring of tin, for which they gave him hearty thanks: this done, our captain was by Dounacona and Taignoagny brought to ſee their houſes, which (the quality conſidered) were very well provided, and ſtored with ſuch victuals as the country yieldeth, to paſs away the winter withal.

Then they ſhewed us the ſkins of five mens' heads, ſpread upon boards as we do uſe parchment. Dounacona told us that they were ſkins of Toudamani, a people dwelling towards the ſouth, who continually do war againſt them. Moreover they told us that it was two years paſt that thoſe Toudamans came to aſſault them, yea even into the ſaid river, in an iſland that lyeth over againſt Saguenay, were they had in the night before, as they were going a war-faring in Hognedo, with 200 perſons, men, women and children, who being all aſleep in a fort that they had made, they were aſſaulted by the ſaid Toudamans, who put fire round about the fort, and as they would have come out of it to ſave themſelves, they were all ſlain, only five excepted, who eſcaped: for which loſs they yet ſorrowed, ſhewing with ſigns, that one day they would be revenged. That done, we came to our ſhips again.

This people believed no whit in God, but in one whom they called Cudruaigni: they ſay that often he ſpeaketh with them, and telleth them what weather ſhall follow, whether good or bad: moreover they ſay that when he is angry with them he caſteth duſt into their eyes: they believe that when they die they go into the ſtars, and thence by little and little deſcend down into the horizon, even as the ſtars do, and that then they go into certain green fields, full of fair and precious trees, flowers, and fruits.

After that they had given us theſe things to underſtand, we ſhewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceive them, for he is but a devil, and an evil ſpirit; affirming unto them that there is but one only God, who is in heaven, and who giveth us all neceſſaries, being the Creator of all himſelf, and that only we muſt believe in him: moreover that it is neceſſary for us to be baptized, otherwiſe we are damned into hell. Theſe and many other things concerning our faith and religion we ſhewed them, all which they did eaſily believe, calling their Cudruaigni, Aguaida, that is to ſay, nought, ſo that very earneſtly they deſired and prayed our captain, that he would cauſe them to be baptized, and their lord, and Taignoagny and Domagaia, and all the

people

people of the town came unto us hoping to be baptized: but becauſe we did not thoroughly know their mind, and that there was nobody could teach them our belief and religion, we excuſed ourſelves, deſiring Taignoagny and Domagaia to tell the reſt of their countrymen, that he would come again another time, and bring prieſts and chriſome with us, for without them they could not be baptized; which they did eaſily believe, for Domagaia and Taignoagny had ſeen many children baptized in Britainy whiles they were there: which promiſe when they heard, they ſeemed to be very glad.

They live in common together, and of ſuch commodities as their country yieldeth, they are indifferently well ſtored. The inhabitants of the country cloathe themſelves with the ſkins of certain wild beaſts, but very miſerably. In winter they wear hoſen and ſhoes made of wild beaſt's ſkins, and in ſummer they go bare-footed. They keep and obſerve the rights of matrimony, ſaving that every one weddeth two or three wives, which (their huſbands being dead) do never marry again, but for the death of their huſbands, wear a certain black weed all the days of their life, beſmearing all their faces with coal duſt and greaſe, mingled together as thick as the back of a knife; and by that they are known to be widows.

They have a filthy and deteſtable uſe in marrying of their maidens, and that is this; they put them all (after they are of lawful age to marry) in a common place, as harlots, free for every man that will have to do with them, until ſuch time as they find a match. This I ſay, becauſe I have ſeen by experience many houſen full of thoſe damſels, even as our ſchools are full of children in France to learn to read. Moreover the miſrule and riot that they keep in thoſe houſes is very great, for very wantonly they ſport and dally together, ſhewing whatſoever God hath ſent them.

They are no men of great labour. They dig their grounds with certain pieces of wood, as big as half a ſword, on which ground groweth their corn, which they call Offici: it is as big as our ſmall peaſon: there is great quantity of it growing in Braſil. They have alſo great ſtore of muſk mellons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, peaſon and beans of every colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth alſo a certain kind of herb, whereof in ſummer they make great proviſion for all the year, making great account of it, and only men uſe of it; and firſt they cauſe it to be dried in the ſun, then wear it about their necks wrapped in a little beaſt's ſkin, made like a little bag, with a hollow piece of ſtone or wood like a pipe: then when they pleaſe they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the ſaid cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other end ſuck ſo long, that they fill their bodies full of ſmoke, till it cometh out of their mouth and noſtrils, even as out of the tunnel of a chimney. They ſay that this doth keep them warm and in health: they never go without ſome of it about them. We ourſelves have tried the ſame ſmoke, and having put it in our mouths, it ſeemed almoſt as hot as pepper.

The women of that country do labour much more than the men, as well in fiſhing (whereto they are greatly given) as in tilling and huſbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men, as women and children, are much more able to reſiſt cold, than ſavage beaſts, for we with our own eyes have ſeen ſome of them, when it was coldeſt, (which cold was extremely raw and bitter,) come to our ſhips ſtark naked, going upon ſnow and ice, which thing ſeemeth incredible to them that have not ſeen it.

When as the ſnow and ice lyeth on the ground, they take great ſtore of wild beaſts, as fawns, ſtags, bears, marterns, hares and foxes, with divers other ſorts, whoſe fleſh they eat raw, having firſt dried it in the ſun or ſmoke, and ſo they do their fiſh. As

far forth as we could perceive and underſtand by theſe people, it were a very eaſy thing to bring them to ſome familiarity and civility, and make them learn what one would.

The ſaid river beginneth beyond the Iſland of the Aſſumption, over againſt the high mountains of Hognedo, and of the ſeven iſlands: the diſtance over from one ſide to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues: in the midſt it is above 200 fathom deep. The ſureſt way to ſail upon it is upon the ſouth ſide; and toward the north, that is to ſay, from the ſaid ſeven iſlands, from ſide to ſide there is ſeven leagues diſtance, where are alſo two great rivers that come down from the hills of Saguenay, and make divers very dangerous ſhelves in the ſea.

At the entrance of thoſe two rivers, we ſaw many a great ſtore of whales and ſea-horſes. Over athwart the ſaid iſlands there is another little river, that runneth along thoſe marſh grounds about three or four leagues, wherein there is great ſtore of water fowls. From the entrance of that river to Hochelaga, there is about 300 leagues diſtance: the original beginning of it is in the river that cometh from Saguenay, which riſeth and ſpringeth among high and ſteep hills, it entereth into that river, before it cometh to the province of Canada, on the north ſide. That river is very deep, high, and ſtraight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any veſſel to go upon it. After that river followeth the province of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughs and villages: there are alſo in the circuit and territory of Canada, along and within the ſaid river, many other iſlands, ſome great and ſome ſmall, among which there is one that containeth ten leagues in length, full of good and high trees, and alſo many vines. You may go into it from both ſides, but yet the ſureſt paſſage is on the ſouth ſide.

On the ſhore or bank of that river weſtward, there is a goodly, fair, and delectable bay or creek, convenient and fit for to harbour ſhips; hard by there is in that river one place very narrow, deep, and ſwift running, but it is not paſſing the third part of a league, over againſt the which there is a goodly high piece of land, with a town therein, and the country about it is very well tilled and wrought, and as good as poſſibly can be ſeen: that is the place and abode of Dounacona, and of our two men we took in our firſt voyage; it is called Stradacona: but before we come to it there are four other peopled towns, that is to ſay, Ayraſte, Starnatan, Tailla, which ſtandeth upon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stradacona, under which town towards the north, the river and port of the Holy Croſs is, where we ſtaid from the 15th of September, until the 16th of May 1536, and there our ſhips remained dry as we have ſaid before.

That place being paſt, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, ſtanding upon an high mountain, and the valley of Hochelai, which ſtandeth in a champaigne country.

All the ſaid country on both ſides the river, as far as Hochelay and beyond, is as fair and plain as ever was ſeen. There are certain mountains far diſtant from the ſaid river, which are to be ſeen above the foreſaid towns, from which mountains divers rivers deſcend, which fall into the ſaid great river. All that country is full of ſundry ſorts of wood and many vines, unleſs it be about the places that are inhabited, where they have pulled up the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houſes and lodgings. There is great ſtore of ſtags, deer, bears, and other ſuch like ſorts of beaſts, as conies, hares, martens, foxes, otters, beavers, weaſels, badgers, and rats exceeding great, and divers other ſorts of wild beaſts. They cloathe themſelves with the ſkins of thoſe beaſts, becauſe they have nothing elſe to make them apparel withal.

withal. There are alſo many ſorts of birds, as cranes, ſwans, buſtards, wild geeſe, white and grey; ducks, thruſhes, blackbirds, turtles, wild pigeons, linnets, finches, red breaſts, ſtares, nightingales, ſparrows, and other birds, even as in France. Alſo as we have ſaid before, the ſaid river is the plentifulleſt of fiſh that ever hath of any man been ſeen, or heard of, becauſe from the mouth to the end of it, according to their ſeaſons, you ſhall find all ſorts of freſh water fiſh and ſalt. There are alſo many whales, porpoiſes, ſea-horſes and adhothuis, which is a kind of fiſh that we had never ſeen nor heard of before. They are as great as porpoiſes, as white as any ſnow, their body and head faſhioned as a greyhound, they are wont always to abide between the freſh and ſalt water, which beginneth between the river of Saguenay and Canada.

After our return from Hochelaga, we dealt, trafficked, and with great familiarity and love were converſant with thoſe that dwelt neareſt unto our ſhips, except that ſometimes we had ſtrife and contention, with certain naughty people, full ſore againſt the will of the others. We underſtood of Dounacona and of others, that the ſaid river is called the River of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being ſomewhat more than a league farther W. N. W. and that eight or nine days journies beyond, it will bear but ſmall boats. But the right and ready way to Saguenay, is up that river to Hochelaga, and then into another that cometh from Saguenay, and then entereth into the aforeſaid river, and that there is yet one month's ſailing thither.

Moreover they told us and gave [illegible] to underſtand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honeſt, and [illegible]ny inhabited towns, and that they have great ſtore of gold and red copper: and that about the land beyond the ſaid firſt river to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an iſland environed round about with that and other rivers; and that beyond Saguenay the ſaid river entereth into two or three great lakes, and that there is a ſea of freſh water found, and as they have heard ſay of thoſe of Saguenay, there was never man heard of that found out the end thereof; for as they told us, they themſelves were never there.

Moreover they told us that where we had left our pinnace when we went to Hochelaga, there is a river that goeth S. W. from whence there is a whole month's ſailing to go to a certain land, where there is neither ice nor ſnow ſeen, where the inhabitants do continually war one againſt another; where is great ſtore of oranges, almonds, nuts, and apples, with many other ſorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beaſts ſkins, even as they. We aſked them if there were any gold or red copper, they anſwered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as far as I could perceive and underſtand by their ſigns and tokens.

In the month of December we underſtood that the peſtilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in ſuch ſort that before we knew of it, according to their confeſſion, there were dead above fifty: whereupon we charged them neither to come near our fort, nor about our ſhips, or us. And albeit we had driven them from us, the ſaid unknown ſickneſs began to ſpread itſelf amongſt us, after the ſtrangeſt ſort that ever was heard of or ſeen, inſomuch that ſome did loſe all their ſtrength and could not ſtand on their feet; then did their legs ſwell, their ſinews ſhrink as black as any coal. Others alſo had all their ſkins ſpotted with ſpots of blood of a purple colour; then did it aſcend up to their ankles, knees, thighs, ſhoulders, arms and neck: their mouth became ſtinking, their gums ſo rotten, that all the fleſh did fall off, even to the roots of the teeth, which alſo did almoſt all fall out. With ſuch infection did this ſickneſs ſpread itſelf in our three ſhips, that about the middle of February, of 110 perſons that we were, there were not ten whole, ſo that one could not help the other, a moſt horrible and pitiful caſe, conſidering the place we were in, for ſo much as the people of the country

would daily come before our fort, and ſaw but few of us. There were already eight dead, and more than fifty ſick, and as we thought paſt all hope of recovery. Our captain ſeeing this our miſery, and that the ſickneſs was gone ſo far, ordained and commanded, that every one ſhould devoutly prepare himſelf to prayer, and in remembrance of Chriſt, cauſed his image to be ſet upon a tree, about a ſlight ſhot from the fort amidſt the ice and ſnow, giving all men to underſtand, that on the Sunday following, ſervice ſhould be ſaid there, and that whoſoever could go ſick or whole, ſhould go thither in proceſſion, ſinging the ſeven pſalms of David, with other litanies, praying moſt heartily that it would pleaſe the ſaid our Chriſt to have compaſſion upon us. Service being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our captain there made a vow, that if it would pleaſe God to give him leave to return into France, he would go on pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemado.

That day Philip Rougemont, born in Amboiſe, died, being 22 years old, and becauſe the ſickneſs was to us unknown, our Captain cauſed him to be ripped, to ſee if by any means poſſible we might know what it was, and ſo ſeek means to ſave and preſerve the reſt of the company. He was found to have his heart white, but rotten, and more than a quart of red water about it: his liver was indifferent fair, but his lungs black and mortified, his blood was altogether ſhrunk about the heart; ſo that when he was opened great quantity of rotten blood iſſued out from about his heart: his milt toward the back was ſomewhat periſhed, rough as if it had been rubbed againſt a ſtone. Moreover, becauſe one of his thighs was very black without, it was opened, but within it was whole and ſound: that done, as well as we could he was buried.

In ſuch ſort did the ſickneſs continue and increaſe, that there were not above three ſound men in the ſhips, and none was able to get under hatches to draw drink for himſelf, nor for his fellows. Sometimes we were conſtrained to bury ſome of the dead under the ſnow, becauſe we were not able to dig any graves for them, the ground was ſo hard frozen, and we ſo weak.

Beſides this we did greatly fear that the people of the country would perceive our weakneſs and miſery, which to hide, our captain, whom it pleaſed God always to keep in health, would go out with two or three of the company, ſome ſick and ſome whole; whom when he ſaw out of the fort, he would throw ſtones at them and chide them, feigning that ſo ſoon as he came again, he would beat them, and then with ſigns ſhew the people of the country that he cauſed all his men to work and labour in the ſhips, ſome in caulking them, ſome in beating of chalk, ſome in one thing and ſome in another, and that he would not have them come forth until their work was done; and to make his tale ſeem true and likely, he would make all his men whole and ſound, to make a great noiſe, with knocking ſticks, ſtones, and hammers, and other things together: at which time we were ſo oppreſſed and grieved with that ſickneſs, that we had loſt all hope ever to ſee France again, if God in his infinite goodneſs and mercy had not with his pitiful eye looked upon us, and revealed a ſingular and excellent remedy againſt all diſeaſes unto us, the beſt that ever was found upon earth, as hereafter ſhall follow.

From the midſt of November until the midſt of March, we were kept in amidſt the ice above two fathoms thick, and ſnow above four feet high and more, higher than the ſides of our ſhips, which laſted till that time, in ſuch ſort, that all our drinks were frozen in the veſſels, and the ice through all the ſhips was about a hand-breadth thick, as well above hatches as beneath, and ſo much of the river as was freſh, even to Hochelaga was frozen; in which ſpace there died 25 of our beſt and chiefeſt men, and all the reſt were ſo ſick that we thought they ſhould never recover again, only three or four excepted.

Our captain conſidering our eſtate (and how that ſickneſs was encreaſed and hot amongſt us) one day went forth of the fort, and walking upon the ice, he ſaw a troop of thoſe countrymen coming from Stradacona, amongſt which was Domagaia, who not paſſing ten or twelve days before, had been very ſick of that diſeaſe, and had his knee ſwollen as big as a child two years old, all his ſinews ſhrunk together, his teeth ſpoiled, his gums rotten and ſtinking. Our captain ſeeing him whole and ſound, was thereat marvellous glad, hoping to underſtand and know of him how he had healed himſelf, to the end he might eaſe and help his men. So ſoon as they were come near him, he aſked Domagaia how he had done to heal himſelf. He anſwered that he had taken the juice and ſap of the leaves of a certain tree, and therewith had healed himſelf; for it was a ſingular remedy againſt that diſeaſe: then our captain aſked of him if any were to be had thereabout, deſiring him to ſhew him, for to heal a ſervant of his, who whilſt he was in Canada with Dounacona, was ſtricken with that diſeaſe. That he did becauſe he would not ſhew the number of his ſick men. Domagaia ſtraight ſent two women to fetch ſome of it, which brought ten or twelve branches of it, and therewithal he ſhewed the way how to uſe it, and that is thus, to take the bark and leaves of the ſaid tree, and boil them together, then to drink of the ſaid decoction every other day, and to put the dregs of it upon his legs that is ſick. Moreover, they told us that the virtue of the tree was, to heal any other diſeaſe. The tree is in their language called Ameda, or Hanneda, this is thought to be the ſaſſafras tree.

Our captain preſently cauſed ſome of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durſt taſte of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to taſte and prove it: the others ſeeing that, did the like, and preſently recovered their health, and were delivered of that ſickneſs, and what other diſeaſe ſoever, in ſuch ſort, that there were ſome had been diſeaſed and troubled with the French pox four or five years, and with this drink were clean healed.

After this medicine was found and proved to be true, there was ſuch ſtrife about it, who ſhould be firſt to take of it, that they were ready to kill one another, ſo that a tree as big as any oak in France, was ſpoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in five or ſix days, and it wrought ſo well, that if all the phyſicians of Mountpellier and Lovaine had been there, with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not have done ſo much in one year, as that tree did in ſix days, for it did ſo prevail, that as many as uſed of it, by the grace of God recovered their health.

While that diſeaſe laſted in our ſhips, the Lord Dounacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, feigning that they would go to catch ſtags and deer, becauſe the ice and ſnow was ſo broken along the river that they could ſail: it was told us of Domagaia and others, that they would ſtay out but a fortnight, and we believed it, but that they ſtaid above two months, which made us miſtruſt that they had been gone to raiſe the country to come againſt us, and do ſome diſpleaſure, we ſeeing ourſelves ſo weak and faint. Albeit we had uſed ſuch diligence and policy in our fort, that if all the power of the country had been about it, they could have done nothing but look upon us: and whilſt they were forth, many of the people came daily to our ſhips, and brought us freſh meat, as ſtags, deer, fiſhes, and many other things, but held them at ſuch an exceſſive price, that rather than they would ſell them any thing cheap, many times they would carry them back again, becauſe that year the winter was very long, and they had ſome ſcarcity and need of them.

On the 21ſt day of April, Domagaia came to the ſhore ſide, accompanied with divers luſty and ſtrong men, ſuch as we were not wont to ſee, and told us that their lord Dounacona

cona would the next day come and ſee us, and bring great ſtore of deer's fleſh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cauſe we knew not; but (as the proverb ſaith) he that takes heed and ſhields himſelf from all men, may hope to eſcape from ſome: for we had need to look about us, conſidering how in number we were diminiſhed, and in ſtrength greatly weakened, both by reaſon of our ſickneſs, and alſo of the number that were dead, ſo that we were conſtrained to leave one of our ſhips in the port of the Holy Croſs.

Our captain was warned of their coming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell us, and durſt not paſs the river that was betwixt Stadacona and us, as he was wont to do, whereupon we miſtruſted ſome treaſon. Our captain ſeeing this ſent one of his ſervants to them, accompanied with John Poulet, being beſt beloved of thoſe people, to ſee who were there, and what they did. The ſaid Poulet and the other feigned themſelves only come to viſit Dounacona, and bring him certain preſents, becauſe they had been together a good while in the ſaid Dounacona's town. So ſoon as he heard of their coming he got himſelf to bed, feigning to be very ſick: that done, they went to Taignoagny's houſe to ſee him, and whereſoever they went, they ſaw ſo many people, that in a manner one could not ſtir for another, and ſuch men as they were never wont to ſee. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houſes, but ſtill kept them company, and brought them half way to their ſhips, and told them that if it would pleaſe our captain to ſhew him ſo much favour as to take a lord of the country, whoſe name was Agouna, of whom he had received ſome diſpleaſure, and carry him with him into France, he ſhould therefore for ever be bound unto him, and would do for him whatever he command him, and bade the ſervant come again the next day, and bring an anſwer.

Our captain being advertiſed of ſo many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purpoſed to play a pretty prank, that is to ſay, to take their lord Dounacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and ſome more of the chiefeſt of them priſoners, inſomuch as before he had purpoſed, to bring them into France, to ſhew unto our king, what he had ſeen in thoſe weſtern parts, and marvels of the world, for that Dounacona had told us, that he had been in the country of Saguena, in which are infinite rubies, gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who cloathe themſelves with woollen cloth, even as we do in France. Moreover, he reported that he had been in another country of a people called Picquemians, and other ſtrange people. The ſaid lord was an old man, and even from his childhood had never left off nor ceaſed from travelling into ſtrange countries, as well by water, and rivers, as by land.

The ſaid Poulet and the other having told our captain their embaſſage, and ſhewed him what Taignoagny's will was, the next day he ſent his ſervant again to bid Taignoagny come and ſee him, and ſhew what he ſhould, for he ſhould be very well entertained, and alſo part of his will ſhould be accompliſhed. Taignoagny ſent him word that the next day he would come, and bring the Lord Dounacona with him, and him which had ſo offended him, which he did not, but ſtaid two days, in which time none came from Stadacona to our ſhips as they were wont to do, but rather fled from us, as if we would have ſlain them, ſo that then we plainly perceived their knavery.

But becauſe they underſtood that thoſe of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forſaken the bottom of a ſhip which we would leave to have the old nails out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and moſt of them without difficulty did paſs from one ſide of the river to the other with ſmall ſkiffs: but Dounacona would not come over. Taignoagny and Domagaia ſtood talking together about

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an hour before they would come over; at laſt they came to ſpeak with our captain. There Taignoagny prayed him that he would cauſe the foreſaid man to be taken and carried into France. Our captain refuſed to do it, ſaying that his king had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, only that he might bring two or three young boys to learn the language, but that he would willingly carry him to Newfoundland, and there leave him in an iſland. Our captain ſpake this only to aſſure them, that they ſhould bring Dounacona with them, whom they had left on the other ſide: which words when Taignoagny heard, he was very glad, thinking he ſhould never return into France again, and therefore promiſed to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Croſs, and to bring Dounacona and all his people with him.

The third of May, being Holyrood Day, our captain for the ſolemnity of the day, cauſed a goodly fair croſs of 35 feet in height to be ſet up, under the croſſet of which he cauſed a ſhield to be hanged, wherein were the arms of France, and over them was written in antique letters, "Franciſcus primus Dei gratia Francoram Rex regnat." And upon that day about noon, there came a great number of the people of Stadocana, men, women, and children, who told us that their Lord Dounacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were coming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retain them. About two o'clock in the afternoon they came, and being come near our ſhips, our captain went to ſalute Dounacona, who alſo ſhewed him a merry countenance, albeit very fearfully his eyes were ſtill bent towards the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Dounacona that he ſhould not enter into our fort, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men and kindled where their lord was. Our captain prayed him to come into our ſhips, to eat and drink as he was wont to do, and alſo Taignoagny, who promiſed that after a while he would come, and ſo they did and entered into our ſhips, but firſt it was told our captain by Domagaia, that Taignoagny had ſpoken ill of him, and that he had bid Dounacona he ſhould not come aboard our ſhips. Our captain perceiving that came out of the fort, and ſaw that only by Taignoagny's warning the women ran away, and none but men ſtaid in great number, wherefore he ſtraight commanded his men to lay hold on Dounacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and two more of the chiefeſt whom he pointed unto; then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Preſently after the ſaid lord entered into the fort with the captain, but by and by Taignoagny came to make him come out again.

Our captain ſeeing that there was no other remedy, began to call unto them to take them, at whoſe cry and voice all his men came forth, and took the ſaid lord, with the others whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians ſeeing their lord taken, began to run away, even as ſheep before the wolf, ſome croſſing over the river, ſome through the woods, each one ſeeking for his own advantage. That done we retired ourſelves, and laid up the priſoners under good guard and ſafety.

The night following they came before our ſhips (the river being betwixt us) ſtriking their breaſts, and crying and howling like wolves, ſtill calling Agouhanna, thinking to ſpeak with him, which our captain at that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noon, whereupon they made ſigns unto us that we had hanged or killed him. About noon there came as great a number in a cluſter, as ever we ſaw, who went to hide themſelves in the foreſt, except ſome, who with a loud voice would call and cry to Dounacona to ſpeak unto them. Our captain then commanded Dounacona to be brought up on high to ſpeak unto them, and bade him be merry, for after he had ſpoken, and ſhewed unto the King of France, what he had ſeen in Sanguenay and other countries, after ten or twelve months he ſhould return again, and that the King of France would give him great rewards; whereat Dounacona was very glad, and ſpeaking

to the others told them, who in token of joy gave out three great cries, and then Dounacona and his people had great talk together, which for want of interpreters cannot be deſcribed. Our captain bade Dounacona that he ſhould cauſe them to come to the other ſide of the river, to the end that they might the better talk together without any fear, and that he ſhould aſſure them: which Dounacona did, and there came a boat full of the chiefeſt of them to the ſhips, and there anew began to talk together, giving great praiſe to our captain, and gave him a preſent of 24 chains of eſurgny, for that is the greateſt and precioufeſt riches they have in this world, for they eſteem more of that, than of any gold or ſilver.

After they had long talked together, and that their lord ſaw there was no remedy to avoid his going into France, he commanded his people the next day, to bring him ſome victuals to ſerve him by the way. Our captain gave Dounacona as a great preſent, two frying pans of copper, eight hatchets, and other ſmall trifles, as knives and beads, whereof he ſeemed to be very glad, who ſent them to his wives and children. Likewiſe he gave to them who came to ſpeak to Dounacona; they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

Upon the 5th of May very early in the morning a great number of the ſaid people came again to ſpeak unto their lord, and ſent a boat, which in their tongue they call caſnoni, wherein were only four women without any man, for fear their men ſhould be retained.

Theſe women brought great ſtore of victuals, as great millet, which is their corn that they live withall, fleſh, fiſh, and other things after their faſhion.

Theſe women being come to our ſhips, our captain did very friendly entertain them. Then Dounacona prayed our captain to tell thoſe women that he ſhould come again after ten or twelve months, and bring Dounacona to Canada with him: this he ſaid only to appeaſe them, which our captain did. Wherefore the women as well by words as ſigns, ſeemed to be very glad, giving our captain thanks, and told him if he came again, and brought Dounacona with him, they would give him many things: in ſign whereof each one gave our captain a chain of eſurgny, and then paſſed to the other ſide of the river again, where ſtood all the people of Stradacona, who taking all leave of their lord went home again.

On the 6th of the month we departed out of the ſaid port of Santa Croix, and came to harbour a little beneath the Iſlands of Orleans, about 12 leagues from the port of the Holy Croſs, and on the 7th we came to the Iſland of Filberts, where we ſtaid until the 16th of that month, till the fierceneſs of the waters were paſt, which at that time ran too ſwift a courſe, and were too dangerous to come down along the river, and therefore we ſtayed till fair weather came. In the mean while many of Dounacona's ſubjects came from the river of Saguenay to him, and being by Domagaia advertiſed, that their lord was taken to be carried into France, they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leave to come to our ſhips, to ſpeak to Dounacona, who told them that after twelve months he ſhould come again, and that he was very well uſed by the captain, gentlemen, and mariners: which when they heard they greatly thanked our captain, and gave their lord three bundles of beavers, and ſea wolves ſkins, with a great knife of red copper, that cometh from Saguenay, and other things: they gave alſo to our captain a chain of eſurgny, for which our captain gave them 10 or 12 hatchets, and they gave him hearty thanks and were very well contented.

On the 16th we hoiſted ſail, and came from the ſaid Iſland of Filberts to another about 15 leagues from it, which is about five leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take ſome reſt the night following, we ſtayed that day, in hopes the next day

day we might paſs and avoid the dangers of the river of Saguenay, which are great. That evening we went aland and found great ſtore of hares, of which we took a great many, and therefore we called it the Iſland of Hares: in the night there aroſe a contrary wind; with ſuch ſtorms and tempeſts that we were conſtrained to return to the Iſland of Filberts again, from whence we were come, becauſe there was none other paſſage among the ſaid iſlands, and there we ſtayed till the 21ſt of that month, till fair weather and good wind came again: and then we ſailed again and that ſo proſperouſly, that we paſſed to Honguedo, which paſſage until that time had not been diſcovered.

We cauſed our ſhip to courſe athwart Cape Pratt, which is the beginning of the port of Chaleur, and becauſe the wind was good and convenient, we ſailed all day and all night without ſtaying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brion's Iſland, which we were not minded to do, to the end we might ſhorten our way.

Theſe two iſlands lie N. W. and S. E. and are about 50 leagues one from another. The ſaid iſland is in lat. 47 deg. and a half.

On the 26th of the month, we coaſted over to a land, and ſhallow of low lands, which are about eight leagues S. W. from Brion's Iſland, above which are large champaignes, full of trees, and alſo an encloſed ſea, whereas we could neither ſee nor perceive any gap or way to enter thereinto.

On the 27th, becauſe the wind did change on the coaſt, we came to Brion's Iſland again, where we ſtaid till the beginning of June, and toward the S.E. of this iſland we ſaw a land, ſeeming unto us as an iſland; we coaſted it about two leagues and a half, and by the way we had notice of three other high iſlands lying towards the ſands: after we had known theſe things we returned to the cape of the ſaid land, which doth divide itſelf into two or three very high capes: the waters there are very deep, and the flood of the ſea runneth ſo ſwift, that it cannot poſſibly be ſwifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in 47 deg. and half towards the ſouth: on which cape there is a low land, and it ſeemeth that there is ſome entrance of a river, but there is no haven of any worth. Above theſe lands we ſaw another cape towards the ſouth, we named it Saint Paul's Cape, it is at 47 deg. and a quarter.

On the 4th of June, we had notice of the coaſt lying E. S. E. diſtant from the Newfoundland about 22 leagues: and becauſe the wind was againſt us, we went to a haven, which we named S. Spiritus Port, where we ſtaid till the 7th, that we departed thence, ſailing along the coaſt until we came to St. Peter's Iſlands.

We found along the ſaid coaſt many very dangerous iſlands and ſhelves, which lie all in the way E. S. E. and W. N. W. about 23 leagues into the ſea. Whilſt we were in the ſaid St. Peter's Iſlands, we met with many ſhips of France and of Britain: we ſtaid there from the 11th till the 16th of the month, that we departed thence and came to Cape Raſe, and entered into a port called Rognoſo, where we took in freſh water and wood to paſs the ſea; there we left one of our boats. Then upon the 19th June, we went from that port, and with ſuch good and proſperous weather we ſailed along the ſea, in ſuch ſort, that upon the 6th July 1536, we came to the port of St. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our navigation.

They of Canada ſay, that it is a month's ſailing to go to a land where cinnamon and cloves are gathered.

*The Third Voyage of Diſcovery made by Captain James Cartier, 1540, unto the Countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.*

KING Francis the Firſt having heard the report of Captain Cartier, his Pilot General, in his two former voyages of diſcovery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which he had found and ſeen in the weſtern parts diſcovered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and having alſo ſeen and talked with the people, which the ſaid Cartier had brought out of thoſe countries, whereof one was King of Canada, whoſe name was Dounacona, and others: which after that they had been a long time in France and Britain, were baptiſed at their own deſire and requeſt, and died in the ſaid country of Britain. And albeit his Majeſty was advertiſed by the ſaid Cartier of the death and deceaſe of all the people which were brought over by him (which were 10 in number), ſaving one little girl about 10 years old; yet he reſolved to ſend the ſaid Cartier his pilot thither again, with John Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval, whom he appointed his lieutenant and governor in the countries of Canada and Hochelaga, and the ſaid Cartier captain-general, and leader of the ſhips, that they might diſcover more than was done before in the former voyages, and attain (if were poſſible) unto the knowledge of the country of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention unto the king, that there were great riches and very good countries. And the king cauſed a certain ſum of money to be delivered, to furniſh out the ſaid voyage with five ſhips, which thing was performed by the ſaid Monſieur Roberval and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rig the ſaid five ſhips at St. Malo in Britainy, where the two former voyages had been prepared and ſet forth.

And the ſaid Monſieur Roberval ſent Cartier thither for the ſame purpoſe. And after that Cartier had cauſed the ſaid five ſhips to be built and furniſhed, and ſet in good order, Monſieur Roberval came down to St. Malo, and found the ſhips fallen down to the road, with their yards acroſs full ready to depart and ſet ſail, ſtaying for nothing elſe but the coming of the general, and the payment of the furniture. And becauſe Monſieur Roberval the king's lieutenant, had not as yet his artillery, powder, and munitions, and other things neceſſary come down, which he had provided for the voyage in the countries of Champaigne and Normandy, and becauſe the ſaid things were very neceſſary, and that he was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from St. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ſhip or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come. And that the ſaid Cartier ſhould depart with the ſaid five ſhips which he had furniſhed, and ſhould go before.

Conſidering alſo that the ſaid Cartier had received letters from the king, whereby he did expreſsly charge him to depart and ſet ſail immediately upon the ſight and receipt thereof, on pain of incurring his diſpleaſure, and to lay all the fault upon him. And after the concluſion of theſe things, and the ſaid Monſieur Roberval had taken muſter and view of the gentlemen, ſoldiers, and mariners, which were retained and choſen for the performance of the ſaid voyage, he gave unto Captain Cartier full authority to depart and go before, and to govern all things as if he had been there in perſon; and himſelf departed for Honfleur to make his farther preparation.

After theſe things thus diſpatched, the wind coming fair, the foreſaid five ſhips ſet ſail together well furniſhed and victualled for two years, the 23d of May 1540. And we ſailed ſo long with contrary winds and continual torments, which fell out by reaſon

of our late departure, that we were on the ſea with our ſaid five ſhips, full three months before we could arrive at the haven and port of Canada, without ever having in all that time 30 hours of good wind to ſerve us to keep our right courſe: ſo that our five ſhips through thoſe ſtorms loſt company one of another, all ſave two that kept together, to wit, that wherein the captain was, and the other wherein went the Viſcount of Beauprè, until at length at the end of one month, we met altogether at the haven of Carpont in Newfoundland.

But the length of time we were in paſſing between Britainy and Newfoundland, was the cauſe that we ſtood in great need of water, becauſe of the cattle, as well goats, hogs, as other beaſts which we carried for breed in the country, which we were conſtrained to water with cyder and other drink.

Now therefore becauſe we were the ſpace of three months ſailing on the ſea, and ſtaying in Newfoundland, waiting for Monſieur Roberval, and taking in of freſh water, and other things neceſſary, we arrived not before the haven of Sante Croix in Canada (where in the former voyage we had remained eight months), until the 23d day of Auguſt. In which place the people of the country came to our ſhips, making ſhew of joy for our arrival, and namely he came thither, which had the rule and government of the country of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Dounacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France: and he came to the captain's ſhip with ſix or ſeven boats, and with men, women and children.

And after the ſaid Agona had enquired of the captain, where Dounacona and the reſt were, the captain anſwered him that Dounacona was dead in France, and that his body reſted in the earth, and that the reſt ſtaid there as great lords, and were married, and would not return back unto their country. The ſaid Agona made no ſhew of anger at all theſe ſpeeches, and I think he took it ſo well, becauſe he remained lord and governor of the country by the death of the ſaid Dounacona. After which conference the ſaid Agona took a piece of tanned leather of a yellow ſkin, edged about with eſnoguy, (which is their riches, and the thing which they eſteem moſt precious, as we eſteem gold), which was upon his head inſtead of a crown, and he put the ſame upon the head of our captain, and took from his wriſts two bracelets of eſnoguy, and put them upon the captain's arms, colling him about the neck, and ſhewing unto him great ſigns of joy: which was all diſſimulation, as afterward it well appeared. The captain took his ſaid crown of leather, and put it again upon his head, and gave him and his wives certain ſmall preſents, ſignifying unto him, that he had brought certain new things, which afterwards he would beſtow upon him. For which the ſaid Agona thanked the captain. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drink, they departed and returned to the ſhore with their boats.

After which things the ſaid captain went with two of his boats up the river, beyond Canada and the port of Sante Croix, to view a haven and a ſmall river which is about four leagues higher; which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ſhips, than the former. And therefore he returned and cauſed all his ſhips to be brought before the ſaid river, and at a low water he cauſed his ordnance to be planted to place his ſhips in more ſafety, which he meant to keep and ſtay in the country, which were three: which he did the day following, and the reſt remained in the road in the midſt of the river, (in which place the victuals and other furniture were diſcharged, which they had brought): from the 26th Auguſt, until the 2d September, what time they departed to return to St. Malo, in which ſhips he ſent back Mace Iolloberte, his brother in law, and Stephen Noel, his nephew, ſkilful and excellent pilots, with letters unto the king, and to adviſe him what had been done and found: and how

Monſieur

Monſieur de Roberval was not yet come, and that he feared that by occaſion of contrary winds and tempeſts he was driven back again into France.

The ſaid river is ſmall, not paſt 50 paces broad, and ſhips drawing three fathoms water may enter in at full ſea: and at a low water there is nothing but a channel of a foot deep or thereabout.

On both ſides of the ſaid river there are very good and fair grounds, full of as fair and mighty trees as any be in the world, and divers ſorts which are about ten fathoms higher than the reſt, and there is one kind of tree above three fathoms about, which they in the country call Hanneda, which hath the moſt excellent virtue of all the trees in the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreover there are great ſtore of oaks, the moſt excellent that ever I ſaw in my life, which were ſo laden with maſt that they cracked again: beſides this there are fairer arables, cedars, beeches, and other trees, than grow in France; and hard unto this wood on the ſouth ſide the ground is all covered with vines, which we found laden with grapes as black as mulberries, but they be not ſo kind as thoſe of France becauſe the vines be not tilled, and becauſe they grow of their own accord. Moreover there are many white thorns, which bear leaves as big as oaken leaves, and fruit like unto medlars. To be ſhort, it is as good a country to plough and manure as a man ſhould find and deſire.

We ſowed ſeeds here of our country, as cabbages, turnips, lettuces, and others, which grew and ſprung up out of the ground in eight days.

The mouth of the river is towards the ſouth, and it windeth northward like unto a ſnake; and at the mouth of it towards the eaſt there is a high and ſteep cliff, where we made a way in manner of a pair of ſtairs, and aloft we made a fort to keep the nether fort and the ſhips, and all things that might paſs as well by the great as by this ſmall river.

Moreover a man may behold a great extenſion of ground apt for tillage, ſtraight and handſome and ſomewhat inclining towards the ſouth, as eaſy to be brought to tillage as I would deſire, and very well repleniſhed with fair oaks and other trees of great beauty, no thicker than the foreſts of France.

Here we ſet 20 men to work, which in one day had laboured about an acre and a half of the ſaid ground, and ſowed it, part with turnips, which at the end of eight days as I ſaid before ſprang out of the earth. And upon that high cliff we found a fair fountain, very near the ſaid fort; adjoining whereunto we found good ſtore of ſtones, which we eſteemed to be diamonds.

On the other ſide of the ſaid mountain and at the foot thereof, which is towards the great river, is all along a goodly mine of the beſt iron in the world, and it reacheth even hard unto our fort, and the land which we tread on is perfect refined mine, ready to be put into the furnace; and on the water's ſide we found certain leaves of fine gold, as thick as a man's nail. And weſtward of the ſaid river there are, as hath been ſaid, many fair trees; and toward the water a goodly meadow, full of as fair and goodly graſs as ever I ſaw in any meadow in France: and between the ſaid meadow and the wood are great ſtore of vines, and beyond the ſaid vines the land groweth full of hemp, which groweth of itſelf, which is as good as poſſibly may be ſeen, and as ſtrong. And at the end of the ſaid meadow, within 100 paces, there is a riſing ground which is of a kind of ſlateſtone, black and thick, wherein are veins of mineral matter, which ſhew like gold and ſilver: and throughout all that ſtone, there are great grains of the ſaid mine. And in ſome places we have found ſtones like diamonds, the moſt fair, poliſhed, and excellently cut that it is poſſible for a man to ſee; when the ſun ſhineth upon them, they gliſter as it were ſparkles of fire.

The ſaid captain having diſpatched two ſhips to return to carry news, according as he had in charge from the king, and that the fort was begun to be builded, for preſervation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Viſcount of Beauprè, and other gentlemen, maſters and pilots choſen for counſel, to make a voyage with two boats furniſhed with men and victuals to go as far as Hochelaga, of purpoſe to view and underſtand the faſhion of the ſaults of water, which are to be paſſed to go to Saguenay, that he might be the readier in the ſpring to paſs farther, and in the winter time to make all things needful in a readineſs for their buſineſs.

The foreſaid boats being made ready, the captain and Martin de Painpont, with other gentlemen and the remnant of the mariners, departed from the ſaid place of Charleſburg Royal the 7th September in the year aforeſaid 1540. And the Viſcount de Beauprè ſtaid behind for the guarding and governing all things in the fort.

And as they went up the river the captain went to ſee the lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth between Canada and Hochelaga; which in the former voyage had given unto the ſaid captain a little girl, and had oftentimes informed of the treaſons which Taignoagny and Domagaia (whom the captain in his former voyage had carried into France) would have wrought againſt him: in regard of which his courteſy the ſaid captain would not paſs by without viſiting of him, and to let him underſtand that the captain thought himſelf beholden unto him, he gave unto him two young boys, and left them with him to learn their language, and beſtowed upon him a cloak of Paris red, which cloak was ſet with yellow and white buttons of tin, and ſmall bells, and withall he gave him two baſons of laton, and certain hatchets and knives. Whereat the ſaid lord ſeemed highly to rejoice, and thanked the captain. This done, the captain and his company departed from that place.

And we ſailed with ſo proſperous a wind, that we arrived the 11th day of the month at the firſt ſault of water, which is two leagues diſtant from the town of Tutonaguy. And after we were arrived there, we determined to go and paſs as far up as poſſible with one of the boats, and that the other ſhould ſtay there till it returned, and we double manned her to row up againſt the courſe or ſtream of the ſaid ſault.

And after we had paſſed ſome part of the way from our other boat, we found bad ground and great rocks, and ſo great a current, that we could not poſſibly paſs any farther with our boat: and the captain reſolved to go by land to ſee the nature and faſhion of the ſault.

And after that we were come on ſhore, we found hard by the water ſide a way and beaten path, going towards the ſaid faults, by which we took our way. And on the ſaid way, and ſoon after, we found an habitation of people, which made us great cheer, and entertained us very friendly. And after that he had ſignified unto them, that we were going towards the faults, and that we deſired to go to Saguenay, four young men went along with us to ſhew us the way, and they brought us ſo far that we came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell over againſt the the ſecond Sault, which came and brought us of their victuals, as pottage and fiſh, and offered us of the ſame.

After that the captain had enquired of them, as well by ſigns as words, how many more faults we had to paſs to go to Saguenay, and what diſtance and way it was thither, this people ſhewed us, and gave us to underſtand, that we were at the ſecond Sault, and that there was but one more to paſs, that the river was not navigable to go to Saguenay, and that the ſaid ſault was but a third farther than we had travelled, ſhewing us the ſame with certain little ſticks, which they laid upon the ground in a certain diſtance, and afterwards laid other ſmall branches between them both, repreſenting the

faults:

ſaults: and by the ſaid mark, if their ſaying be true, it can be but ſix leagues by land to paſs the ſaid faults.

After that we had been advertiſed by the ſaid people, of the things above mentioned, both becauſe the day was far ſpent, and we had neither drank nor eaten the ſame day, we concluded to return unto our boats, and we came thither where we found great ſtore of people, to the number of 400 perſons or thereabout, which ſeemed to give us very good entertainment, and to rejoice of our coming: and therefore our captain gave each of them certain ſmall trifles, as combs, broaches of tin and copper, and other ſmall toys; and unto the chief men, every one his little hatchet and hook, whereat they made certain cries and ceremonies of joy.

But a man muſt not truſt them for all their fair ceremonies and ſigns of joy, for if they had thought they had been too ſtrong for us, then would they have done their beſt to have killed us, as we underſtood afterward.

This being done, we returned with our boats, and paſſed by the dwelling of the lord of Hochelay, with whom the captain had left the two youths as he came up the river, thinking to have found him: but he could find nobody ſave one of his ſons, who told the captain that he was gone to Maiſouna, as our boys alſo told us, ſaying, that it was two days ſince he departed. But in truth he was gone to Canada, to conclude with Agona what they ſhould do againſt us.

And when we were arrived at our fort, we underſtood by our people that the ſavages of the country came not any more about our forts as they were accuſtomed, to bring us fiſh, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and fear of us. Wherefore our captain having been advertiſed by ſome of our men which had been at Stadacona to viſit them, that there were a wonderful number of the country people aſſembled together, cauſed all things in our fortreſs to be ſet in good order, &c.

[The reſt is wanting.]

*A Letter written to M. John Growte, Student in Paris, by Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the Nephew of Jaques Cartier, touching the foreſaid diſcovery.*

MASTER Growte, your brother-in-law Giles Walter, ſhewed me this morning a map printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt, an Engliſh gentleman, wherein all the Weſt Indies, the kingdom of New Mexico, and the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the river of Canada, which is deſcribed in that map, is not marked as it is in my book, which is agreeable to the book of Jaques Cartier: and that the ſaid chart doth not mark or ſet down The Great Lake, which is above the ſaults, according as the ſavages have advertiſed us, which dwell at the ſaid faults. In the foreſaid chart, which you ſent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the north. The faults or falls of the river ſtand in 44 degrees of latitude: it is not ſo hard a matter to paſs them, as it is thought. The water falleth not down from any high place, it is nothing elſe but that in the midſt of the river there is bad ground. It were beſt to build boats above the faults; and it is eaſy to march or travel by land to the end of the three faults: it is not above five leagues journey. I have been upon the top of a mountain, which is at the foot of the faults, where I have ſeen the ſaid river beyond the ſaid faults, which ſhewed unto us to be broader than it was where we paſſed it. The people of the country advertiſed us, that there are ten days journey from the faults unto this great lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a day's journey. At this preſent I cannot write unto

you

you more at large, becauſe the meſſenger can ſtay no longer. Here therefore for the preſent I will end, ſaluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to give you your heart's deſire. From S. Malo in haſte this 19th day of June 1587.

Your loving friend,

JAQUES NOEL.

Couſin I pray you do me ſo much pleaſure as to ſend me a book of the diſcovery of New Mexico, and one of thoſe new maps of the Weſt Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the Engliſh gentleman, which you ſent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not fail to inform myſelf, if there be any mean to find out thoſe deſcriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two laſt voyages into Canada.

*Underneath the aforeſaid imperfect Relation that which followeth is written in another Letter ſent to M. John Growte, Student in Paris, from Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the Grand Nephew of Jaques Cartier.*

I CAN write nothing elſe unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Captain Jaques Cartier, my uncle, deceaſed, although I have made ſearch in all places that I poſſibly could in this town: ſaving of a certain book made in manner of a ſea-chart, which was drawn by the hand of my ſaid uncle, which is in the poſſeſſion of Maſter Cremeur, which book is paſſing well marked and drawn for all the river of Canada, whereof I am well aſſured, becauſe I myſelf have knowledge thereof, as far as to the faults, where I have been. The height of which fault is in 44 degrees. I found in the ſaid chart, beyond the place where the river is divided in twain in the midſt of both the branches of the ſaid river, ſomewhat neareſt that arm which runneth toward the S. W. theſe words following, written in the hand of Jaques Cartier.

"By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was ſaid, that here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious ſtones."

And about an hundred leagues under the ſame, I found written theſe two lines following in the ſaid card, inclining toward the S. W.: "Here in this country are cinnamon and cloves, which they call in their language Canodeta."

Touching the effect of my book, whereof I ſpake unto you, it is made after the manner of a ſea-chart, which I have delivered unto my two ſons Michael and John, which at this preſent are in Canada. If at their return, which will be, God willing, about Magdalene-tide, they have learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not fail to advertiſe you thereof.

Your loving friend,

JAQUES NOEL.

*Here followeth the Courſe from Belle Iſle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland up the river of Canada, for the ſpace of 230 leagues, obſerved by John Alphonſe of Xanctoigne, chief pilot to Monſieur Roberval, 1542.*

BELLES Iſles are in 51 degrees and 40 min.; Belles Iſles and Carpont are N.N.W. and S.S.E. and they are ten leagues diſtant. Carpont is in 52 deg. Carpont and Belle Iſle from the Grand Bay are N.E. and S.W. and the diſtance from Belle Iſle to the Grand Bay is ſeven leagues. The midſt of the Grand Bay is in 52 deg. and a half, and on the north ſide thereof there is a rock: half a league from the iſle, over againſt Carpont, toward the eaſt, there is a ſmall flat iſland, and on the ſide toward the N.E.

there is a flat rock. And when thou comeſt out of the harbour of Carpont, thou muſt leave this rock on the ſtarboard ſide, and alſo on the larboard ſide there are two or three ſmall iſles: and when thou comeſt out of the N. E. ſide, ranging along the ſhore toward the weſt, about two pikes length in the midway, there is a ſhoal which lyeth on the ſtarboard ſide: and ſail there by the north coaſt, and leave two parts of the Grand Bay towards the ſouth, becauſe there is a rock which runneth two or three leagues into the ſea.

And when thou art come athwart the haven of Butes, run along the north ſhore about one league or an half off, for the coaſt is without all danger: Belle Iſle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Iſles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, near unto the north ſhore, lie N. E., W., and S. W. and the diſtance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but ſeven leagues broad from land to land, until it come over againſt the Bay des Chaſteaux, and from thence forward it hath not paſt five leagues in breadth, and againſt Blanc Sablon it is eight leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the ſouth ſhore is all low land along the ſea coaſt: the north ſhore is reaſonable high land. Blanc Sablon is in 51 deg. 40 min.

The Iſles of Blanc Sablon and the Iſles de la Damoiſelle are N. E. W. S. W. and take a little of the W. S. W. and they are diſtant 36 leagues. Theſe iſles are in 50 deg. 45 min. and there is a good haven, and you may enter by an high cape which lyeth along toward the N. E. and within the diſtance of a pike and a half, becauſe of a rock which lyeth on your larboard ſide, and you may anchor in 10 fathom water over againſt a little nook: and from the great headland unto the place where thou doſt anchor there is not above the length of two cables. And if thou wouldſt go out by the weſt ſide, thou muſt ſail near the iſle by the ſtarboard, and give room unto the iſle upon the larboard at the coming forth, and when thou art not paſt a cable's length out thou muſt ſail hard by the iſles on the larboard ſide, by reaſon of a ſunken flat that lyeth on the ſtarboard, and thence ſhalt ſail ſo on to the S. S. W. until thou come in ſight of a rock which ſhineth, which is about half a league in the ſea diſtant from the iſles, and thou ſhalt leave it on the larboard, (and from the Iſles of Damoiſelle unto Newfoundland, the ſea is not in breadth above 36 leagues, becauſe that Newfoundland even unto Cape Briton runneth not but N. N. E. and S. S. W.)

Between the Iſles of de la Damoiſelle and the Iſles of Blanc Sablon, there be many iſles and good harbours; and on this coaſt there are faulcons and hawks, and certain fowls which ſeem to be pheaſants. The Iſles de la Damoiſelle and Cape Tienot are N. E. and S. S. W. and take a little of the N. E. and S. W. and they are diſtant 18 leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50 deg. 15 min. and there the ſea is broadeſt. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton, 70 leagues, which is the greateſt breadth of this ſea. And there are ſix or ſeven iſles, between the Iſles de la Damoiſelle, and Cape Tienot.

Cape Tienot hath in the ſea five or ſix leagues diſtant from it, a ſunken iſland, dangerous for ſhips. The Cape Tienot and the midſt of the Iſland of Aſcenſion are N. E. and S. S. W. and they are 22 leagues diſtant; the midſt of the Iſland of Aſcenſion is in 49 deg. and a half. The ſaid iſle lyeth N. W. and S. E., the N. W. end is in 50 deg. of latitude, and the S. E. end is in 48 deg. and a half, and is about 25 leagues long, and four or five leagues broad: and from the N. W. end of the iſle unto the firm land of the north ſide the ſea is not above ſeven leagues broad, and unto the firm land on the ſouth ſide are about 15 leagues. Cape Tienot and the Iſle of Aſcenſion toward the S. E. are N. E. and S. W. and are diſtant 30 leagues.

The

The ſaid Cape of Tienot and the N.W. end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion are eaſt and weſt, and take a little of the N.E. and S.W. and they are diſtant 34 leagues.

The Iſle of Aſcenſion is a goodly iſle, and a good champaigne land, without any hills, ſtanding all upon white rocks and alabaſter, all covered with trees unto the ſea ſhore, and there are all ſorts of trees as there be in France, and there be wild beaſts, as bears, luſerns, porkeſpicks. And from the S.E. end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion unto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50 leagues. The N.W. end of the iſle and the Cape des Monts noſtre Dame, which is on the main land towards the ſouth, are N.E. and W.S.W., and the diſtance between them is 15 leagues. The Cape is in 49 degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion towards the S.E. are E. and W. and there is 15 leagues diſtance between them.

The Bay of Molues or Gaſpay is in 48 degrees, and the coaſt lyeth north and ſouth, and taketh a quarter of the N.E. and S.W. unto the Bay of Heate: and there are three iſles, one great one and two ſmall: from the Bay of Heate, until you paſs the Monts noſtre Dame all the land is high and good ground, all covered with trees. Ognedoc is a good bay and lyeth N.N.W. and S.S.E. and it is a good harbour: and you muſt ſail along the ſhore on the north ſide, by reaſon of the low point at the entrance thereof, and when you are paſt the point bring yourſelf to an anchor in 15 or 20 fathoms of water toward the ſouth ſhore; and here within this haven are two rivers, one which goeth toward the N.W. and the other to the S.W.

And on this coaſt there is great fiſhing for cods and other fiſh, where there is more ſtore than is in Newfoundland, and better fiſh. And here is great ſtore of river fowl, as mallards, wild geeſe and others: and here are all ſorts of trees, roſe-trees, raſberries, filbert-trees, apple-trees, pear-trees, and it is hotter here in ſummer than in France.

The Iſle of Aſcenſion, and the Seven Iſles which lie on the north ſhore lie S.E. and W.N.W. and are diſtant 24 leagues. The cape of Ognedoc and the Seven Iſles are N.N.W. and S.S.E. and are diſtant 35 leagues. The Cape of Monts noſtre Dame and the Seven Iſlands are north and ſouth, and the cut over from one to the other is 25 leagues: and this is the breadth of this ſea, and from thence upward it beginneth to wax narrower and narrower. The Seven Iſlands are in 50 degrees and a half. The Seven Iſlands and the Point of Ongear lie N.E. and S.W., and the diſtance between them is 15 leagues, and between them are certain ſmall iſlands. And the Point of Ongear and the Mountains noſtre Dame, which are on the ſouth ſide of the entrance of the river, are north and ſouth; and the cut over from the one to the other is ten leagues; and this is here the breadth of the ſea. The Point of Ongear and the River of Caen lie eaſt and weſt, and they are diſtant 12 leagues. And all the coaſt from the Iſle of Aſcenſion hither is very good ground, wherein grow all ſorts of trees that are in France, and ſome fruits. The Point of Ongear is 49 deg. and 15 min. And the River of Caen and the Iſle of Raquelle lie N.E. and S.W. and they are diſtant 12 leagues. The Iſle of Raquelle is in 48 deg. and 40 min. In this river of Caen there is great ſtore of fiſh: and here the ſea is not paſt eight leagues broad.

The Iſle of Raquelle is a very low iſle, which is near unto the ſouth ſhore, hard by a high cape which is called the Cape of Marble: there is no danger there at all, and between Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ſhips may paſs: and there is not from the iſle to the ſouth ſhore above one league, and from the iſle to the north ſhore about four leagues. The Iſle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are N.E. and W.S.W. and are diſtant 14 leagues, and there are between them two ſmall iſlands near the north ſhore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48 deg. and 20 min. and the entrance hath not

paſt a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the S.W., and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to wax wider and wider, and it ſeemeth to be as it were an arm of the ſea: and I think that the ſame runneth into the ſea of Cathay, for it ſendeth forth there a great current, and there doth run in that place a terrible race or tide. And here the river from the north ſhore to the ſouth ſhore is not paſt four leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous paſſage between both the lands, becauſe there lie banks of rocks in the river.

The Iſle of Raquelle and the Iſle of Hares lie N. E. and S.W. and take a quarter of the eaſt and weſt, and they are diſtant 18 leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Iſle of Hares lie N.N.E. and S.S.W. and are diſtant five leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Iſle of Raquelle, are N.N.W. and S.S.W. and are diſtant three leagues. The Iſle of Hares is in 48 deg. 4 min. From the mountains of Noſtre Dame unto Canada and unto Hochelaga, all the land on the ſouth coaſt is fair, a low land and goodly champaigne, all covered with trees unto the bank of the river. And the land on the north ſide is higher, and in ſome places there are high mountains. And from the Iſle of Hares unto the Iſle of Orleans the river is not paſt four or five leagues broad. Between the Iſle of Hares and the high land on the north ſide, the ſea is not paſt a league and a half broad, and it is very deep, for it is above 100 fathoms deep in the midſt. To the eaſt of the Iſle of Hares there are two or three ſmall iſles and rocks. And from hence to the Iſle of Filberts, all is nothing but rocks and iſles on the ſouth ſhore: and towards the north the ſea is fair and deep. The Iſle of Hares and the Iſle of Filberts lie N.E., W., and S.W., and they are diſtant 12 leagues. And you muſt always run along the high land on the north ſhore, for on the other ſhore there is nothing but rocks: and you muſt paſs by the ſide of the Iſle of Filberts, and the river there is not paſt a quarter of a league broad, and you muſt ſail in the midſt of the channel, and in the midſt runneth the beſt paſſage either at an high or low water, becauſe the ſea runneth there ſtrongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had need of good anchor and cable. The Iſle of Filberts is a ſmall iſle, about one league long, and half a league broad, but they are all banks of ſand. The Iſle of Filberts ſtands in 47 deg. 45 min. The Iſle of Filberts and the Iſle of Orleans lie N.E. and S.W. and they are diſtant ten leagues, and thou muſt paſs by the high land on the north ſide, about a quarter of a league, becauſe that in the midſt of the river there is nothing but ſhoals and rocks. And when thou ſhalt be over againſt a round cape, thou muſt take over to the ſouth ſhore S.W. ¼ S. and thou ſhalt ſail in five, ſix, and ſeven fathoms: and there the river of Canada beginneth to be freſh, and the ſalt water endeth. And when thou ſhalt be athwart the point of the Iſle of Orleans, where the river beginneth to be freſh, thou ſhalt ſail in the midſt of the river, and thou ſhalt leave the iſle on the ſtarboard, which is on the right hand: and here the river is not paſt a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And toward the ſouth ſhore there is a ledge of iſles all covered with trees, and they end over againſt the point of the Iſle of Orleans. And the point of the Iſle of Orleans toward the N.E. is in 47 deg. 20 min. And the Iſle of Orleans is a fair iſle, all covered with trees even unto the river ſide: and it is about five leagues long and a league and a half broad. And on the north ſhore there is another river, which falleth into the main river at the end of the iſland: and ſhips may very well paſs there. From the midſt of the iſle unto Canada the river runneth weſt, and from the place of Canada unto France-Roy the river runneth W.S.W. and from the weſt end of the iſle to Canada is but one league, and unto France-Roy four leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the iſle, thou ſhalt ſee a great

river which falleth 15 or 20 fathoms down from a rock, and maketh a terrible noiſe. The fort of France-Roy is in 47 deg. 10 min.

The extenſion of all theſe lands, upon juſt occaſion is called New France: for it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the ſame latitude. And the reaſon wherefore it is colder in the winter is, becauſe the freſh river is naturally more cold than the ſea; and it is alſo broad and deep: and in ſome places it is half a league and above in breadth: and alſo becauſe the land is not tilled, nor full of people; and is all full of woods, which is the cauſe of cold, becauſe there is not ſtore of fire nor cattle. And the ſun hath its meridian as high as the meridian at Rochel, and it is noon here, when the ſun is at S. S. W. at Rochel. And here the north ſtar by the compaſs ſtandeth N. N. E. And when at Rochel it is noon, it is but half an hour paſt nine at France-Roy.

From the ſaid place unto the ocean ſea and the coaſt of New France, is not above 50 leagues diſtance, and from the entrance of Norumbega unto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues, and unto the Iſle of Raſus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entereth into the river of Canada, and unto the ſea of Saguenay. And from the fort of France-Roy until a man come forth of the Grand Bay is not above 230 leagues; and the courſe is N. E. and W. S. W. not above five degrees and 20 min. difference, and reckon 16 leagues and a half to a degree.

By the nature of the climate the lands towards Hochelaga are ſtill better and better, and more fruitful; and this land is fit for figs and pears; and I think that gold and ſilver will be found here, according as the people of the country ſay. Theſe lands lie over againſt Tartary, and I doubt not but they ſtretch toward Aſia, according to the roundneſs of the world. And therefore it were good to have a ſmall ſhip of 70 tons to diſcover the coaſt of New France on the back ſide of Florida: for I have been at a bay as far as 42 degrees between Norumbega and Florida, and I have not ſearched the end thereof, and I know not whether it paſs through. And in all theſe countries there are oaks, and bortz, aſhes, elms, arables, trees of life, pines, pruſſe trees, cedars, great walnut trees, and wild nuts, hazel trees, wild pear trees, wild grapes, and there have been found red plums. And very fair corn groweth there, and peaſon grow of their own accord, gooſeberries and ſtrawberries. And there are goodly foreſts wherein men may hunt. And there are great ſtore of ſtags, deer, porkepicks, and the ſavages ſay there be unicorns. Fowl there are in abundance, as buſtards, wild geeſe, cranes, turtle doves, ravens, crows, and many other birds. All things which are ſown there are not paſt two or three days in coming up out of the ground. I have told in one ear of corn 120 grains, like the corn of France. And you need not to ſow your wheat until March, and it will be ripe in the midſt of Auguſt. The waters are better and perfecter than in France, and if the country were tilled and repleniſhed with people, it would be as hot as Rochel. And the reaſon why it ſnoweth oftener there than in France is, becauſe it raineth there but ſeldom; for the rain is converted into ſnows.

All things above mentioned are true.

John Alphonſe made this voyage with Monſieur Roberval.

*The Voyage of John Francis de la Roche, knight, lord of Roberval, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred Perſons, both Men, Women, and Children, begun in April* 1542. *In which Parts he remained the ſame Summer, and all the next Winter.*

SIR John Francis de la Roche, knight, lord of Roberval, appointed by the King as his lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Saguenay and Hochelaga, furniſhed three tall ſhips chiefly at the King's coſt, and having in his fleet 200 perſons as well men as women, accompanied with divers gentlemen of quality, as namely, with Monſieur Saine-terre his lieutenant, l'Eſpiney his enſign, Captain Guinecourt, Monſieur Noir Fontaine, Dieu Lamont, Frote, la Broſſe, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Royeze, and John Alphonſe of Xanctoigne, an excellent pilot, ſet ſail from Rochel, the 16th of April 1542. The ſame day about noon, we came athwart of Chef de Boys, where we were enforced to ſtay the night following. On Monday the 17th of the ſaid month we departed from Chef de Boys. The wind ſerved us notably for a time, but within few days it came quite contrary, which hindered our journey for a long ſpace, for we were ſuddenly enforced to turn back, and to ſeek harbour in Belle Iſle on the coaſt of Bretaigne, where we ſtaid ſo long and had ſuch contrary weather by the way, that we could not reach Newfoundland until the 7th of June.

The 8th of this month we entered into the Road of Saint John, where we found 17 ſhips of fiſhers. While we made ſomewhat long abode here, Jaques Carthier and his company returning from Canada, whither he was ſent with five ſails the year before, arrived in the very ſame harbour. Who after he had done his duty to our general, told him that he had brought certain diamonds, and a quantity of gold ore, which was found in the country. Which ore the Sunday next enſuing was tried in a furnace, and found to be good.

Furthermore he informed our general that he could not with his ſmall company withſtand the ſavages, which went about daily to annoy him, and this was the cauſe of his return into France. Nevertheleſs he and his company commended the country to be very rich and fruitful. But when our general being furniſhed with ſufficient forces, commanded him to go back again with him, he and his company, moved as it ſeemed with ambition, becauſe they would have all the glory of the diſcovery of thoſe parts themſelves, ſtole privily away the next night from us, and without taking their leaves departed home for Bretaigne.

We ſpent the greateſt part of June in the harbour of Saint John, partly in furniſhing ourſelves with freſh water, whereof we ſtood in very great need by the way, and partly in compoſing and taking up a quarrel between ſome of our countrymen and certain Portugals. At length about the laſt of the aforeſaid month, we departed hence, and entered into the Grand Bay, and paſſed by the Iſle of Aſcenſion, and finally arrived four leagues weſtward of the Iſle of Orleans. In this place we found a convenient harbour for our ſhipping, where we caſt anchor, went aſhore with our people, and choſe out a convenient place to fortify ourſelves in, fit to command the main river, and of ſtrong ſituation againſt all invaſion of enemies. Thus, toward the end of July, we brought our victuals and other munitions and proviſions on ſhore, and began to travail in fortifying ourſelves.

*Of the Fort of France-Roy, and that which was done there.*

Having deſcribed the beginning, the midſt, and the end of the voyage made by Monſieur Roberval in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other countries in the weſt parts: he ſailed ſo far (as is declared in other books) that he arrived in the ſaid country accompanied with 200 perſons, ſoldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture neceſſary for a fleet. The ſaid general at his firſt arrival built a fair fort, near and ſomewhat weſtward above Canada, which is very beautiful to behold, and of great force, ſituated upon an high mountain, wherein there were two courts of buildings, a great tower, and another of 40 or 50 feet long, wherein there were divers chambers, an hall, a kitchen, houſes of office, cellars high and low, and near unto it were an oven and mills, and a ſtove to warm men in, and a well before the houſe. And the building was ſituated upon the great river of Canada, called France Prime, by Monſieur Roberval. There was alſo at the foot of the mountain another lodging, part whereof was a great tower of two ſtories high, two courts of good building, where at the firſt all our victuals, and whatſoever was brought with us was ſent ſo be kept: and near unto that tower there is another ſmall river. In theſe two places above and beneath, all the meaner ſort was lodged.

And in the month of Auguſt, and in the beginning of September, every man was occupied in ſuch work as each one was able to do. But the 14th of September our aforeſaid general ſent back into France two ſhips which had brought his furniture, and he appointed for admiral Monſieur de Saine-terre, and the other captain was Monſieur Guinecourt, to carry news unto the King, and to come back again unto him the year next enſuing, furniſhed with victuals and other things, as it ſhould pleaſe the King: and alſo to bring news out of France how the King accepted certain diamonds which were ſent him, and were found in this country.

After theſe two ſhips were departed, conſideration was had how they ſhould do, and how they might paſs out the winter in this place. Firſt they took a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out ſhort: and they were ſcanted ſo that in each meſs they had but two loaves weighing a pound a-piece, and half a pound of beef. They ate bacon at dinner with half a pound of butter: and beef at ſupper, and about two handfuls of beans without butter.

On the Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday they did eat dry cod, and ſometimes they did eat it green at dinner with butter, and they ate of porpoiſes and beans at ſupper.

About that time the ſavages brought us great ſtore of aloſes, which is a fiſh ſomewhat red like a ſalmon, to get knives and other ſmall trifles for them.

In the end many of our people fell ſick of a certain diſeaſe in their legs, reins, and ſtomach, ſo that they ſeemed to be deprived of all their limbs, and there died thereof about fifty.

Note, that the ice began to break up in April.

Monſieur Roberval uſed very good juſtice, and puniſhed every man according to his offence. One whoſe name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. John of Xaintes was laid in irons, and kept priſoner for his offence, and others alſo were put in irons, and divers were whipped, as well men as women: by which means they lived in quiet.

The

*The Manners of the Savages.*

To declare unto you the ſtate of the ſavages, they are people of a goodly ſtature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked; and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would be as white and as fair; but they paint themſelves for fear of heat and ſun-burning.

Inſtead of apparel they wear ſkins upon them like mantles; and they have a ſmall pair of breeches, wherewith they cover their privities, as well men as women. They have hoſen and ſhoes of leather excellently made: and they have no ſhirts, neither cover they the head, but their hair is truſſed up above the crown of their heads, and plaited or braided. Touching their victuals, they eat good meat, but all unſalted, but they dry it, and afterwards they broil it, as well fiſh as fleſh. They have no certain dwelling place, and they go from place to place, as they think they may beſt find food, as aloſes in one place, and other fiſh, ſalmons, ſturgeons, mullets, ſurmullets, barz, carps, eels, pimpermeaux, and other freſh water fiſh, and ſtore of porpoiſes. They feed alſo of ſtags, wild boars, bugles, porkeſpines, and ſtore of other wild beaſts. And there is as great ſtore of fowls as they can deſire.

Touching their bread they make very good: and it is of great mill: and they live very well: for they take care for nothing elſe.

They drink ſeal oil, but this is at their great feaſts.

They have a king in every country, and are wonderful obedient unto him: and they do him honour according to their manner and faſhion. And when they travel from place to place, they carry all their goods with them in their boats.

The women nurſe their children with the breaſt, and they ſit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with ſkins of fur.

*The Voyage of Monſieur Roberval from his Fort in Canada unto Saguenay, the 5th June, 1543.*

Monſieur Roberval, the King's lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Saguenay and Hochelaga, departed toward the ſaid province of Saguenay, on the Tueſday the 5th day of June 1543, after ſupper: and he with all his furniture was embarked to make the ſaid voyage. But upon a certain occaſion they lay in the road over againſt the place before-mentioned: but on the Wedneſday about ſix of the clock in the morning they ſet ſail, and ſailed againſt the ſtream, in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as ſmall, and to the number of three ſcore and ten perſons, with the aforeſaid general.

The general left behind him in the aforeſaid place and fort, 30 perſons to remain there until his return from Saguenay, which he appointed to be the firſt of July, or elſe they ſhould return into France. And he left there behind him but two barks to carry the ſaid 30 perſons, and the furniture which was there, while he ſtaid ſtill in the country.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his lieutenant a gentleman named Monſieur de Royeze, to whom he gave commiſſion, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandment of the ſaid lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their maintenance until the ſaid firſt day of July, were received by the ſaid lieutenant Royeze.

On Thursday the 14th of June, Monsieur l'Espiney, La Brosse, Monsieur Frere, Monsieur Longeval and others, returned from the general, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note, that eight men and one bark were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noire Fontaine, and one named La Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday the 19th of June aforesaid, there came from the general, Monsieur de Villeneufve, Talebot, and three others, which brought six score pounds weight of their corn, and letters to stay yet until Magdalentide, which is the 22d day of July.

[The rest of this voyage is wanting.]

END OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME.

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